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THE

PATRIOT:

OR,

POLITICAL, MORAL, AND PHILOSOPHICAL REPOSITORY.

CONSISTING OF

ORIGINAL PIECES,

AND

SELECTIONS FROM WRITERS OF MERIT,

A Work calculated to diſſeminate theſe Branches of Knowledge among all Ranks of People, at a ſmall Expence.

BY

A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

PRO PATRIA.

VOL. I.

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POPULUS, LIBERTAS, LEX, ET REX.

THE PEOPLE, LIBERTY, THE LAW, AND THE KING.

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THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday, April 3, 1792.

TO THE

PEOPLE OF GREAT-BRITAIN.

"O LIBERTY! thou choiceſt treaſure,
"Seat of Virtue!—ſource of Pleaſure!
"LIFE, without thee, knows no bleſſing,
"No endearment worth careſſing!"

SINCE the bleſſings attendant on LIBERTY, Civil and Religious, have been firſt known, it has been univerſally allowed to be one of the choiceſt Gifts of Heaven; that nothing can ſo greatly contribute to our Felicity in our progreſs through Life; and that, as ſuch, we ought to be particularly attentive, not only to guard and ſecure it for ourſelves, but alſo to do all in our power to tranſmit it ſafe and uncorrupted to Poſterity.

"LIBERTY (ſays a celebrated writer) is of that vaſt "importance, and infinite conſequence to mankind, that "'tis impoſſible for any nation to value it too highly, or

"to

" to be too jealous of every or any attempt which may
" have a tendency to infringe or deſtroy it. 'Tis one of
" the nobleſt Gifts of God to Man; the foundation of
" Property; the ſource of Happineſs in public and pri-
" vate life, and eſſentially neceſſary to all rational and ac-
" ceptable Religion. Life itſelf, without Liberty, is not
" only a burthen to a generous mind, but even a reproach
" and ſcandal to Human Nature."

The people of Great-Britain have long boaſted of this invaluable bleſſing as their peculiar birthright—and certainly every Briton ſhould bear that pride about him, ſhould cheriſh the remembrance of that birthright, and keep it engraved on the tablet of his heart, as the title of his nobleſt inheritance, and the firſt privilege and dignity of his nature.

But it is a melancholy conſideration, that there is ſcarcely any nation in the enlightened part of the globe, that underſtands ſo little of the nature, value and extent of that Liberty, which ought to be ſo highly eſteemed, as the great body of the people of this country. And how is it poſſible, if men are ignorant of thoſe Rights in which their greateſt happineſs conſiſts, that they ſhould be properly prepared to defend them, againſt the open attacks, or ſecret encroachments of the deſigning and intereſted, who may, from time to time, be deviſing a variety of plans to deprive them of ſuch rights.

That this ignorance of the origin and principles of the Political and Civil Liberty we now enjoy, *exiſts*, has long been too clearly evinced. Aſk nine-tenths of the inhabitants of this populous and flouriſhing iſland, in what

what the excellence of our British Constitution consists, and they will be found incapable of answering you. They will tell you *it is the best in the world*—but they know this only from hearsay, either from its being told them by their progenitors, or by those whom they look up to as possessed of better and more extensive information than themselves.

It is to remedy this defect, and to induce the people at large to examine and to think for themselves, that this work was set on foot. It is a truth established beyond a doubt, that LIBERTY (though Heaven's best gift to Man) like all other earthly property, is, without due care, subject to continual injury, and, in the end, liable to be entirely lost or destroyed. And we must repeat, that when a people are ignorant of what their property consists, it is not likely they should use proper measures to preserve it. We cannot, we will not suppose, that Britons—our countrymen and fellow-citizens—can be anxious to maintain and defend their right to the spade with which they dig, or the loom with which they weave, and yet to continue insensible or unsolicitous for the preservation of that which constitutes their right to possess the earnings which they derive from the spade and the loom. Such a supposition is too degrading, and we reject it with the disdain it merits.

It will be our business, therefore, to shew what it is that constitutes LIBERTY, by a delineation of governments in general, and our own excellent Constitution, or Form of Government, in particular. To point out the origin of Liberty—the methods by which alone it can be preserved—the innumerable and inestimable blessings

which for ever attend it—the many and moſt likely modes by which it may ſuffer injury, or finally be loſt, and with it, every permanent and ſuperior enjoyment of life, which are ſo intimately blended, that they muſt exiſt or periſh together.

This we promiſe ſhall be ſhewn in a variety of ways, and the ſubject ſhall be diſcuſſed in ſo plain and clear a manner, in every poſſible view of it, that the meaneſt capacity ſhall be enabled to underſtand the nature of the Conſtitution under which he lives; to value the bleſſings which he derives from it; to aſcertain the origin and eſſentials of thoſe duties which as a member of that ſociety he is bound to perform, for the purpoſe of contributing his proportion towards the maintenance and ſupport of this Conſtitution, and of tranſmitting it in a pure and perfect ſtate for the uſe and benefit of future generations, whoſe intereſts every one is in duty bound to attend to, and protect, in the degree immediately next to his own.

No apology ſhould ſeem to be neceſſary for entering upon the diſcuſſion of ſo intereſting and important a ſubject, at any time; but, if ever an æra appeared more proper than another for a public examination of the principles of Government, it is the preſent, when a general change ſeems likely to take place in various parts of the globe. The great and momentous events which have already ſucceeded each other in different countries, at the ſame time that they have ſurpriſed and aſtoniſhed, have very naturally excited, in every one, a curioſity and a wiſh to become more intimately acquainted with the fundamental principles of Governments in general, and the ſecret, or main ſprings, by which they are actuated, ſo as to occa-

ſion

ſion and bring about ſuch great and important revolutions.

The Conſtitution of Great-Britain, highly admired and excellent as it is, in its original *nature* and *ſpirit*, when it comes to be cloſely examined, may perhaps be found, in many reſpects, to have its luſtre tarniſhed, and its vigour and energy impaired, by the deſtructive hand of Time, or from the artful and ſecret encroachments of the ſervile tools of Arbitrary Power, encouraged thereto by the ſupine careleſſneſs, and the blind ignorance of part, and the depravity of others among the people, in the negligence with which they guarded the Palladium of all that, as *free* Men, ought to have been dear to them, ariſing from their not having an adequate apprehenſion of its nature and value.

If this be the caſe—as we fear it is—we ſhould ill deſerve the name of PATRIOTS, ſhould we longer forbear to point out the evil tendency of ſuch ſupineneſs, ignorance, negligence, or depravity, to the great Body of the People; and to warn them, that a continuance in it, cannot fail of being ultimately attended with the moſt pernicious conſequences, and perhaps the entire annihilation of that noble and magnificent fabric in which they are ſo deeply intereſted, and which they are bound to ſupport and defend, even at the hazard and expence of their lives.

"A free Government (ſays MACHIAVEL) in order to "maintain itſelf free, hath need every day of ſome new "proviſion in favour of LIBERTY."

As

As the SUN, by a beautiful figure, is called the *ſoul* of that ſyſtem of which it is the center, and which without its beams would be all darkneſs and death—ſo the ſame juſt figure is applied to LIBERTY, in the *Britiſh Conſtitution*, by that venerable adage, "Vita reipublicæ, "pax; et animus Libertas; et Corpus leges."—"Of the "Commonwealth Peace is the *life*, Laws the *body*, and "Liberty the *ſoul*."*

Our patriotic countryman, Lord CAMDEN—the glorious and never to be forgotten Defender of our Liberties againſt the baneful and infamous attacks of General Warrants—once ſaid, "I wiſh the maxim of MACHIAVEL "was followed,—that of examining a Conſtitution, at "certain periods, according to its firſt principles—this "would correct abuſes, and ſupply defects."—In conformity to this idea, which correſponds exactly with our own, we propoſe to examine our glorious Conſtitution, "according to its firſt principles;" in doing which, we will not only point out ſuch "defects" as appear to us to deſerve the name, but we will endeavour to ſhew the proper and natural means of correcting the abuſes ariſing from them, and of effectually healing the wounds they cauſe. We will endeavour to convince the collective Body of the People of Great-Britain, that they ought not blindly to adore what they do not underſtand; but, underſtanding, to adore the real, perfect, and truly excellent ſtructure of the Britiſh Conſtitution, free from every

* A tranſlation is meant to be given to every Latin or French quotation which may occaſionally be made uſe of in this Work, as the body of the people—for whoſe information it is intended—cannot be expected to be converſant with theſe languages.

every base and degrading alloy, which may at present be unhappily mixed, with those bright, genuine, pure and intrinsic materials, of which it was originally composed.

Having thus openly and candidly avowed our intentions, and shewn the plan on which we propose to proceed, we hereby invite every real friend to Truth, Liberty and Mankind, to aid and assist in the glorious cause of perpetuating that noble and magnificent fabric, the Constitution of Great-Britain. A reform of abuses, and *an equal Representation of the People*, are the first objects of our Paper, and we think it necessary to apprize our readers, that their time shall not be wasted in mere controversies and personalities. Bad Measures shall be arraigned, and bad Men exposed; but it will be on account of the public, and not to harrass Administrations, or to injure private Characters.——We reserve to ourselves a right of judging on the merits of every piece, which may be offered to us for publication; but we promise never to mutilate, nor to publish a part of any, the remainder of which we may deem exceptionable, without the author's consent. And to avoid a loss of time in such cases, we wish that every Correspondent would add a note, saying how far he will trust to our judgment in that particular, or whether he insists upon the whole standing as sent to us. In the latter case, we can only proceed by immediate adoption, or instant rejection—*and nothing else must be expected from us.*

It has long been a matter of infinite concern to us, to reflect, that the enormous expence of the first cost of philosophical and political tracts (the grand sources of information on this important subject) was an impediment to

to the rise and progress of general knowledge on these heads, among the middle and lower ranks of people.—Various periodical publications have contributed to obviate this difficulty, in many respects, but not one has hitherto embraced the idea which our zeal for the rights and interests of the People has suggested, of establishing a periodical Work, which is professedly appropriated to the universal "information of the Public Mind, in "the grand and important science of Politics, and the "various branches of Philosophy connected with it," at a price so very moderate as to come within the compass of almost every one's purchase.

To you, then, O PEOPLE OF GREAT-BRITAIN, our Friends, Countrymen, and Fellow-Citizens, *we now address ourselves*; and at the moment we request your support and patronage of a Work—the design and end of which is to promote and forward your most valuable interests,—we doubt not but we shall enjoy it in the fullest and most ample degree. In this confidence, we for the present take our leave, and resign into your hands the protection of THE PATRIOT.

March 20, 1792. THE EDITORS.

THE

THE immortal fame of JUNIUS has flown with such rapidity on Eagle's wings, from Pole to Pole, that we think we cannot possibly impress the Public Mind with a more favourable opinion of THE PATRIOT, than by selecting for our first Essay, the following DEDICATION OF HIS LETTERS.

TO THE

ENGLISH NATION.

I Dedicate to you a Collection of Letters, written by one of yourselves for the common benefit of us all. They would never have grown to this size without your continued encouragement and applause. To me they originally owe nothing but a healthy, sanguine constitution. Under *your* care they have thriven. To you they are indebted for whatever strength or beauty they possess. When Kings and Ministers are forgotten; when the force and direction of personal satire is no longer understood, and when measures are only felt in their remotest consequences, this Book will, I believe, be found to contain principles worthy to be transmitted to Posterity.* When you leave the unimpaired hereditary Freehold to your children, you do but half your duty. Both Liberty and Property are precarious, unless the Possessors have sense and spirit enough to defend them. This is not

* Meaning the volume containing his Letters to which this Dedication is prefixed.

not the language of vanity. If I am a vain man, my gratification lies within a narrow circle. I am the sole Depositary of my own secret, and it shall perish with me.

If an honest, and I may truly affirm a laborious zeal for the public service, has given me a weight in your esteem, let me exhort and conjure you never to suffer an invasion of your political Constitution, however minute the instance may appear, to pass by, without a determined, persevering resistance. One precedent creates another. They soon accumulate and constitute Law. What yesterday was fact, to-day is Doctrine. Examples are supposed to justify the most dangerous measures; and where they do not suit exactly, the defect is supplied by analogy. Be assured that the Laws, which protect us in our civil rights, grow out of the Constitution, and that they must fall or flourish with it. This is not the cause of a Faction, or of a Party, or of any Individual, but the common interest of every Man in Britain.

Let it be impressed upon your minds, let it be instilled into your children, that the Liberty of the Press is the *Palladium* of all the civil, political, and religious rights of an Englishman; and that the right of Juries to return a general verdict, in all cases whatsoever, is an essential part of our Constitution, not to be controuled or limited by the Judges, nor in any shape questionable by the Legislature. The power of King, Lords, and Commons, is not an arbitrary power.* They are the

* This positive denial of arbitrary power being vested in the Legislature, is not in fact a new doctrine. When the Earl of Lindsay, in the year 1675, brought in a bill into the House of Lords, *to pre-*

the truſtees, not the owners of the eſtate.—The fee ſimple is in us. They cannot alienate, they cannot waſte. When we ſay that the Legiſlature is *ſupreme*, we mean, that it is the higheſt power known to the Conſtitution; that it is the higheſt in compariſon with the other ſubordinate powers eſtabliſhed by the laws. In this ſenſe the word *ſupreme* is relative, not abſolute. The power of the Legiſlature is limited, not only by the general rules of natural Juſtice, and the welfare of the Community, but the forms and principles of our particular Conſtitution. If this doctrine be not true, we muſt admit that King, Lords, and Commons, have no rule to direct their reſolutions, but merely their own will and pleaſure. They might unite the legiſlative and executive power in the ſame hands, and diſſolve the Conſtitution by an Act of Parliament. But I am perſuaded you will not leave it to the choice of ſeven hundred perſons, notoriouſly corrupted by the Crown, whether ſeven millions of their equals ſhall be Freemen or Slaves. The certainty of forfeiting their own rights, when they ſacrifice thoſe of the nation, is no check to a brutal, degenerate

vent the dangers which might ariſe from perſons diſaffected to government, by which an oath and penalty was to be impoſed upon the members of both houſes, it was affirmed in a proteſt ſigned by twenty-three lay Peers (my Lords the Biſhops were not accuſtomed to proteſt) "That the privilege of ſitting in parliament was an honour they "had by birth, and a right ſo inherent in them, and inſeperate from "them, *that nothing could take it away*, but what by the law of the "land, muſt withal take away their lives, and corrupt their "blood." Theſe noble Peers (whoſe names are a reproach to their poſterity) have in this inſtance, ſolemnly denied the power of Parliament to alter the conſtitution. Under a particular propoſition, they have aſſerted a general truth, in which every man in England is concerned.

generate mind. Without inſiſting on the extravagant conceſſion made to Harry the Eighth, there are inſtances in the hiſtory of other countries, of a formal, deliberate ſurrender of the public liberty into the hands of the Sovereign. If England does not ſhare the ſame fate, it is becauſe we have better reſources—than the virtue of either Houſe of Parliament.

I ſaid that the liberty of the Preſs is the *Palladium* of all your rights, and that the right of the Juries to return a general verdict is part of your Conſtitution. To preſerve the whole ſyſtem you muſt correct your Legiſlature. With regard to any influence of the conſtituent over the conduct of the repreſentative, there is little difference betwixt a ſeat in Parliament for ſeven years, and a ſeat for life. The proſpect of your reſentment is too remote; and although the laſt ſeſſion of a ſeptennial parliament be uſually employed in courting the favour of the people, conſider, that at this rate your repreſentatives have ſix years for offence, and but one for atonement. A death-bed repentance ſeldom reaches to reſtitution. If you reflect that in the changes of adminiſtration which have marked and diſgraced the preſent reign, although your warmeſt Patriots have in their turn been inveſted with the lawful and unlawful authority of the crown, and other reliefs and improvements have been held forth to the people, yet that no one man in office has ever promoted or encouraged a Bill for ſhortening the duration of Parliaments, but that (whoever was Miniſter) the oppoſition to this meaſure, ever ſince the ſeptennial act paſſed, has been conſtant and uniform on the part of Government. You cannot but conclude, without the poſſibility of a doubt, that long Parliaments are the foundation

tion of the undue influence of the Crown. This influence anſwers every purpoſe of abitrary power to the Crown, with an expence and oppreſſion to the people, which would be unneceſſary in an arbitrary Government.

The beſt of our Miniſters find it the eaſieſt and moſt compendious mode of conducting the King's affairs; and all Miniſters have a general intereſt in adhering to a ſyſtem, which of itſelf is ſufficient to ſupport them in office, without any aſſiſtance from perſonal virtue, popularity, labour, abilities, or experience. It promiſes every gratification to avarice and ambition, and ſecures impunity.——Theſe are truths unqueſtionable. If they make no impreſſion, it is becauſe they are too vulgar and notorious. But the inattention and indifference of the nation has continued too long. You muſt rouſe at laſt to a ſenſe of your danger. The remedy will ſoon be in your power.* If JUNIUS lives you ſhall often be reminded of it. If when the opportunity preſents itſelf, you neglect to do your duty to yourſelves, and to poſterity,—to God and to your Country, I ſhall have one conſolation left, in common with the meaneſt and baſeſt of mankind, Civil Liberty may ſtill laſt the life of

JUNIUS.

Whether the above nervous and elegant writer is really no more, and that his ſecret has periſhed with him, we cannot ſay; but we can and will ſay, that the Engliſh Nation is and will be under an eternal obligation to him, for the charming, patriotic Letters to which the above Dedication is prefixed. The contents of thoſe Letters

* Alluding to the then near approach of a General Election.

ters are so truly valuable (and yet, we are sorry to add, so little known) that we shall frequently introduce Extracts from them, in the future Numbers of our Work; and we flatter ourselves, that by so doing, we shall not only oblige our Readers, but also induce them to study the whole of these excellent Letters. We feelingly lament the want of such a writer in the present moment, but hope that the spirit of his writings will infuse itself into the hearts of numbers, and that at least what may be wanting in force, energy, and boldness of expression, will be abundantly compensated in zeal and ardour for the Public Good; so that what it has lost in the privation of the super-eminent talents of one writer, will in some measure be made up by the united efforts of many.

THE EDITORS.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

THE following instance of a Trial which lately took place in Dublin, is so truly interesting to the *Press*, and of course to the nation in general, that I send it to you as a glorious proof that a Jury of men has been found, whose good sense and independent spirit, were neither to be cajoled nor intimidated; and I have no doubt but the constitutional example they have set will be followed by every Jury in the three kingdoms.

THE printer of a public paper in Dublin, called the *Phœnix*, was prosecuted at the suit of a Rev. Divine, for having

having published in his paper of the 19th of May, 1790, a *false*, *scandalous*, and *seditious* Libel, reflecting injuriously on the character and conduct of the Prosecutor, and accusing him with having associated at a late election at *Kilmainham*, in the direction of a tumultuous mob, of having worn election ribbands in his hat and breast, and having uttered oaths and blasphemous expressions, unbecoming the character of a clergyman.

The counsel on behalf of the Defendant made several objections to the admission of evidences adduced for the prosecution, supported by eminent authorities. It was also objected, that comparing the attested copy of the indictment with that read in court, there appeared to be material interlineations of inuendos in the original, since the attested copy was obtained.

Objection was also made to the admissibility of the prosecutor's *own evidence*, as he did not produce the certificate of his ordination. And to the insufficiency of the indictment itself; first, as founding a criminal prosecution of a Libel, where not even an actual breach of the peace was alledged; and secondly, as not originally alledging, *before the interlineation*, any inuendo, stating that the prosecutor was the person meant under the name the paragraph alluded to. All these observations the court thought fit to over-rule, and the prosecutor, who was the only evidence examined on the facts stated in the indictment, having given his testimony to the prosecution, admitted, in his cross examination, *the truth* of all the circumstances above stated.

The evidence being closed, the learned Judge summed up the particulars, and gave charge to the Jury, who

retired; but not having agreed to their verdict before the other business of the court was closed for the day, the Judge called on them to know if their verdict was ready; one of the Jury came forward and said that they had not agreed to it. He was told by the learned Judge, that there could be no difficulty on the points for their consideration; but if they did not agree speedily he must go away, and leave them locked up till the morrow. The Jury shortly afterwards returned with a verdict of—"We find that the Defendant is printer and publisher; not guilty of any libel."

This verdict the learned Judge refused to accept, and said they must return a general verdict, on the general ground in the indictment, in which there was but one charge, and sent them back to the jury-room; where they remained locked up till next morning at nine o'clock, when the court opened, and they returned a general verdict of *Not Guilty*.

The learned Judge, who seemed to express some astonishment at this verdict, thanked God it was not his verdict, but that of the Jury. One of the Jury answered his Lordship, that they could not, consistent with their oaths or their consciences, return any other verdict. The indictment stated, that the alledged libel was *false*, but the prosecutor in his own evidence admitted it to be *true*. This of course justified the verdict in their minds. The learned Judge quoted the opinion of *Lord Mansfield*, which said, that the "*truth of a libel is an aggravation* "*of its guilt*", or in other words, that "a libel is the more a libel for being true." The Juror answered, my Lord, *we* cannot hold that opinion.

It

It is neceſſary to obſerve, that if the Jury had brought in the Defendant *Guilty*, it would have left him entirely at the mercy of the *Court*, who could have affixed what puniſhment they pleaſed, as claiming the authority of judging of the *malignity* of the libel; but the Jury, by their verdict of printing and publiſhing only, aſſerted their rights as *men*, and determined according to their conſcience and common ſenſe; they found the printing of the publication, which was unavoidable, but found it was no Libel.

The reſpectable characters who formed this Jury, well deſerve to be commemorated, as ſtrenuous aſſertors of the *Liberty of the Preſs*, the Liberty of the Subject, and the Rights of Juries.

I will in this place alſo take the liberty to add, not by way of reproach, but as a hint to Juries in general in this country, that in Ireland the Jurors have each a note book in his hand, and pen and ink, and that they take notes of all the *moſt ſtriking* and *material* points and matters of evidence given by the ſeveral witneſſes, which is not only a very great aſſiſtance to their memories when they retire to deliberate on their verdict, but is of this further and moſt important uſe—that I have many times heard them ſet the Judge right in ſumming up the evidence, in matters which he miſtook the witneſs in, from not exactly hearing the matter as the Jurors did, in which caſe the witneſs has been called again, and the point effectually and *clearly* ſettled by a re-examination. This is a circumſtance of the greateſt conſequence in all caſes, as well as that of Libel, and deſerving the moſt ſerious and attentive conſideration of every one who

who is liable to be called on as a Juror. The lives, the liberties, or the property of their fellow subjects, depend, in one case or other, upon their verdict. Where the witnesses are numerous, and contradictory, it is a gigantic burthen on the memory of the Jurors to carry it clearly in view, even with the assistance of the summing up of the learned Judge; whereas by taking notes themselves of all the *striking* and *material* parts of the evidence, they would have a more certain guide to apply to, on which they might depend. And let me advise them not to permit trifling objections to prevent their adopting this mode. They are acting on their oaths, and they have a right to satisfy themselves in every *material* particular; therefore let no Juryman fear to take up the examination of a witness in any stage of a trial, or even to call him again where he thinks he can, by asking a question himself, convince his own mind in any respect, or serve to throw a light upon the business. Jurors are sworn to determine according to the *evidence*; from their living in the neighbourhood, and frequently knowing the characters and views of both the Plaintiff and Defendant, as well as of one or more of the witnesses, any one Juryman thus circumstanced, may, by examining a witness in his own way, and from his private knowledge of circumstances, draw from him information which even the most extensive and brilliant talents of the lawyers could not do, for want of such particular knowledge as he is possessed of; and though he might inform his fellow Jurymen of any particular reason he might thus have within himself, they cannot legally take notice of it, because, though he is upon oath, he was not examined in open court, and thereby liable to a cross-examination of the party in the cause to be affected by this.

this.—Besides, it frequently happens that, though private knowledge may not amount to evidence either way, in *itself*, it might tend to draw the exact truth from those witnesses with whom it lies, but from whom it does not proceed for want of a proper question to draw it forth.

Should any one suggest that this would be taking up too much time of the court, I answer that such is a false and groundless idea. The very first and most essential requisite in both Judge and Jury is, "*meek eyed Patience*," and if the Court ever shews a disposition to proceed with celerity, it is in checking the frivolous and tedious delays occasioned by the examinations and cross examinations of lawyers, paid to puzzle and confound witnesses; not of the *honest*, *serious*, and *attentive* Jurors, "sworn to try the issue according to the evidence, and "a true verdict give on that alone, as they hope that "God will help them." I have seen many instances where a witness has been taken up by one or more of the Jury, after both the Court and Counsel had done with him, and matter of evidence drawn from him by the Jury which had never come out before, and which entirely decided the fate of the cause. And a very natural as well as substantial reason is to be given for it. Men in the situation of life in which the *generality* of witnesses are, are apt to view the *Court* with such a degree of awe and reverence, that they answer with fear and trembling; the *lawyers* they know to be hired for the very *purpose* of confusing them, and that purpose, pernicious as it is, and disgraceful to the very name of Courts of Justice, is, alas! but too frequently successful against all the honesty and fortitude of diffident, uneducated man: when asked a question by a Juror he feels himself

himself at his ease—he considers him as his equal—he knows he has no intention to entrap and ensnare him by what he asks—h's recollection, from being confused and bewildered (by the badgering of perhaps impertinent puppyism, or what is still more to be lamented, prostituted talents of the first magnitude) becomes serene and clear, and truth imperceptibly flows from his lips, which had before been almost bursting the casement of his honest indignant bosom, without effect, to make its way. These are melancholy truths, well worthy attention and consideration, and any Juror, or other person, who at present doubts the existence of them, may easily be satisfied on that head in the course of the first two trials he is obliged to attend.

I am afraid to continue the subject longer at present, lest I should take up too much of your work, which in its title promises to be so valuable. I would not have trespassed so far, but I consider the Liberty of the Press and the Trial by Jury, as the grand bulwarks of what is left of the Constitution, and that I hope will plead my excuse. If I find by your insertion of this that you deem my correspondence of any avail, and deserving your attention, I shall very soon entreat the honour of again subscribing myself,

Gentlemen,

Your and the public's servant,

ALGERNON SYDNEY.

OF THE

ORIGIN OF GOVERNMENT

IN GENERAL.

SOME writers have so confounded Society with Government, as to leave little or no distinction between them; whereas they are not only different, but have different origins. Society is produced by our wants, and Government by our wickedness; the former promotes our happiness positively, by uniting our affections; the latter, negatively, by restraining our vices. The one encourages intercourse, the other creates distinctions.

Society, in every state, is a blessing—but Government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state, an intolerable one: for, when we suffer or are exposed to the same miseries *by a Government*, which we might expect in a country *without Government*, our calamity is heightened, by reflecting that we furnish the means by which we suffer. Government, like dress, is the badge of lost innocence; the palaces of kings are built on the ruins of the bowers of Paradise. For were the impulses of conscience clear, uniform, and irresistibly obeyed, Man would need no other law-giver; but that not being the case, he finds it necessary to render up part of his property to furnish means for the protection of the rest;

reſt; and this he is induced to do by the ſame prudence which in every other caſe adviſes him out of two evils to chuſe the leaſt. Wherefore, ſecurity being the true deſign and end of Government, it unanſwerably follows, that whatever form thereof appears moſt likely to inſure it to us with the leaſt expence and greateſt benefit, is preferable to all others.

In order to gain a clear and juſt idea of the deſign and end of Government, let us ſuppoſe a ſmall number of perſons ſettled in ſome ſequeſtered part of the earth, unconnected with the reſt: they will then repreſent the firſt peopling of any country, or of the world. In this ſtate of natural liberty, *Society* will be their firſt thought. A thouſand motives will excite them thereto; the ſtrength of one man is ſo unequal to his wants, and his mind ſo unfitted for perſonal ſolitude, that he is ſoon obliged to ſeek aſſiſtance and relief of another, who in his turn requires the ſame. Four or five united would be able to raiſe a tolerable dwelling in the midſt of a wilderneſs; but one man might labour out the common period of life without accompliſhing any thing. When he had felled his timber he could not remove it, nor erect it after it was removed; hunger in the mean time would urge him from his work, and every different want call him a different way. Diſeaſes, nay even misfortune, would be death; for though neither might be mortal, yet either would diſable him from living, and reduce him to a ſtate in which he might rather be ſaid to periſh than to die.

Thus Neceſſity, like a gravitating power, would ſoon form our newly arrived emigrants into *Society*; but Society conſiſts of different ſtages, and each of theſe ſtages gives

gives rise to particular notions and institutions; and as men in Society always advance through the stages in the order hereafter enumerated, the ideas and habits that had become familiar in the one state, continue to form the basis, and have a great influence on those of the succeeding period. It is necessary for us, therefore, if we wish to have a just notion of the political institutions that now prevail, to enquire into their progress from their commencement to the present period.

In the progress of Society, from rudeness to refinement, there are three stages that are distinctly marked. In the first, men subsist upon the spontaneous productions of the earth, and the wild animals they can destroy. Men in this state of society are called HUNTERS.

Man gradually acquires a dominion over some of the most gentle animals, tames them, and feeds them for his own use. He lives upon the milk of his flocks, clothes himself with their skins, and eats their flesh when other provisions fail. This state of Society is called the PASTORAL.

In time, however, they learn to cultivate the fruits of the earth, and to make these subservient to their own use, both immediately by furnishing food to themselves, and mediately by affording meat to beasts fit for the sustenance of man. This state of Society has been denominated the AGRICULTURAL.—Of these in their order. And first of

HUNTERS.

While men continue to be Hunters only, their Civil Government will be of the rudest kind; and of course every head of a family will be then in a great measure

 inde-

independent. Yet even in this first stage, that trucking disposition displays itself, which so astonishingly expands afterwards in trade and commerce, in the more polished and mature periods of Society, but which thus originally gives occasion to the division of labour.

In a tribe of Hunters, for instance, a particular person makes bows and arrows with more readiness and dexterity than any other. He frequently exchanges them for cattle, or for venison, with his companions; and he finds at last, that he can in this manner get more cattle and venison, than if he himself went to the field to catch them. From a regard to his own interest, therefore, the making of bows and arrows grows to be his chief business, and he becomes a sort of Armourer. Another excels in making the frames and covers of their little huts, or moveable houses. He is accustomed to be of use in this way to his neighbours, who reward him in the same manner with cattle and with venison, till at last he finds it his interest to dedicate himself entirely to this employment, and to become a sort of House-Carpenter. In the same manner, a third becomes a Smith, or a Brazier; a fourth a Tanner, or dresser of hides or skins, the principal part of the cloathing of savages. And thus the certainty of being able to exchange all that surplus part of the produce of his own labour, which is over and above his own consumption, for such parts of the produce of other men's labour as he may have occasion for, encourages every man, even in this early state, to cultivate and bring to perfection, whatever talent or genius he may possess for that particular purpose.

Assemblies of the People however must be called, to deliberate on national affairs, and to provide for the common defence of the whole tribe, when danger threatens them.

them. In these assemblies, Age will obtain a voluntary respect; and personal prowess and daring intrepidity will be admired, as constituting superior excellence. In this state of Society, the idea of *Country* strongly prevails.—In cases of danger, they find it necessary to associate for mutual defence. Extent of territory, is to men in these circumstances, extremely necessary. An idea of property in territorial possession, therefore, takes its origin here. But this idea of territory is only connected with the Nation, or Tribe. As no individual could make use of a small spot for his own wants, he is satisfied if the hunting grounds he values most belong to his Tribe; he has no wish to annex any part of it to his own person:—therefore, in this state of Society, the idea of *personal property in land*, has not yet originated, and of course, all the intricacies of Civil Government, which this engenders, and the disputes these give rise to, are entirely obviated.

THE PASTORAL STATE.

As men come gradually to tame animals, and pass into the state of Pastors, the notion they had already imbibed, with regard to territorial (or landed) property, begins to operate, but new institutions become necessary. It is enough that the territory belongs to the Tribe. In this case it becomes necessary, when they stop from any migratory journey, in quest of pastures, by some conventual agreement, to distribute the land to individuals, in such lots as may be found necessary to preserve peace and order among them. Here, every man acquires by degrees, a notion of personal property in land; but in this case, his connection with land is very slight; he considers it as his property only so long as till the crop upon it, at the present time, be consumed. After that is done, he-

he relinquiſhes it, and goes in queſt of freſh paſtures elſewhere, within the territories of the State. In this ſituation, therefore, the idea that land is entirely the property of the State ſtill prevails; but individuals conſider themſelves as entitled to make uſe of its produce excluſively for a time.

AGRICULTURISTS.

In temperate climates, where the ſurface of the country is diverſified with hill and vale, and where fruits in abundance for man, and herbage for cattle, are to be found at all ſeaſons, we can eaſily conceive an idea that communities continue to exiſt, for many ages, in this migratory, or wandering ſtate, without ever acquiring any idea of perſonal property in land. But in leſs temperate climates that cannot be the caſe. There, the fruits which nature ſpontaneouſly produces, are leſs abundant, and are to be found only at one ſeaſon of the year. The herbage for cattle alſo fails entirely for a time, and the rigour of the winter's cold is ſuch, as to render the poor protection of a tent inadequate for affording the ſhelter required. To guard againſt this cold, and to provide places for ſtoring up ſuch fruits for himſelf, and provender for his cattle, as he can collect during the ſummer, more ſolid and permanent habitations become neceſſary for man. He builds himſelf (or cauſes to be built for him) a hut, and covers it in the moſt durable and effectual manner he can. This he effects with no little labour to himſelf; and having once reared, he becomes unwilling to abandon it. He conſiders this, therefore, as his own, and thus gradually begins to acquire ſome ſlight notions of fixed perſonal property in land.

When

When he has thus attached himself to a place of fixed residence, he will endeavour to render it as commodious to himself as possible. He finds some plants afford him a more agreeable repast than others; he tries to cultivate them by art; to prevent these plants from being destroyed by cattle, the ground must be inclosed. Within this inclosure he finds he can cultivate grain, which may be stored up for his own use, and that of his cattle, in winter. He therefore acquires as great a fondness for this piece of inclosed land as for his house. "This is mine "(he says) and I will preserve it." The idea accords with the general sense of men; the community pronounce it reasonable, and decree, by a tacit consent, that it *shall* be his, and in the use of it, he is protected by universal custom, which gradually forms the basis of law. Of this kind of territorial property we find mention made by Tacitus, and all the earliest Roman historians, who have treated of Germany, under the name of *The Field of the House*. Here, too, we have the origin of that kind of landed property which was afterwards known by the name of *Allodial*, in contradistinction to those feudal tenures which came into use at a later period of society in Europe. This kind of *allodial property*, to which the owner claims no other title than that of possession, acquired by transfer from another, or descent, is known till this day in the Shetland Isles, that lie off the N. E. coast of Scotland, under the name of *Udal property*—a kind of tenure that probably once prevailed over all Scotland, though the name of it be now lost in our law books.

Having thus traced the origin of Society in *general*, we shall, in our future Numbers, endeavour to trace it in the people of this country, in *particular*, from the earliest period, to the Norman conquest, and from thence,

take a view of the origin and progress of feudal tenures in Europe, but in this kingdom particularly, in order to form a proper idea of the *British Constitution*.

THE EDITORS.

ON CIVIL LIBERTY.

Of the Nature of Civil Liberty in general.

IN order to obtain a more distinct and accurate view of the nature of Liberty, as such, it will be useful to consider it under the four following general divisions.

First, PHYSICAL LIBERTY.—Secondly, MORAL LIBERTY.—Thirdly, RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.—And fourthly, CIVIL LIBERTY. And I have placed Civil Liberty last, because I mean to apply to it all I shall say of the other kinds of Liberty.

By PHYSICAL LIBERTY, I mean that *spontaneity*, or *self-determination*, which constitutes us agents; or which gives us a command over our actions, rendering them properly ours, and not effects of the operation of any foreign cause.—MORAL LIBERTY, is the power of following, in all circumstances, our sense of right and wrong; or of acting in conformity to our reflecting and moral principles, without being controlled by any contrary

trary principles.—RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, signifies the power of exercising, without molestation, that mode of Religion which we think best; or of making the decisions of our own consciences, respecting religious truth, the rule of our conduct, and not any of the decisions of others.—In like manner, CIVIL LIBERTY, is the power of a *Civil Society*, or *State*, to govern itself by its own discretion, or by laws of its own making, without being subject to any foreign discretion, or to the impositions of any extraneous will or power.

It should be observed, that according to these definitions of the different kinds of Liberty, there is one general idea that runs through them all; I mean the idea of *self-direction*, or *self-government*.

Did our volitions (our wills) originate not with *ourselves*, but with some cause over which we have no power; or were we under a necessity of always following some will different from our own, we should want Physical Liberty.

In like manner, he whose perceptions of moral obligations are controlled by his passions, has lost his Moral Liberty; and the most common language applied to him is, that he wants *self-government*.

He likewise who, in Religion, cannot govern himself by his convictions of religious duty, but is obliged to receive formularies of faith, and to practice modes of worship imposed upon him by others, wants *Religious Liberty*.—And the community also that is governed not by itself, but by some will independent of it, and over which it has no control, wants *Civil Liberty*.

It

In all these cases, there is a force which stands opposed to the agent's own will, and which, as far as it operates, produces *servitude*. In the first place, this force is incompatible with the very idea of voluntary motion; and the subject of it is a mere passive instrument which never *acts*, but is always *acted upon*. In the second case, this force is the influence of passion getting the better of reason; or the *Brute* overpowering and conquering the will of the *Man*. In the third case, it is *human authority* in religion, requiring conformity to particular modes of faith and worship, and superseding *private judgment*.—And in the last case, it is any will distinct from that of the majority of a community, which claims a power of making laws for it, and disposing of its property.

This it is, I think, that marks the limit, or that lays the line between *Liberty* and *Slavery*. As far as, in any instance, the operation of any cause comes in to restrain the power of self-government, so far Slavery is introduced: nor do I think that a more precise idea than this, of Liberty and Slavery, can be formed.

I cannot help wishing I could here fix my reader's attention, and engage him to consider carefully the dignity of that blessing to which we give the name of Liberty, according to the representation now made of it. There is not a word in the whole compass of language which expresses so much of what is important and excellent. It is, in every view of it, a blessing truly sacred and invaluable.—Without *Physical Liberty*, man would be a machine, acted upon by mechanical springs, having no principle of motion in himself, or command over events; and therefore, incapable of all merit and demerit. Without *Moral Liberty* he is a wicked and detestable

deteſtable being, ſubject to the tyranny of baſe luſts, and the ſport of every vile appetite.—And without *Religious* and *Civil Liberty*, he is a poor and abject animal, without rights, without property, and without a conſcience, bending his neck to the yoke, and crouching to the will of every ſilly creature who has the inſolence to pretend to authority over him. Nothing therefore, can be of ſo much conſequence to us as *Liberty*. It is the foundation of all honour, and the chief privilege and glory of our natures.

In fixing our ideas on the ſubject of Liberty, it is of particular uſe to take ſuch an enlarged view of it as I have now given. But the immediate object of preſent enquiry being *Civil Liberty*, I will confine to it all the ſubſequent obſervations.

SECTION II.

Of Civil Liberty, and the Principles of Government.

From what has been ſaid, it is obvious, that all Civil Government, as far as it can be denominated *free*, is the creature of the people. It originates with them. It is conducted under their direction; and has in view nothing but their happineſs. All its different forms are no more than ſo many different modes in which they chuſe to direct their affairs, and to ſecure the quiet enjoyment of their rights. In every free ſtate, every man is his own *Legiſlator*.

All *Taxes* are free gifts for public services. All *Laws* are particular provisions or regulations established by COMMON CONSENT, for gaining protection and safety. And all magistrates are deputies for carrying these regulations into execution.

Liberty, therefore, is too imperfectly defined, when it is said to be "a government by LAWS and not by MEN." If laws are made by one man, or a junto of men in a state, and not by *common consent*, a government by them does not differ from slavery. In this case, it would be a contradiction in terms to say that the state governs itself.

From hence it is obvious, that *Civil Liberty*, in its most perfect degree, can be enjoyed only in small states, where every member is capable of giving his suffrage in person, and of being chosen into public offices. When a state becomes so numerous, or when the different parts of it are removed to such distances from one another as to render this impracticable, a diminution of Liberty necessarily arises. There are, however, in these circumstances, methods by which such near approaches may be made to perfect liberty, as shall answer all the purposes of government, and at the same time secure every right of human nature.

Though all the members of a state should not be capable of giving their suffrages on public measures, *individually* and *personally*, they may do this by the appointment of *substitutes* or *representatives*. They may entrust the powers of legislation, subject to such restrictions as they shall think necessary, with any number of *delegates*; and whatever can be done by such delegates, within the limit

limits of their truſts, may be conſidered as done by the united voice and counſel of the community. In this method a free government may be eſtabliſhed in the largeſt ſtate; and it is conceivable that by regulations of this kind, any number of ſtates may be ſubjected to a ſcheme of government that would exclude the deſolations of war, and produce univerſal peace and order.

Let us think here of what may be practicable in this way, with reſpect to Europe in particular. While it continues divided as it does at preſent, into a great number of independent kingdoms, whoſe intereſts are continually claſhing, it is impoſſible but that diſputes will often ariſe, which muſt end in war and carnage. It would be no remedy to this evil to make one of theſe ſtates ſupreme over the reſt, and to give it an abſolute plenitude of power to ſuperintend and control them. This would be to ſubject all the States to the arbitrary diſcretion of one, and to eſtabliſh an ignominious Slavery not poſſible to be long endured. It would therefore be a remedy worſe than the diſeaſe; nor is it poſſible it ſhould be approved by any mind that has not loſt every idea of Civil Liberty. On the contrary. Let every State, with reſpect to all its internal concerns, be continued independent of all the reſt; and let a general confederacy be formed by the appointment of a SENATE, conſiſting of Repreſentatives from all the different States. Let this SENATE poſſeſs the power of managing all the *common* concerns of the united States, and of judging and deciding between them, as a common *Arbiter*, or *Umpire*, in all diſputes; having, at the ſame time, under its direction, the common force of the States, to ſupport its deciſions. In theſe circumſtances, each ſeparate State would be ſecure againſt the interference of foreign power in its private concerns, and therefore would poſſeſs Liberty;

and

and at the ſame time it would be ſecure againſt all oppreſſion and inſult from every neighbouring State Thus might the ſcattered force and abilities of a whole Continent be gathered into one point; all litigations ſettled as they roſe, univerſal peace preſerved, and nation prevented *from any more lifting up ſword againſt nation.**

(To be continued.)

* We have heard the above reaſoning as to the ſtates of Europe, treated by ſome ſceptical modern politicians, as wild and viſionary, but we cannot forget, that ſuch a plan was ſuggeſted and ſubmitted to the conſideration of the miniſtry of our queen Elizabeth, of glorious memory, by that greateſt and beſt of kings and men—Henry the 4th, well ſirnamed Henry the GREAT of France, and his Prime Miniſter the *Duke de Sully*; and it is generally believed by the moſt enlightened politicians of thoſe days, that it would have taken effect, but for the death of that great monarch, ſo unfortunately hurried out of life by the hands of an aſſaſſin. The more modern adviſers of the kings of both nations, have experienced too great an advantage from the trade of war and blood, which would thereby be annihilated, ever to have reſumed it.—*The Editors.*

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Editors confeſs themſelves under many and great obligations to thoſe gentlemen who have kindly offered hints and obſervations towards the perfecting this work, and take this method of generally thanking them for their kind intentions. They will ſeverally find that the different regulations and diſpoſitions they have ſuggeſted, will be attended to as much as poſſible in the courſe of this publication.

Algernon Sydney and *Ruſſell* will find their favours on all occaſions particularly attended to.

Hampden, Ruſſel, and *One of the People* to Mr. Jenkinſon, on the Ruſſian Armament, will appear (if poſſible) in our next.

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday, April 17, 1792.

ON CIVIL LIBERTY.

(Continued.)

I Have obſerved, that tho' in a great State, all the individuals that compoſe it cannot be admitted to an immediate participation in the powers of Legiſlation and Government, yet they may participate in theſe powers by a delegation of them to a body of Repreſentatives.—In this caſe, it is evident that the State will be ſtill *free* and *ſelf-governed*; and that it will be more or leſs ſo in proportion as it is more or leſs fairly and adequately repreſented. If the perſons to whom the truſt of Government is committed hold their places for ſhort terms: if they are choſen by the unbiaſſed voices of a Majority of the State, and ſubject to their inſtructions; Liberty will be enjoyed in its higheſt degree. But if they are choſen for long terms, by a part only of the State, and if during that term they are under no control from their conſtituents, the very idea of Liberty will be loſt, and the power of chuſing Repreſentatives becomes nothing but a power, lodged in a *few*, to chuſe at certain periods a body of *maſters*, for themſelves and the reſt of the community. And if a State is ſo ſunk, that a majority of its Repreſentatives are elected by a handful of the mean-

eſt perſons in it,* whoſe votes are always paid for; and if alſo, there is a higher will, in which even theſe mock-repreſentatives themſelves depend, and that directs their voices: In theſe circumſtances, it will be an abuſe of language to ſay that the State poſſeſſes Liberty. Private men, indeed, might be allowed the exerciſe of Liberty; as they might alſo under the moſt deſpotic Government; but it would be an indulgence, or connivance, derived from the ſpirit of the Times, or from an accidental mildneſs in the adminiſtration. And, rather than be governed in ſuch a manner, it would perhaps be better to be governed by the will of one man, without any Repreſentation: For a Repreſentation ſo degenerated, could anſwer no other end than to miſlead and deceive, by diſguiſing ſlavery, and keeping up a *form* of Liberty, when the *reality* was loſt.

Within the limits now mentioned, Liberty may be enjoyed in every poſſible degree; from that which is complete and perfect, to that which is merely nominal; according as the People have more or leſs of a ſhare in Government, and of a controlling power over the perſons by whom it is adminiſtered.

In general, to be *free*, is to be guided by one's own will; and to be guided by the will of *another*, is the characteriſtic of *ſervitude*. This is particularly applicable to Political Liberty. That State I have obſerved is *free*, which is guided by its own will, or (which comes to the ſame) by the will of an aſſembly of Repreſentatives

* In Great Britain, conſiſting of near *ſix* millions of inhabitants, 5723 perſons, moſt of them the loweſt of the people, elect one half of the *Houſe of Commons*; and 364 votes chuſe a ninth part. This may be ſeen diſtinctly made out in *Political Diſquiſitions*, Vol. 1, book 2, c. 4.——*Editors.*

tives appointed by itself, and accountable to itself. And every State that is not so governed; or in which a body of men, representing the People, make not an essential part of the Legislature, is in *slavery*.

In order to form the most perfect Constitution of Government, there may be the best reasons for joining to such a body of Representatives, an *Hereditary Council*, consisting of men of the first rank in the State, with a *supreme executive Magistrate*, at the head of all. This will form useful checks in a Legislature, and contribute to give it vigour, union and dispatch, without infringing Liberty; for as long as that part of a Government which represents the People is a *fair Representation*, and has also a negative on all public measures, together with the sole power of imposing taxes, and originating supplies, the essentials of Liberty will be preserved. We make it our boast in this country, that this is our own Constitution. I will not say with how much reason.

Of such Liberty as I have now described, it is impossible that there should be an excess. Government is an institution for the benefit of the People governed, which they have power to model as they please; and to say that they can have too much power, is to say, that there ought to be a power in the State, superior to that which gives it being, and from which all jurisdiction in it is derived.—Licentiousness, which has been commonly mentioned as an extreme of Liberty, is indeed its opposite. It is Government by the will of rapacious individuals, in opposition to the will of the community, made known and declared in the laws. A free State, at the same time that it is free itself, makes all its members free, by excluding Licentiousness, and guarding their persons, property

perty and good name, againſt inſult. It is the end of all juſt Government, at the ſame time that it ſecures the liberty of the public againſt *foreign* injury, to ſecure the liberty of the individual againſt *private* injury. I do not, therefore, think it ſtrictly juſt to ſay, that it belongs to the nature of Government to entrench on private Liberty. It ought never to do this, except as far as the exercise of private Liberty encroaches on the Liberties of others:—that is, it is Licentiouſneſs it reſtrains, and Liberty itſelf only, when uſed to deſtroy Liberty.

It appears from hence, that Licentiouſneſs and Deſpotiſm are more nearly allied than is commonly imagined. They are both alike inconſiſtent with Liberty, and the true end of Government; nor is there any other difference between them, than that the one is the licentiouſneſs of *great* men, and the other the licentiouſneſs of *little* men; or that by the one, the perſons and property of a people are ſubject to outrage and invaſion, by a King, or a lawleſs body of *Grandees*; and that by the other, they are ſubject to the like outrage from a *lawleſs mob*. In avoiding one of theſe evils, mankind have often run into the other. "*Incidunt in Scyllam, cupiens evitare* "*Charybdim.*" "They have run upon Scylla, in ſtriv- "to avoid Charybdis." But all well conſtituted Governments guard equally againſt both. Indeed, of the two, the laſt is on ſeveral accounts the leaſt to be dreaded, and has done the leaſt miſchief. It may be truly ſaid, that if Licentiouſneſs has deſtroyed its thouſands, Deſpotiſm has deſtroyed its millions. The former, having little power, and no ſyſtem to ſupport it, neceſſarily finds its own remedy; and a people ſoon get out of the tumult and anarchy attending it. But a Deſpotiſm, wearing the form

form of a Government, and being armed with its force, is an evil not to be conquered without dreadful ſtruggles. It goes from age to age, debaſing the human faculties, levelling all diſtinctions, and preying on the rights and bleſſings of Society. It deſerves to be added, that in a State diſturbed by Licentiouſneſs, there is an animation which is favourable to the human mind, and which puts it upon exerting its powers. But in a State habituated to Deſpotiſm, all is ſtill and torpid. A dark and ſavage tyranny ſtifles every effort of Genius, and the mind loſes all its ſpirit and dignity.

I muſt here obſerve, that the account now given of the principles of public Liberty, and the nature of an equal and free Government, ſhews what judgment we ſhould form of that OMNIPOTENCE, which it has been ſaid muſt belong to every Government as ſuch. Great ſtreſs has been laid on this, but moſt unreaſonably. Government, as has been before obſerved, is in the very nature of it a TRUST; and all its powers a Delegation for gaining particular ends. This *Truſt* may be miſapplied and abuſed. It may be employed to defeat the very ends for which it was inſtituted, and to ſubvert the very rights which it ought to protect. A Parliament, for inſtance, conſiſting of a body of Repreſentatives, choſen for a limitted period, to make laws and grant money for public ſervices, would forfeit its authority by making itſelf perpetual, or even prolonging its own duration; by nominating its own members; by accepting bribes; or ſubjecting it to any kind of foreign influence. This would convert a Parliament, into a *Conclave*, or *Junto* of ſelf-created Tools; and a State that has loſt its regard to its own Rights, ſo far as to ſubmit to ſuch a breach of

truſt in its rulers, is enſlaved. Nothing, therefore, can be more abſurd than the doctrine which ſome have taught with reſpect to the Omnipotence of Parliaments. They poſſeſs no power beyond the limits of the Truſt for the execution of which they were formed. If they contradict this Truſt, they betray their conſtituents, and diſſolve themſelves. All delegated power muſt be ſubordinate and limited. If Omnipotence can, with any ſenſe, be aſcribed to a Legiſlature, it muſt be lodged where all legiſlative authority originates; that is, in the PEOPLE.—For *their* ſakes, Government is inſtituted, and theirs is the only real Omnipotence.

I am ſenſible that all I have been ſaying would be very abſurd, were the opinions juſt which ſome have maintained concerning the origin of Governments. According to theſe opinions, Government is not the creature of the People, or the reſult of a convention between them and their rulers; but there are certain men who poſſeſs in themſelves, independently of the will of the People, a right of governing them, which they derive from the Deity. This doctrine has been abundantly, and indiſputably refuted by many excellent writers.* It is a doctrine which avowedly ſubverts Civil Liberty, and which repreſents mankind as a body of vaſſals, formed to deſcend like cattle, from one ſet of owners to another, who have an abſolute dominion over them. It is a wonder that thoſe who view their ſpecies in a light ſo humiliating, ſhould ever be able to think of themſelves without regret and ſhame. The intention of theſe obſervations, is not to oppoſe ſuch ſentiments; but taking for granted the reaſonableneſs of Civil Liberty, to ſhew wherein it conſiſts, and what diſtinguiſhes it from its contrary.—

And

* See, among others, Mr. Locke on government.

And in considering this subject as it has been now treated, it is unavoidable to reflect on the excellence of a free Government, and its tendency to exalt the nature of man. Every member of a free State having his property secure, and knowing himself his own Governor, possesses a consciousness of dignity in himself, and feels incitements to emulation and improvement, to which the miserable slaves of Arbitrary Power must be utter strangers. In such a State, all the springs of action have room to operate, and the mind is stimulated to the noblest exertions.—But to be obliged from our birth to look up to a creature no better than ourselves, as the master of our fortunes, and to receive his will as our law—What can be more humiliating?—Agreeably to this remark, the subjects in free States have in all ages been most distinguished for Genius and Knowledge. Liberty is the soil where the arts and sciences have flourished; and the more free a State has been, the more have the powers of the human mind been drawn forth into action, and the greater number of brave men has it produced. With what lustre do the ancient free States of *Greece* shine in the annals of the world? How different is that country now under the *Great Turk?* The difference between a country inhabited by men, and by brutes, is not greater.

These are Reflections which should be constantly present to every mind in this country. As *moral* Liberty is the prime blessing of man in his *private* capacity, so is *civil* Liberty, in his *public* capacity. There is nothing that requires more to be *watched* than Power. There is nothing that ought to be opposed with a more determined resolution than its encroachments. Sleep in a State, as MONTESQUIEU says, is always followed by Slavery.

The

The People of this Kingdom were once warmed by such sentiments as these. Many a sycophant of power have they sacrificed. Often have they fought and bled in the cause of Liberty. But that time seems to be going. The fair inheritance of Liberty left us by our ancestors, many of us are not unwilling to resign. An abandoned venality, the inseparable companion of dissipation and extravagance, has poisoned the springs of public virtue among us. And should any events ever arise that should render the same oppposition necessary that took place in the reign of *Charles* the first, and *James* the second, I am afraid all that is valuable to us would be lost.* The terror of the standing army, the danger of the public funds, and the all corrupting influence of the treasury, would deaden all zeal, and produce general acquiescence and servility.

TO

* "*Nil desperandum*"—"Despair of nothing"—is a maxim worthy of a *Roman* and a *British* spirit. We by no means entertain the same desponding opinion of our countrymen with the author of the above ingenious and spirited essay. We feel ourselves desirous of looking on the bright side of the prospect as long as we can, and we have no doubt but in the hour of trial, Englishmen of the present day will be found no dishonourable descendants of those who have so gloriously preceded them. We feel no terror from a "standing army". Recent experience in countries not nearly so free as our own, clearly evince that these bodies of "*armed men*" now consider themselves only as "*armed citizens*", armed for the purpose of defending their country against the attacks of foreign enemies;—not ready as heretofore to pour the deadly discharge into the breasts of their dearest brethren. But even supposing the worst that *can* happen, we still are willing to believe that, "in spite of public funds, a standing army, and even the all corrupting influence of the Treasury", *Britons* never will be *slaves*.——*The Editors.*

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

I Thank you for the pleaſure and information you have afforded me, by the firſt number of your periodical work, and wiſh you all poſſible ſucceſs in your future progreſs. A publication of this kind has been long wanted, in which the principles of our excellent Conſtitution might be traced out and explained, for the information of that numerous claſs of our countrymen, whoſe ſituations in life prevent them from acquiring this important branch of knowledge by any other means. It will alſo prove a good receptacle for many valuable Eſſays, which are at preſent in the hands of their reſpective writers, and for a great variety of intereſting Extracts from books, now but little read or known by the public. All you have to do, is to keep that "ſafe middle courſe," which you have ſet out upon; to abide by the principles of candour and liberality, and to *attach* yourſelves only to Conſtitutional Liberty, and the natural Rights of Mankind. By purſuing this generous plan, you will evince yourſelves to be the friends to Liberty, and your Country; you will ſecure the countenance and approbation of the worthy and the wiſe; and if you have any enemies, they will only be the ſuperſtitious bigots, or the abject tools of Deſpotic Power.

Having

Having thus ventured to ſuggeſt a few hints for your attention, which I hope you will accept in good part, allow me to requeſt that you will afford room for the following Sketches of the character of a *true* PATRIOT, as drawn by an amiable and truly good man, lately deceaſed: By ſo doing, you will oblige your well-wiſher,

Leeds, April, 1792. MILTON.

MY deſign, at preſent, is to ſet before you the chief outlines of the characters of thoſe righteous men, or *Patriots*, who are a bleſſing to their country. And here I would obſerve, that they love their country, and are zealous for its rights. They obey the laws of the Government which protects them, contribute willingly to its ſupport, and are ſolicitous, while they "render to "God the things which are God's, to render alſo to Cæ-"ſar the things which are Cæſar's." They are therefore *loyal* ſubjects: that is, they do all they can to promote the good order of the ſtate,* by complying with its laws,

* This truth cannot be too ſtrongly inculcated and recommended to the notice of thoſe perſons who are formed (or are about to form themſelves) into Societies for Conſtitutional Information. The eyes of the public are upon them; they will be watched by true Patriots, with anxiety mingled with hopes, and by the Enemies of all Reformation, with jealouſy, and a ſpirit of revenge. Let them, therefore, be very circumſpect and prudent in all their proceedings, leſt they injure the good cauſe they profeſs to ſerve, and thereby ſtrengthen the hands of their opponents. Let them be very cautious whom they admit as members of their Societies, and exclude all ſuſpicious characters; all perſons whatſoever who do not give the moſt ſatisfactory proofs of their pacific deſigns, and zeal for the true principles of our Conſtitution.

aws, and bearing a conſtant and inviolable allegiance to t. This alone is genuine loyalty; and not any attachment to the *perſons* of princes, ariſing from a notion of heir ſacredneſs.

The Patriot, therefore, whoſe character I am deſcribing, at the ſame time that he is *loyal*, can have no belief n the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance. His duty obliges him to enquire into his Rights, and to e jealous of them; to attend to the manner in which he truſt of Government is diſcharged; and to do his art towards keeping the ſprings of legiſlation pure, and hecking the progreſs of oppreſſion. Thus only can he rove himſelf a worthy and uſeful citizen. It is a great niſtake, to think that private men have nothing to do with the adminiſtration of public affairs; that there are *ſyſteries* in Government of which they are not judges, nd that inſtead of complaining, it is their duty always o yield and follow. This is the ſame with ſaying, that n every community the body of the people are only *a erd of cattle*, made to be led and diſpoſed of as their wners pleaſe. But away with ſuch degrading ſentiments s theſe. Let us remember that we are *men*, and not cattle. It would be a diſgrace to *virtue*, to ſuppoſe it requires an acquieſcence in ſuch inſolent claims; or that it s part of the character of a good citizen, that he is ready o crouch to every tyrant, and never exerciſes his own judgment, or ſhews any ſenſe of his own dignity as a rational creature.

A virtuous man, then, we ſee, muſt be a firm and determined PATRIOT. Power cannot awe him! Money cannot bribe him! He ſcruples no labour or expence in ſupporting any neceſſary meaſures of Government; but at the ſame time he will reſiſt any oppreſſive, illegal mea-

measures. If he is an Elector, he is sure to give an uninfluenced, and honest vote. If he is a Magistrate, he is strictly just and impartial, "*a terror to evil doers, and a* "*praise to all who do well.*" If he is a Senator, he is uncorrupt and faithful. In every station he studies to promote the peace and prosperity of his country.

Such is a PATRIOT in his *public capacity*, or as a member of a State. View him in his *private capacity*, and he will be found in the constant practice of every private and social virtue. He is industrious in his calling, upright in his dealings, and true to his engagements. He is a good husband, a good parent, a good neighbour, and a good friend, as well as a good citizen. Within the circle of his family and acquaintance, he maintains the same regard to equity and liberty, that he does in the more extended circle of his fellow-subjects and fellow-men. He renders to all their due, "*honour to whom honour, custom* "*to whom custom*," and always behaves to others, as he wishes that others should behave to him. He is charitable and generous, as far as his abilities reach; but avoids all parade and ostentation, and fixes his expences below his income, that he may enjoy such a happy independency as will place him above the reach of temptation. In every commercial transaction his integrity may be depended upon. In the execution of every trust, he is exact and faithful. He shuns all the excesses of pleasure and voluptuousness; never suffers his passions to carry him beyond the bounds of chastity and temperance; and within the inclosure of his own breast, where only ONE EYE observes him, he is as just, fair, candid, and virtuous, as he appears to be on the open stage of the world.

A Patriot also is conscientious and diligent in the discharge of all the duties of RELIGION. This is the crown-

crowning, finiſhing part of his character. It is Religion which gives dignity and efficacy to all our moral and public principles; nor is it poſſible there ſhould be a conſiſtent character of virtue without it. A virtuous man, therefore, muſt be a *religious man*. He worſhips God in private, in his family, and in public. He is governed in his whole conduct by a regard to the Deity: looks to him in all that happens; and joins conſtantly with his fellow creatures in thoſe ſocial exerciſes of piety, which are the proper expreſſions of the homage and fealty, which he owes to him as the ſupreme Governor and Judge. Theſe particulars are inſeparable in the character of a good man and a *true* patriot. Public virtue *cannot ſubſiſt* without private; nor can public and private ſubſiſt without RELIGION. As a truly virtuous and religious man muſt be a PATRIOT, ſo a true patriot muſt be a virtuous and religious man. The obligations of righteouſneſs, are the ſame in all their branches, and a righteous man cannot violate them *habitually* in any inſtance. Is it likely, that a man who is falſe to *private* engagements, will not be alſo falſe to public ones; or that a man who in his family is a tyrant, will not likewiſe be a tyrant as a magiſtrate? Is it likely that a man, who has given up to his paſſions his *internal* liberty, ſhould be a true *friend* to liberty; or that one who will cheat his tradeſman, or betray his friends, will not give a wicked vote, and betray his country? Can you imagine that a ſpendthrift in his own concerns, will be an œconomiſt in managing the affairs of others; that a wild gameſter will take care of the ſtake of the kingdom; or that an unprincipled debauchee will make an upright judge, or a good ſtateſman? Can a man who ſhews no regard to God his Maker, or to Chriſt his Saviour; who is ſuch an enemy to ſociety, as to neglect countenancing by his

example those forms of worship on which the order of society depends; and so void of the fundamental principles of goodness, as to be capable of habitual atheism in his conduct—Can such a one possess any regard for the interests of society? No, all such imaginations are absurd! Treachery, venality and villainy, must be the effects of dissipation, voluptuousness and impiety. These vices sap the foundations of virtue. They render men necessitous and supple; ready at any time to sacrifice their consciences, or to fly to a court in order to repair a shattered fortune, and procure supplies for prodigality.

Let us remember these TRUTHS in judging of public characters. Let us consider that true goodness is uniform and consistent; and learn never to place any great confidence in those pretenders to public spirit, who are not men of virtuous characters. They may boast of their attachment to the public cause, but they "*want the living root of persevering virtue, and should not be depended upon.*"

TO MR. JENKINSON.

Sir,

I Shall make you no apology for this address. You are a public character: one of the Representatives of the People, and must expect that your conduct will be liable to scrutiny, and to comment. I congratulate you

on

on the very favourable reception your firſt eſſay in oratory and politics has met with. Your eloquence and abilities have received the honourable tribute of applauſe from even your opponents; and our preſent ſtate *Leviathan* declared, that he found a ſafe ſhelter from all attacks under the powerful buckler with which you had covered him.

Theſe, Sir, are brilliant and flattering teſtimonials that your talents are of the firſt claſs, and I hope they will not tend to dazzle and miſlead you. The world admires firſt rate abilities in man, in the ſame way that it does ſuperior beauty in woman, and when either become proſtituted, or *ſuſpected to be ſo*, admiration quickly changes to abhorrence, blended with contempt.

Far be it from me to inſinuate ſo harſh a ſuggeſtion as that this, at preſent, can poſſibly be your caſe. I ſhould be ſorry ſo ſoon to think of the "ſins of the father be-"ing viſited upon the ſon;" but men will be men, and the old adage is perpetually preſenting itſelf, "tell me "what company you keep, and I'll tell you what you "are." I confeſs, your's is a delicate ſituation, and I am by no means ſurprized, that your firſt political exertions ſhould be made in ſo inauſpicious a cauſe, when I conſider, that you are the ſon of that man,* who was the confidential go-between of ——————— and a never to be forgotten Thane,† when his lordſhip dared not publicly to appear on the political ſtage, and when the immortal CHATHAM, in reſigning the reins of Government, declared, "that there was a power behind the "curtain

* Lord Hawkeſbury, then the famous Charles Jenkinſon.

† Lord Bute.

"curtain (meaning the T——) *greater* than the T—— "itſelf."

The People without the doors of the Houſe *you now* exhibit in, cannot forget that your father was the chief manager of all the ſprings which actuated the movement of the numerous figures that compoſed the drama of the day at St. S——'s; the *Flockton* and *Harry Roe* * of the R—l Puppet Shew, during the exhibition of thoſe *conſtitutional* ſcenes, *General Warrants* (the Engliſh *Lettres de Cachet*) the *Middleſex Election*—in which the Rights and Liberties of Engliſhmen were trampled on with as little remorſe, as the Inquiſition would ſnuff the taper of life in the perſon of an Heretic—the proſecution of the printers for *Libels*, and the *damnable doctrine* then *firſt advanced* on that ſubject, to blaſt the Tree of Liberty, and annihilate the advantages of the Trial by Jury; the intended robbery of the D— of P——; the impunity with which the *Guards* were ſuffered forcibly to ſnatch a General Officer † out of the cuſtody of the *Civil Power*; the butchery of St. George's Fields; the celebrated *Trial* of *Balfe* and *M'Quirk*, and the chaſte and pious pardon of a wilful murderer, becauſe that murderer was the brother of a common proſtitute: ‡ with a long *et cetera*, which will no doubt ſtand on the record of Memory, as ſplendid and indubitable marks of attachment and reverence for the *Conſtitution* during the preſent pious reign.

With

* The former manager of a puppet ſhew at Bartholomew Fair, the other the ſame in Yorkſhire, and of as great notoriety in that county as the giants at Guildhall.

† Major General Ganſel.

‡ Miſs Kennedy.

With all these circumstances fresh in their minds, you must not be surprized whatever eulogiums are bestowed upon you by either party, within the walls of St. Stephen's, if the people without, viewing your actions with a suspicious eye, and divesting your arguments of the tinsel glare of flowery periods and rhetorical flourishes, by a cool and dispassionate investigation in the closet, should be rude enough to tell you, that they consider your appearance, in the stern eye of rigid Reason, to be nearly in as pitiable a predicament, as the poor Jackdaw, when stript of the gaudy plumage of the Imperial Peacock.

Having thus informed you, that I am well aware of the stock from whence you sprung, that your very name engenders suspicion and distrust, in all who feel in their bosoms the animating glow of *amor patriæ*, and that I am therefore bound, in duty to myself and the Public Good, to view whatever falls from your lips with a scrutinizing eye, I shall, without farther ceremony, proceed to a review of your argument, which appears to me to be a series of false premises, from which you have drawn of course wrong conclusions; and that through the whole it is replete with sentiments, which, if adopted, will be equally hostile and injurious to the true interests of this country with any of the unpopular measures above alluded to, as supported by all the power and abilities of your courtly Sire.

"You cannot agree (you say) to vote censure on the "conduct of Ministers, because they have been system-"atic." True, Sir, they have been *systematic*, and therefore *I* say they are deserving of *Censure*. In what have they been systematic? I will tell you, Sir. They have put the nation to the expence of three armaments,

amounting to about six millions sterling, in less than four years :—this is being systematic with a vengeance! This has gained them the impenetrable shield of your virgin eloquence; and I have no doubt, but three more armaments, as systematically brought forward in the four next years, will fix the Minister as your *Magnus Apollo*, and entitle him to the support of your riper judgment *through life*. I mean the political life of the Minister, for if you follow the steps of your sagacious Sire, you will turn your back on every man, however greatly you might once admire him, the moment he is out of power, and thereby incapable of promoting your interest.

Your next reason for withholding Censure of the Minister, is, "the necessity of *Continental Alliances*, and the "due preservation of the Balance of Power." And herein you seem to take your data, from a view of these two points twenty or thirty years ago.—You wilfully shut your eyes against the great and important changes, which have taken place in the situation of France, and the advantages that may accrue to this county therefrom; and sophistically argue, "that though you consider the State of "France as now *deplorable*, she may either return to her "ancient *arbitrary*, *despotic* Government; or, in the "course of a few years, establish a new, *vigorous*, and "*free* Government. In either of which cases, she would "revive with the greatest splendour; with only this difference, as to us, that we shall have every thing to complain of from the plots, intrigues, and want of faith "of the old Government, if restored; and in case of a "new free Government, we shall have less to fear from "her *intrigues*, but more from her *vigour*.

Permit

Permit me here, Sir, to ask you seriously, what advantage have we hitherto derived from Continental Alliances? For my own part, I know of none; except you call draining the nation of its subjects and its treasure, an advantage:—if so, I will allow we have long enjoyed such advantages, in the widest extent; for never did poor deluded country bleed so freely in both, as we have.—But in this violent rage for Continental Alliances, why so blindly overlook France? Why skip over this extensive, powerful and *free* nation, which lies so contiguous, and wander so much farther, to form alliances with *German* or *Prussian Despots?*—You tell your countrymen in the senate, "that France is our *natural* enemy." This I deny. She never was our *natural enemy*; for she seems placed by *Nature*, as our nearest and best *friend:* her old Government, it is true, was hostile to ours, being in its nature *despotic*, and ours *free*, and therefore she was our *factitious enemy:* But her new Government, being *more free* than ours, removes all former objections, and points out an alliance with her, as the first, the firmest, and most beneficial, that we can possibly look for on the *Continent of Europe*. "Peace with France, and war with all "the world," was a maxim of one of our most celebrated statesmen, even in the days of *Despotism*. An alliance with her, in the mutual and blessed enjoyments of FREEDOM, is a "*consummation most devoutly to be wished.*"

I am afraid it will prove a great bar to your friend's (the M——) predelection for *armaments*; but perhaps the People may find him some other Toy, which may serve to *amuse* him, at a *less expence to themselves*. They begin to perceive that the first and principal aim and end of M——s, in forming Continental Alliances, has been to lay a certain foundation for going to *war* when they please.

pleaſe. A few years of Peace and Proſperity never fail to ſwell the purſe and the pride of honeſt John Bull, and when the M——r, to uſe the words of his own hireling panegyriſts; has ſo long, "*by the moſt maſterly policy, and with the moſt exemplary ſelf-denial, ſaved his country from being engaged in a warfare, in which he might evidently*

"Ride on the whirlwind, and direct the ſtorm."*

He has only to ſet one of his Continental Allies in motion, and *Preſto*, honeſt John muſt open his purſe-ſtrings for the dogs of war, and the immaculate M——'s "exem-"plary ſelf-denial," can no longer be kept chained—and an armament is the immediate conſequence.

The Empreſs of Ruſſia is forced into a war with the Turks; after they have drained her of millions of money, and hundreds of thouſands of ſubjects, by a four or five year's war; the moment *la fortune de la guerre* turns in her favour, and enables her to ſtipulate ſuch terms as may in ſome meaſure reimburſe herſelf, and ſecure her ſubjects from ſimilar miſeries in future, the *King of Pruſſia* feels himſelf jealous of her growing greatneſs—he is *our ally*, and to quiet his *fears*, and ſupport his *pride*, the Engliſh nation muſt interfere. The Miniſter publicly adverſiſes that he is ſhortly to appear on the grand Political Theatre of Europe, in the character of *Don Quixote*, and the Ruſſian windmills are warned to take care of themſelves. Firſt, ſecond, and third rates, fifty gun ſhips, frigates, ſloops and tenders, dance the haze out of the ſeveral harbours into Spithead and Hamoaze, for five or ſix months, while the deluded People, the *milch cows of Miniſters*, have only to gape on, and pay the piper. The valourous Knight of England, in direct contradiction to the laws of Mr. Burke's favourite age of Chivalry, makes a direct attack on a *fair lady*—not indeed defenceleſs—and tells

* World, Sat. Jan. 7, 1792.

tells her she must recede from her terms, and comply with those dictated by him—the principal of which was,

"That the fortress of Ockzakow, taken by the "Empress from the Turks, in the course of a bloody d expensive war, should be given up, or in other rds, *restored* to the Turks."

To this *insolent* and *unjust* demand, the Empress flatly positively refused to accede, for the following reasons. hat the Turks had unjustly provoked her into this ar; that in defence of her own territories and sove-ign rights, she had, with an enormous expence of lood and treasure, acquired Ockzakow and many other trong holds of the Turks; and that she was resolved o keep possession of Ockzakow, partly as a small re-ompense, but more *particularly*, being a frontier for-ress, as a barrier to ward off the miseries of future ars being carried into her own dominions in the first nstance."

Here, then, was the *cause* of our armament. When measure was originally opposed in the House of Com-ns, M——s and their adherents vehemently contended, hat Ockzakow was of the *greatest importance* to *this* "*first of all possible causes for war*, the *Balance of Power* "in Europe, and that on no account whatever should it "be permitted by us to remain in the hands of Russia." In a few days after which, they determine in the Cabinet that it *shall be given up*, but nevertheless continue the ar-mament, at an enormous expence to the country; as well as keeping open that wound in the Constitution—the cruel and despotic measure of impressing men, and drag-ging them from their families, from all that is dear to them; from the interest of their employments in the mer-

merchant's ſervice:—they ſtill, I ſay, kept up this ridiculous parade, to the injury of our commerce, for ſeveral months, and in the end, the Empreſs is ſuffered to conclude a peace—to keep *Ockzakow*, and every thing elſe, our bullying M——r had ſaid ſhe ſhould not keep: and his Bobadillean menaces are converted into pitiful, and humiliating entreaties of only the free navigation of the Dnieſter, as an *adouciſſement*: this was the term made uſe of, which in *Engliſh* ſignifies a *ſweetener*, to ſatisfy the people. And this navigation of the Dnieſter is all we have gained, by way of compenſation for our trouble and expence, in this armament. What is this mighty gain? Nothing. It is the line of demarkation, a thing which is, of courſe, open to all powers in the time of peace; and I fancy, Sir, neither you nor your friend the M——r will pretend to ſay, that we ſhall have this freedom in time of war. This therefore is gaining nothing, and of the end of our armament we may fairly ſay

"Parturient Montes naſcitur ridiculus mus."
"*The Mountains in labour have brought forth a mouſe.*"

On this diſgraceful termination of an iſſue, in which he national honour, ſpirit and juſtice, were ſo deeply ſtaked—and on which every power on both Continents were intent—a motion is brought forward in the Houſe of Commons for a vote of cenſure on the M——'s conduct; in the courſe of which, you, Sir, are acknowledged by himſelf to be his principal defender—the reſult was a majority againſt the motion. The People know full well how majorities in that honourable H——e are obtained; but on a ſimilar motion, to be inveſtigated before the People themſelves, I have no doubt but a much greater majority,

majority, in proportion to the numbers, would be found on the other side of the question.

But to return to your *defence*, so highly rated by the *great man*, who, in the plenitude of his insolence and arrogance towards others, is so proud in acknowledging you his *Fidus Achates*. The main point of it rests upon "the Balance of Power in Europe." I will state the case fairly, and argue it concisely.

Was the permitting of the Empress to retain Ockzakow in her hands, a circumstance likely to affect the interest of this country? Or would it be dangerous to the Balance of Power in Europe?

I contend, then, that if the possession of Ockzakow was dangerous to the Balance of Power (which I have before shewn the M—— and his adherents had originally insisted on) nothing can be more evident than our abandonment of that Balance of Power to that danger; for Ockzakow is after all permitted to remain in the hands of the Empress. And the following Epigram is most apt to the occasion:

> "Now Europe's balanc'd, neither side prevails,
> "For nothing's left in either of the scales."

What then becomes of your *argument*, and how is the M—— undeserving of *Censure* on account of the Balance of Power? There is not a capacity in the kingdom, out of the M——'s faithful majority, mean enough not to see through the sophistry and the fallacy of it.—On the other hand, if Oczakow was not worth our arming for, why did we arm? If it did not affect the interests of this country, why put us to the expence of two

or

or three millions by our interference? The truth is, there was no propriety at all in any of the measures, and whatever he may have gained by a majority, he deserves the severest Censure of the *People* for every part of his conduct in this business.

It appears clearly through the whole of your speech, that the Balance of Power in Europe, is the snare, the trap by which this nation may be dragged into *future wars*—those fertile fields of patronage—in which Ministers and their adherents, feed and fatten on the spoils, squeezed from the hard earnings of an industrious and deluded People. It has lately been observed by a very enlightened and celebrated writer, that "Taxes are not so "much raised to *carry on wars*, as that wars are entered "upon for the purpose of *raising taxes*." And your beautiful *system* respecting the *Balance of Power*, lays the foundation, from which this glorious resource of Ministers will be abundant and never-failing:—it may almost be said, if adopted, to be inexhaustible. First, we must have Holland for our ally, and *Prussia* to protect Holland; that *Austria* may not attack *Prussia*, we must excite the *Turks* against *Austria*; and to enable the *Turks* to defend themselves against *Russia*, we must get *Sweden* to make war on *Russia*. And all this negociation and inter negociation of alliances, to counteract the fatal effects which the energy and vigour of a *free* Government may give to France.

On the contrary, Sir, I would advise the M—— to proceed in a much more easy, obvious and decisive method. I would get over this mighty fear you entertain of France—not by the numerous and complicated alliances you recommend, but by forming an immediate alliance with

with France herſelf. I have already told you, that your aſſertion of France being our *natural enemy*, is not founded in fact: It never could be juſtly made, but as applied to the different forms of Government, while the old prevailed in France. *Liberty* and *Slavery*, might truly be ſaid to be *natural enemies* to each other; and ſo far were the old Government of France and ours:—but *now*, if any degree of *Slavery* exiſts in either, we muſt allow it to be on this ſide the channel.

The French people have ſolemnly declared to all the world, "that they never will enter on any war, in future, with a view to *conqueſt*, or, in other words, an "*offenſive war*, with any power or nation whatſoever." If attacked, they will of courſe defend themſelves: In every other caſe, they diſclaim the idea of *war*. This is the kind of alliance we ought to form; in doing which, we need not fear being drawn into any but a *defenſive* war. Both free nations, both commercial, and both, therefore, deeply intereſted in maintaining their commerce and freedom, united by the bonds of alliance, might bid defiance to all Europe. Holland, you allow, is *our* natural ally; ſhe muſt be the ſame to the *French* alſo; and our three navies together might dictate, if they found it neceſſary, to every and all the maritime powers in Europe.—Thus, by one ſingle alliance, we might effectually eaſe every fear which you ſeem to entertain with regard to France, without any dread of the reſt of the powers of Europe: and avoid the complicated ſyſtem which you appear to be ſo fond of.

Perhaps it may be objected that, granting all I have ſaid with regard to *war*, yet France will be a dangerous rival to us in our *commerce*. To this I anſwer, ſo much the better:—the idea of *war* has obliged us to look

abroad, to guard againſt the evils attending it: the care of our commerce, in the ſame manner, calls upon us to look at *home*. France at preſent has the advantage of us in point of *conſtitution*; this will require us to turn all our attention to the improvement and ſtrengthening of ours, by recalling it to its firſt principles: "*by infuſing a new portion of health into it*," and by ſeriouſly bending our attention to that reformation, both moral and political, which is ſo much wanting. It is not perhaps advancing too much, to ſay, that commerce by our eager purſuit of it, has in a great degree, been the occaſion of our neglect of the *conſtitution*; and it will be a happy circumſtance if we are able to add, that the ſame cauſe will operate towards a reparation of the evils reſulting from that neglect. Let us then, like a *wiſe*, and a *brave* people, look theſe evils boldly in the face; and let us unite with one voice, to counteract them. We muſt begin betimes, or we ſhall ſtand no chance of ſaving our diſtance in the race.

The enormous weight of our national debt, the great extent and burthen of our taxes, the very high price of all the neceſſaries of life, cry aloud for ſome grand, and ſalutary regulations, which may counteract the pernicious conſequences attending them. Upwards of fourteen thouſand of our unfortunate countrymen in the ſeveral gaols of the kingdom, and as great a number fugitives in foreign countries, to avoid the oppreſſion of the arbitrary laws, of a country pretended to be free: in both which caſes hundreds of our beſt and moſt ingenious artificers and manufacturers are loſt to this country, and the nation deprived thereby of the benefit of their induſtry and ingenuity. The miſerable dole lately diſtributed by the repeal of taxes, as a ſop in the pan to ſtop the mouth of that *Cerberus*, the people, is conſidered by

by them, but as a pitiful compenſation for the laviſh and prodigal expenditure of ſo many millions as have lately been thrown away, to the diſhonour of the King and the Country: both of which, as Mr. Fox very juſtly and pointedly obſerves, "had been dragged by Miniſters "through the mud and filth of ignominy; thereby ſa-"crificing reputation to power, abuſing the confidence, "and degrading the dignity of the nation."

A general combination of the *great* and *petty* Deſpots of Europe is now forming, for the purpoſe of effecting a counter revolution in France: This is the term, but it is evident, with an intention, if poſſible, of annihilating *political liberty* throughout Europe; and it requires no great degree of penetration to diſcover, which way the crooked councils of our ———s incline.—*Pruſſia* is ſtill *our ally*, and at the head of this band of *arbitrary heroes*. Should another armament be wanted by the Miniſter to ſupport the deſigns of this *royal* and *worthy* confederacy, you may whiſper this caution in his haughty ear, CAVE, CAVETO—ſays

ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

[We are ſorry that without totally loſing this excellent Letter, we are not permitted to ſoften part of it, in any other way than by a Note from ourſelves: The author is *peremptory*, and according to our plan, we muſt either adopt, or reject *in toto*—in the whole.—The queſtion of the Ruſſian Armament involves in its conſequences the deareſt and moſt valuable rights of the People of this Country; nevertheleſs, we could have wiſhed that a young politician and orator, on his firſt entrance on the public ſtage of life, might have been treated with a leſs degree of aſperity.—We beg leave to hint, therefore, to this, and all other correſpondents, that we ſhall eſteem ourſelves indebted to them, in proportion as they are *moderate*:—and to recommend to their attention that excellent adage, "*In medio tutiſſimus ibis.*"—"*The middle way is the ſafeſt.*"—*The Editors.*]

OF

OF THE

ORIGIN OF GOVERNMENT

IN THIS COUNTRY.

(Continued from page 30.)

HAVING before taken a concise view of the Origin of Government in *general*, we shall now proceed to notice it with regard to *this country in particular*, in doing which we shall neglect all traditions, or rather tales, concerning the more early periods, and content ourselves with taking our data on this subject from a consideration of the state of the inhabitants, as it appeared to the Romans on their invasion of this country.

All ancient writers agree in representing the first inhabitants of Britain as a tribe of the Gauls or Celtæ, who peopled this island from the neighbouring continent. Their language was the same, their manners, their government, their superstition; varied only by those small differences which time, or a communication with the bordering nations must necessarily introduce. The south-east part of Britain, in particular, had already before the age of Cæsar, made the first and most regular step towards a Civil Government; and the Britons, by

tillage

tillage and agriculture, had there increaſed to a great multitude.* The other inhabitants of the iſland ſtill maintained themſelves by paſture; they were cloathed with ſkins of beaſts, they dwelt in huts, which they reared in the foreſts and marſhes, with which the country was covered: they ſhifted early their habitation, when actuated either by the hopes of plunder or the fear of an enemy; the convenience of feeding their cattle was even a ſufficient motive for removing their ſeats: and as they were ignorant of all the refinements of life, their wants and their poſſeſſions were equally ſcanty and limited. Here then our readers will be pleaſed to obſerve that we have taken up our anceſtors in this iſland as nearly as poſſible in that ſtate of ſociety in which we concluded this ſubject in our laſt number.

The Britons were divided into many ſmall nations or tribes; and being a military people, whoſe ſole property was their arms and their cattle, it was impoſſible, after they had acquired a reliſh for Liberty, for their Princes or Chieftains to eſtabliſh any deſpotic authority over them. Their governments, though monarchical,† were free, as well as thoſe of all the Celtic nations; and the common people ſeem even to have enjoyed more liberty among them,‡ than among the nations of the Gauls,§ from which they were deſcended. Each ſtate was divided into factions within itſelf: || it was agitated with jealouſy or animoſity againſt the neighbouring ſtates: and while the arts of peace were yet unknown, wars were

* Cæſar, lib. 4. Strabo, lib. 4.

† Diod, Sic. lib. 4. ‡ Dion Caſſius, lib. 75. § Cæſar, lib. 6.

|| Tacitus. Agr. lib. 12. c. 1.

the chief occupation, and formed the chief object of ambition among the people.

The religion of the Britons was one of the moſt conſiderable parts of their government: and the Druids, who were their prieſts, poſſeſſed great authority among them. Beſides miniſtering at the altar, and directing all religious duties, they preſided over the education of youth: they enjoyed an immunity from wars and taxes; they poſſeſſed both civil and criminal juriſdiction; they decided all controverſies among ſtates, as well as among private perſons, and whoever refuſed to ſubmit to their decree was expoſed to the moſt ſevere penalties. The ſentence of excommunication was pronounced againſt him: he was forbidden acceſs to the ſacrifices, or public worſhip: he was debarred all intercourſe with his fellow citizens even in the common affairs of life: his company was univerſally ſhunned, as profane and dangerous: he was refuſed the protection of law,* and death became an acceptable relief from the miſery and infamy to which he was expoſed. Thus, the bands of government, which were naturally looſe among that rude and turbulent people, were happily corroborated by the terrors of their ſuperſtition.

No ſpecies of ſuperſtition was ever more terrible than that of the Druids. Beſides the ſevere penalties which it was in the power of the Eccleſiaſtics to inflict in this world, they inculcated the eternal tranſmigration of ſouls; and thereby extended their authority as far as the fears of their timorous votaries. They practiſed their rites in dark groves or other ſecret receſſes;† and in order

* Cæſar, lib. 6. † Plin.

order to throw a greater mystery over their religion, they communicated their doctrines only to the initiated, and strictly forbade the committing of them to writing, lest they should at any time be exposed to the examination of the profane vulgar.* Human sacrifices were practised among them: the spoils of war were often devoted to their divinities: and they punished with the severest tortures

* It is here naturally observable how very early *priestcraft* began to prevail among the people of this country, even when in a state of *Paganism*. After the introduction of *Christianity*, it still continued its *despotic* sway, by means of its three grand supports, *bigotry*, *superstition*, and *ignorance*, and was never more severely felt by the people than during the dominion of the *Pope* over this kingdom. Then the nation was by means of *priestcraft* alone, deluged in the *blood* of its inhabitants:—and its *coffers* drained of their *treasures*.—The Reformation contributed to dispel the mists of *Ignorance*, and by degrees introduced an emancipation from the *civil* and *ecclesiastical* Tyranny under which the People groaned. This first dawn of Liberty continued to cheer and animate the minds of the nation, and inspired them step by step to attack and overthrow the *despotism* of the feudal system; and they were every day freeing themselves from the fatal errors of religious bigotry, till it once more reared its horrid crest in the high-church doctrines in the fatal reign of Charles I. and, after a short interval, was revived with increasing heat and animosity, by his bigotted and unfortunate son James II. At the Revolution, we conceived and hoped it had met with its final overthrow, and that, as the *power* of Persecution was then in a great Measure destroyed, its *spirit* must also have ceased to influence any one who calls himself a Briton and a Protestant; but, the late conflagrations at Birmingham, begun and carried on with the infernal war-hoop of *Church* and *King*, is a fatal proof that the spirit of Persecution still remains in great vigour, and that too many of our countrymen are yet under the abominable and degrading influence of *Priestcraft* and *Imposition*. The writer of this is, and all his Family have been, of the *established* Church of this kingdom; but he feels ashamed and indignant at the countenance which the proceedings above alluded to have met with from the *Establishment*, and eagerly seizes the opportunity to protest for himself against them.

tortures whoever dared to secrete even any part of the consecrated offerings: these treasures were kept in woods and forests, secured by no other guard than the terrors of their religion;* and this steady conquest over human avidity may be regarded as more signal than their prompting men to the most extraordinary and most violent efforts. No idolatrous worship ever attained such an ascendant over mankind, as that of the ancient Gauls and Britons; and the Romans, after their conquest, finding it impossible to reconcile those nations to the laws and institutions of their masters, while it maintained its authority, were at last obliged to abolish it by penal statutes; a violence which had never in any other instance been practised by those tolerating conquerors.

The Britons had long remained in this rude and independent state, when Julius Cæsar, having over-run all Gaul with his victories, first cast his eye on their island. He was not allured by its riches or its renown; but being ambitious of carrying the Roman sceptre into a new world, then mostly unknown, he took advantage of a short interval in his Gaulic wars, and made an invasion on Britain. The natives, informed of his intention, were sensible of the unequal contest, and endeavoured to appease him by submissions, which however retarded not the execution of his design. After some resistance, he landed, as is supposed, at *Deal*, and having obtained several advantages over the Britons, and obliged them to promise hostages for their future obedience, he was constrained by the necessity of his affairs, and the approach of winter, to withdraw his forces into Gaul.† The Britons relieved from the terror of his arms,

* Year before Christ 55. † Cæsar, lib. 6.

arms, neglected the performance of their stipulations, and the haughty conqueror resolved next summer to chastise them for this breach of treaty. He landed with a greater force; and though he found a more regular resistance from the Britons, who had united under Cassivelaunus, one of their petty princes, he discomfited and beat them in every action. He advanced into the country, passed the Thames in the face of the enemy: took and burned the capital of Cassivelaunus; established his ally, Mandubratius, in the sovereignty of the Trinobantes; and having obliged the inhabitants to make him new submissions, he again returned with his army into Gaul, and left the authority of the Romans more nominal than real in this island.

The civil wars which ensued, and which paved the way for the establishment of monarchy in Rome, saved the Britons from that yoke which was ready to be imposed on them. Augustus, the successor of Cæsar, content with the victory obtained over the *liberties* of his own country, was little ambitious of acquiring fame by foreign wars; and recommended to his successors never to enlarge the territories of the Romans. Tiberius, jealous of the fame which might be acquired by his Generals, made this advice of Augustus a pretence for his inactivity. The mad sallies of Caligula, in which he menaced Britain with an invasion, served only to expose himself and the empire to ridicule; and the Britons had now, during almost a century, enjoyed their liberty unmolested; when the Romans in the reign of Claudius, began to think seriously of reducing them under his dominion. Without seeking any more justifiable reasons of hostility than were employed by the late Europeans in subjecting the Africans and Americans, they sent over an

an army under the command of Plautius, an able general, who gained some victories, and made a considerable progress in subduing the inhabitants.

Claudius himself, finding matters sufficiently prepared for his reception, made a journey into Britain, and received the submission of several British states, the Cantii, Atrebates, Regni, and Trinobantes, who inhabited the south-east parts of the island, and whom their possessions and more cultivated manner of life rendered willing to purchase peace at the expence of their *liberty*. The other Britons under the command of Caractacus, still maintained an obstinate resistance, and the Romans made little progress against them, till Ostorius Scapula was sent over to command their armies. This General advanced the Roman conquests over the Britons, pierced into the country of the Silures, a warlike nation, who inhabited the banks of the Severn, defeated Caractacus in a great battle, took him prisoner and sent him to Rome, where his magnanimous behaviour procured him better treatment than those conquerors usually bestowed on captive Princes.

Notwithstanding these misfortunes, the Britons were not subdued, and this island was regarded by the ambitious Romans as a field in which military honour might still be acquired. The Britons made one expiring effort more to recover their liberty in the time of Nero, taking advantage of the absence of Paulinus, the Roman General, who was employed in subduing the island of Mona, now Anglesey. That small island, separated from Britain by a narrow channel, still continued the chiefest seat of the Druidical superstitions, and constantly afforded a retreat to their defeated forces. It was thought necessary therefore to subdue that place, in order

der to extirpate a religion that disdained submission to foreign laws or leaders; and Paulinus, the greatest General of the age, undertook the task. Exhorting his soldiers to despise the menaces of an absurd superstition, he impelled them to the attack, drove the Britons off the field, burned the Druids in the same fires they had prepared for their captive enemies, and destroyed all their consecrated groves and altars.

In the mean time, the Britons taking advantage of his absence, resolved to free themselves from that state of abject servitude to which they were reduced by the Romans. They had many motives to aggravate their resentment; the greatness of their *taxes*,* which were levied with unremitting severity: the cruel insolence of their conquerors, who reproached that very poverty which they had caused; but particularly their cruel treatment of Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, drove them at last into open rebellion. Prasatagus, king of the Iceni, at his death had bequeathed one half of his dominions to the Romans, and the other to his daughters, thus hoping by the sacrifice of a part, to secure the rest to his family: but it had a different effect; for the Roman Procurator immediately took possession of the whole; and when Boadicea, the widow of the deceased, attempted to remonstrate, he ordered her to be scourged like a slave, and violated the chastity of her daughters.†— These outrages were sufficient to produce a revolt thro' the whole island.

(To be continued)

These

* Here we may observe, that the weight of *taxes*, occasioned the first revolt of the Britons against the Government of the Romans.

† A similar circumstance to this has since happened in the Reign of Richard II. which we shall here set down. In this reign a poll-tax was levied, of one shilling per head, upon every person in the

nation, of whatever eſtate or condition, on poor as well as rich, above the age of 15 years. If any favour was ſhewn in the law, it was to the Rich rather than to the Poor; as no perſon could be charged more than twenty ſhillings for himſelf, family and ſervants, though ever ſo numerous; while all other families under the number of twenty, were charged per head. Poll-taxes had always been odious; but this being alſo oppreſſive and unjuſt, it excited, as it naturally muſt, univerſal deteſtation among the poor and middle claſſes. The perſon known by the name of *Wat Tyler*, whoſe proper name was *Walter*, and a tyler by trade, lived at Deptford. The Gatherer of the Poll-tax, on coming to his houſe, demanded tax for one of his daughters, whom Walter declared was under the age of 15. The tax-gatherer inſiſted on ſatisfying himſelf, and began an indecent examination of the girl, which enraging the father, he ſtruck him with a hammer that brought him to the ground, and was the cauſe of his death. This circumſtance ſerved to bring the diſcontents to an iſſue. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood eſpouſed the cauſe of the tyler, who in a few days was joined, according to ſome hiſtories, by upwards of fifty thouſand men. With this force he marched to London, to demand an abolition of the tax, and a redreſs of other grievances. The Court finding itſelf in a forlorn condition, and unable to make reſiſtance, agreed, with Richard at its head, to hold a conference with Tyler in Smithfield, making many fair promiſes, courtier like, of its diſpoſition to redreſs the oppreſſions. While Richard and Walter were in converſation on theſe matters, each being on horſeback, Walworth, then mayor of London, and one of the creatures of the Court, watched an opportunity, and like a cowardly aſſaſſin, ſtabbed the tyler with a dagger, and two or three others falling upon him, he was inſtantly ſacrificed.

Tyler appears to have been an intrepid diſintereſted man, with reſpect to himſelf. The provocation he received was ſufficient to rouſe the whole country, like that of Boadicea's daughters in the earlieſt period of the hiſtory of Britons. All his propoſals made to Richard were on a more juſt and public ground than thoſe which had been made to King John by the Barons; and notwithſtanding the ſycophancy of hiſtorians and the ſervile ſcoffs of court newſpapers, who ſeek to gloſs over a baſe action of the court by traducing Tyler, his fame will outlive their falſehood. If the Barons merited a monument to be erected in Runnymede, Tyler deſerves one in Smithfield.

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday, May 1, 1792.

OF THE

ORIGIN OF GOVERNMENT

IN THIS COUNTRY.

(Continued)

THE Iceni as being the most deeply interested in the quarrel, were the first to take arms, all the other states soon followed their example; and Boadicea, a woman of great beauty and masculine spirit, was appointed to head the common forces, which amounted to two hundred and thirty thousand fighting men. These exasperated by their wrongs, attacked several of the Roman settlements and colonies with success. Paulinus hastened to relieve London, which was always a flourishing colony; but found on his arrival that it would be necessary for the general safety, to abandon that place to the merciless prey of the enemy. Nero, soon after, recalled Pauli-

nus. The General who finally eſtabliſhed the dominion of the Romans in this iſland was Julius Agricola, who governed it during the reigns of Veſpaſian, Titus, and Domitian, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as well by his courage as humanity.

Agricola, who is conſidered as one of the greateſt characters in hiſtory, formed a regular plan for ſubduing and civilizing the iſland, and thus rendering the acquiſition uſeful to the conquerors. As the northern part of the country was leaſt tractable, he carried his victorious arms thither, and defeated the undiſciplined enemy in every encounter. He pierced into the formerly inacceſſible foreſts and mountains of Caledonia, he drove onward all thoſe fierce and untractable ſpirits who preferred Famine to Slavery, and who, rather than ſubmit, choſe to remain in perpetual hoſtility. Nor was it without oppoſition that he thus made his way into a country rude and impervious by nature. He was oppoſed by Galgacus, at the head of a numerous army, whom he defeated in a deciſive action, in which conſiderable numbers were ſlain. He ſailed round the coaſt with his fleet, this country not having been diſcovered to be an iſland till the preceding year.

During theſe military enterprizes, Agricola was ever attentive to the arts of Peace. He attempted to humanize the fierceneſs of thoſe who acknowledged his power by introducing the Roman laws, habits, manners and learning. In this manner, the Britons being almoſt totally ſubdued, now began to throw off all hopes of recovering their former liberty; and having often experienced

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the ſuperiority of the Romans, conſented to ſubmit, and were content with ſafety.*

For

* When Julius Agricola had reduced South Britain to a Roman Province, the Government of the country was undoubtedly changed; but this change was ſtill friendly to the general principles of Liberty. Although the natives were ſubjected to a foreign power, yet as the Roman Government was profeſſedly in favour of a free Repreſentation, they ſtill poſſeſſed the invaluable privilege of conſenting to their own Laws. They found their own free principles of Government, which nature had dictated to them as the immediate right of every individual, already formed by the Romans into a Conſtitutional Code of Legiſlation. And the Roman was the authentic language for judicial matters in Germany, till the reign of Rodolph the Firſt, about the year 1287; in England, till Edward the Third; in France, till Francis the Firſt. Uſe and abuſe of Parliaments. Vol. 1. p. 69.

Thus the Britons, finding their own maxims of freedom reduced to ſyſtem, they more cheerfully ſubmitted to their new governors, by whom they were protected, civilized and eſtabliſhed in habits of elevated ſociety. To this new ſtate they were indebted for their progreſs in arts, and refinement of their manners, the ſtability of their government, and every bleſſing enjoyed by thoſe who emerge from barbariſm to ſocial communities, before they are debaſed and contaminated by effeminacy and luxury. At this period our ancient conſtitution aſſumed its great ſimilitude to the free principles of the Roman government. What was before, rudely conceived and practiced by the Britons, was explicitly defined, enforced and eſtabliſhed in the body of Roman laws, written in their permanent language.

The Romans had their laws in ſuch parts of this land, as they had their moſt civil governments in. I mean in colonies hither deduced; for every colony was an image of the mother city, with the holy rites, like courts, laws, &c. and for the moſt part with *Duumviri* inſtead of *Conſuls*, and *Ediles* and *Decuriones* in lieu of a Senate: and it is evident that divers colonies from Rome were in Britain, as at Camelodunum, now Malden in Eſſex. Forteſcue de Laudibus Leg. Angliæ, 31.

For ſeveral years after the time of Agricola a profound peace ſeems to have prevailed in Britain, and little mention is made of the affairs of the iſland by any hiſtorian. All the men who had a paſſion for Liberty were long ſince deſtroyed; the flower of their youth were drafted out of the iſland to ſerve in foreign wars, and thoſe who remained were bred up in ſervitude and ſubmiſſion. Nothing therefore was likely to ſhake the power of Rome in the iſland, but the diſſentions and diſtreſſes of the Romans themſelves, and that dreadful period at length arrived.

Rome, that had for ages given laws to nations, and diffuſed ſlavery and oppreſſion over the known world, at length began to ſink under her own magnificence. Mankind, as if by a general conſent, roſe up to vindicate their natural freedom; almoſt every nation aſſerting that independence which they had been long ſo unjuſtly deprived of. In the mean time, as the Roman forces decreaſed in Britain, the Picts and Scots continued ſtill more boldly to infeſt the northern parts; and croſſing the friths which the Romans could not guard, in little wicker boats covered with leather, filled the country wherever they came with ſlaughter and conſternation. Theſe enterprizes were often repeated, and as often repreſſed, but ſtill with diminiſhing vigour on the ſide of the defendants. The ſouthern natives being accuſtomed to have recourſe to Rome, as well for protection as for laws, made ſupplication to the Emperors, and had one legion ſent over for their defence. This relief was in the beginning attended with the deſired effect, the barbarous invaders were repulſed and driven back to their native deſarts and mountains. They returned, however, when the Roman forces were withdrawn; and although they were again repulſed by

by the assistance of a legion once more sent from Rome, yet they too well perceived the weakness of the enemy, and their own superior skill in arms.

At length, in the reign of Valentinian the younger, the empire of Rome began to tremble for its capital; and being fatigued with distant expeditions, informed the wretched Britons, whom their own acts had enfeebled, that they were no longer to expect foreign protection. They accordingly drew away from the island all the Romans, and many of the Britons, who were fit for military services. Thus taking their last leave of the island, they left the natives to the choice of their own Government and kings. They gave them the best instructions the calamitous times would permit, for exercising their arms and repairing their ramparts. They particularly exhorted them to arm in their own defence, and urged that as they were now their own masters, it became them to protect by their valour, that independence which their ancient lords had conferred upon them. They helped the natives to erect a new wall of stone, built by the Emperor Severus, across the island, which they had not, at that time, artizans skilful enough among themselves to repair. Having thus prepared for their departure in a friendly manner, the Romans, in the year 448, left the island, never more to return, after having been masters of it during the course of four centuries.

(To be continued)

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

AT a period of time, when the political horizon throughout Europe, seems to be surcharged with clouds, which threaten convulsions in almost every kingdom and principality, within the circle of its confines, it is no small consolation to contemplate the present state of this powerful and enviable nation; and to observe *therein*, the very high pitch of prosperity to which we are arrived, and from which, it must be the continual wish and prayer of every true friend, and well-wisher of this *flourishing kingdom*, that we may not *in haste, or for ages to come*, be precipitated.

I should deem myself undeserving the enviable, the glorious name of a Briton, did I not with the warmest and most heart-felt satisfaction, join with the minister of the day, in congratulating my countrymen on so great, and important an occasion; and still further, in observing that the minister attributes this astonishing splendour, and prosperity of station in the *political* and *commercial* world, as in a great measure resulting from the excellence of our *constitution*.

I am the more happy in this acknowledgment, because it is well known that advantages which result from, or depend on the fluctuations of trade and commerce, are very precarious; and depend so much on the caprices of other nations, and on adventitious events, which no human policy, or prudence, can either foresee or prevent, that we are in daily and hourly danger of having them snatched from us: whereas we have a well founded hope, that our losses in this respect may in time be retrieved: and that any advantages which we may be deprived of for a time, may again be recovered, by the peculiar energies so happily attached to the *constitution* of this country. It is therefore peculiarly necessary that our constitution should be attentively studied, and accurately known and understood, by every individual who has a proper regard for his most essential rights and interests.

This noble and magnificent fabric has been most deservedly the object of envy and admiration among surrounding nations: and the very name of a Briton deserves a lustre in the eyes of the people of other countries, from the radiance reflected by the sun of that liberty, which forms the foundation, and the pillars of the mansion, under which he draws his breath; and the broad and sacred shade of which, so inviolably protects him, in his life, his liberty, and his property. The English *constitution* is the theme of praise, in the mouth of almost the whole enlightened part of the globe (two countries excepted, which of late seem to outstrip us in their exertions for freedom) and sorry am I to add, what has been so repeatedly observed by foreigners to our reproach, "that if there exists a people who are particularly insensible of the inestimable blessings belonging to

"to it, from an ignorance of their extent and value, there "cannot be a doubt but it is the Engliſh themſelves."

The hardy and invincible race we have to boaſt of as our anceſtors, who raiſed and ſupported this invaluable conſtitution, by their ſuperior courage and valour, who brought it to perfection by their wiſdom, and cemented it with their blood, tranſmitted the inheritance in a pure and undefiled ſtate to *their* immediate deſcendants; and its ineſtimable value was then univerſally known and acknowledged throughout the land: and ſo it continued for ſeveral ages; ſcarcely an individual but knew the various materials of which it was compoſed, and were as jealous of an infringement, and anxious for the preſervation of every *ſingle atom*, as the heroic nations of antiquity uſed to be for the ſafety of their *Lares*, or domeſtic deities. "So jealous were our anceſtors," ſays a learned author, "to preſerve their liberties from en- "croachment, that they employed all the ſtrength of hu- "man policy and religious obligation to ſecure them en- "tire and inviolate; and on the enacting of Magna Char- "ta, the ſtatute *de talagio non concedendo*,"—"*no taxes to* "*be raiſed without conſent of parliament*," and other ſta- "tutes *favourable to the liberty of the ſubject*, they were "always accompanied with a *curſe* framed by the Biſhops, "and ordered to be read in all churches every Sunday, "againſt all thoſe who ſhould preſume to break or in- "fringe them, or any part of them."

This *conſtitution* has now continued to be tranſmitted for ſo many generations from father to ſon, with the never failing aſſurance, that it was the moſt excellent in the world; that for a long ſeries of time paſt, the *body of the people* have taken it for granted. They have believed

lieved the fact, without enquiring into the truth of it. they have remained insensible to, and careless of, any trespasses, or *encroachments*, which have from time to time been made on it, without seeming to dread any ill consequences therefrom. And yet, my reader, whoever thou art, whatever thy rank, or station in life; *whether high or low, rich or poor*, thou art equally interested in knowing this constitution; for on its preservation and perfection, depends the continuance of all those blessings, all those rights and priveleges with which it invests thee: the possession of which, place thee in that pre-eminent station, which all other nations (save those before excepted) gaze on with envy and admiration. Be cautious, therefore, examine it attentively, in all its parts, adopt the old adage, "*Nimium ne cre de Colori*" —"*trust not too much to outward appearances*;" convince thyself that it is in sound health and pristine vigour; lest, after having contemplated the strength of the frame, and the elegance and beauty of the drapery thrown around it, with pleasure and delight, thou shouldst be tempted with warmth and enthusiasm, to embrace the *figure*, and then, alas! be fatally convinced, thou hast only a *phantom* within thy grasp.

The above cautions seem to me to be, *at present*, absolutely necessary: because I do not know any thing so much talked of, or so little understood. If we look around, and impartially review the daily transactions of our internal polity, one would almost suppose there must of necessity be three *constitutions:* that of the *ministry*, that of the *opposition*, and that of the *people*. Every administration founds its merit in acting for the good and welfare of the *constitution*; and, if we believe them, not a measure they adopt, but is a *panacea*, for the good and benefit

benefit of some part or other of it. Whether they declare war, or proclaim peace; whether they *lay on taxes*, or take them off; whether they grant *information* as to the *application* of the *public money*, or whether they withhold it: in every case, they always assure us, it is for the good, and in support of the *constitution*.

Every *opposition* in arraigning the conduct of administration, ground their chief arguments on their zeal for, and watchfulness of the rights of the *constitution*: and such of the people as give themselves the trouble "*to judge for themselves*," and to find fault with the proceedings of either one *party* or the other, always enlist themselves under the banners of the constitution. And yet there are not three *constitutions*, but most assuredly only one.

The fact is, that the *name* of the *constitution* is used as the stalking horse, under which, each party proceeds to blind the people, and so to carry and enforce their respective measures. The cry of the *constitution*, is the sure key to the ladder of popularity; by means of which, the *party chiefs* ascend to the grand point or ultimatum they *all* aim at, which terminates in power and place; and the moment they have reached it, they kick away the ladder, and not only laugh at, but look down with contempt on the *deluded people*, on whose shoulders it was placed. There, they sit for a time firm and secure, acting as grand *Almoners* of the nation, and distribute the *loaves* and *fishes* to the poor half-starved, hungry caitiffs, who surround them.—As state Physicians, they administer their favourite nostrums to the constitution, sometimes composed of salutary, and sometimes (as we are told) of deliterious drugs, till it seems wonderful,

derful, how it ſhould ever have the good fortune to be even in a ſtate of *convaleſcence*:—and thus they go on, till the *people*, once more erect the before-mentioned ladder, to exalt the adverſe party, who have *now* perſuaded them, of *their ſuperior* care and zeal for the *conſtitution*. And thus, ſucceſſive parties alternately drive out each other, from the ſtrong and tempting honours of *place* and *power*; uſing the *name* of the *conſtitution* as the maſked battery, from which they hurl the moſt dangerous and deſtructive weapons, and inflict the deepeſt and deadlieſt wounds on the *conſtitution itſelf*; as the wily and hardened depredator, frequently eſcapes detection, and gets off with impunity, by being the firſt to cry out with the purſuit,—*ſtop thief!*

The truth of the foregoing obſervations, was very near being fatally elucidated, in the courſe of a late melancholy and royal affliction. The majority in Parliament by aſſuming at that time, "a power to give the Royal "aſſent, to ſuch bills as might be paſſed by the two houſes "reſpecting the exerciſe of the *powers* and *authorities* of "the crown; in the name, and on behalf of the king:" vacated by that very act, their ſeats in Parliament. It is repugnant to the *ſpirit* of the conſtitution, that the exerciſe of the *legiſlative* and *executive* authorities, ſhould centre in the ſame perſons: it was repugnant to the *nature* of the conſtitution, that the king's truſts for exerciſing his Royal authority, in his name, and on his behalf, ſhould be placed in the whole Houſe of Commons.

The ſpirit of the conſtitution has been confirmed, or rather extended, by an act of the legiſlature, paſſed in the reign of queen Anne. It has been ſettled by this act, that if any Member, accepts a mere particular office

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of power and truſt, under the crown, his ſeat becomes void. (See Blackſtone's Commentaries book 1. c. 2.) To which is added, that there is no need of a formal diſmiſſion, or reſignation of Members accepting offices: their ſeats become "*ipſo facto*" "*from the fact itſelf*" vacated upon their accepting offices.* "*A fortiori*" "in a ſtronger manner," therefore, the acceptation of a general truſt for governing the kingdom, in the king's name, with even an unlimited power to give his *Royal aſſent*; muſt ſtill more effectuate the diſqualification of Members, accepting ſuch an high office. They muſt be conſidered in the ſame light, *at leaſt*, as if they had jointly and ſeverally accepted the Chiltren Hundreds.

The endeavours of a faction to gratify their own private views, had like to have terminated in leaving the nation without a Parliament, and throwing things into confuſion. In ſhort, there is every reaſon to apprehend, that if a certain recovery had not taken place, at the propitious moment it did, our glorious conſtitution would have been overturned by a majority, who, in every

* Had this act been extended a little further and *prohibited* the *re-election* of any member while he poſſeſſed ſuch offices of power and truſt under the crown," it would have effectually removed that undue influence in the Houſe of Commons which has been ſo long complained of. At preſent the whole operation of the law is little better than a mere farce. The member accepts a place, and of courſe vacates his ſeat; but the very next day he is *re-elected* to it again, and keeps both his place and his ſeat together. Where then is the utility, or the wiſdom of ſuch a law? Britons, remember this! remember too that theſe places are chiefly beſtowed on thoſe who repreſent what is emphatically ſtiled the *rotten part* of our conſtitution, *the Boroughs*. And let it be an additional motive with you to perſevere in all pacific and legal means to eradicate this rotten part, and to procure a fair, free, and equal *Repreſentation* of the PEOPLE.

every ſtep they took, proceeded under a vehement and open avowal and pretence of *zeal* and *anxiety* for the preſervation of the *conſtitution*.

I do not advert to thoſe proceedings, from any deſire or wiſh to revive the ſubject—the danger and ill conſequences which might have reſulted from them, have been happily and providentially averted: and from a ſimilar repetition, I fervently ſay, "Good Lord deliver us."—I have only inſtanced it to prove, that a *Faction*, or *Party*, call them which you will, they are ſynonimous terms, have, under pretence of *ſaving the Conſtitution*, gone very nigh towards annihi ating it. I would therefore wiſh to warn the *People* to be upon their guard: to endeavour to inform themſelves of the true nature and ſpirit of the Conſtitution; in doing which, they will be enabled to judge who are really and truly its *friends*, and to diſtinguiſh ſuch as only *pretend* to be ſo, for their own *ſiniſter*, or *ſelf-intereſted* purpoſes: and I conjure them, particularly, to watch with a careful and a jealous eye, the two grand props which now ſupport what is left of the Conſtitution—the *Liberty of the Preſs*, and the *Trial by Jury*. While the People poſſeſs theſe, fully and *effectually*, though they may be ſometimes liable to *injury*, they can never be totally *undone*; but, if once *they* are ſuffered to be ſubverted, or openly, or ſurreptitiouſly to be taken away—from that moment, *Freedom and the Britiſh Conſtitution is no more*.

ALGERNON SYDNEY.

ON THE

PROBABLE INFLUENCE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION ON GREAT-BRITAIN.

THE Revolution which has ſo lately been accompliſhed in France, has been ſo unexpected, ſo complete, and muſt be attended with effects ſo beneficial, not only to the preſent Generation, but to the lateſt poſterity, that it may juſtly claim the admiration of all mankind. But if there be any people to whoſe admiration it is moſt peculiarly entitled, it is the Engliſh, who have long known the value of Liberty, and many of whom are deſcended from anceſtors who had the honour of ſhedding their blood in its defence. If therefore the French Revolution has not been regarded in England with an admiration approaching to enthuſiaſm, it muſt be becauſe its circumſtances have been diſguiſed, and its conſequences not ſufficiently conſidered; for it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe that any national jealouſy can have kept back that admiration.

Who, indeed that deſerves the name of an Engliſhman, can have preſerved a cold and deadly apathy, when he found a nation which had been for ages enſlaved, rouſing on a ſudden from their ignominious lethargy, break-

breaking aſunder their bonds, and with an unanimity that has no example in hiſtory, demanding a free Conſtitution: when he viewed all the Fortreſſes of Tyranny deſtroyed; when he ſaw the Dungeons of State thrown open, and the Priſons of Superſtition unlocked; when he beheld the Aſiatic deſpotiſm of the King, and the Feudal tyranny of his Nobles, at once aboliſhed: when he perceived the army overcoming thoſe prejudices of their profeſſion which it had been the policy of ages to foſter and encourage, and finding their honour in the diſobedience of orders to ſhed the kindred blood of their countrymen; and when, in a kingdom which the darkeſt Superſtition had long overſpread, and which had been the theatre of the moſt bloody perſecutions, he ſaw eſtabliſhed the moſt perfect toleration that has hitherto prevailed in any part of Europe.*

Is it conſiſtent with the generous ſpirit of a free people, while contemplating ſuch a ſcene, and when naturally prompted to look forward to all thoſe important events, which it ſeems with certainty to announce, and while the bright proſpect of univerſal freedom and univerſal peace was juſt burſting on their ſight, to check their admiration, and to turn aſide in order to reflect that the nation which was effecting all theſe wonders had been once their enemy: to conſider how their own partial intereſts might be affected, how their trade in ſome particular branch might be injured, or to liſten to exaggerated accounts of particular miſchiefs and perſonal outrages,

* "*Hæc ſpe Concipere, audacis animi fuit; ad effectum adducere, virtutis et fortunæ ingentis.*"

"To conceive this hope, was the flight of a daring mind; to carry into effect, the ſummit of virtue and good fortune."

rages, which may have been committed in the courſe of the Revolution.*

Such a diſpoſition of mind may have been diſguiſed under the falſe name of Patriotiſm, but *true* Patriotiſm never can forbid us to rejoice at the happineſs of our fellow-creatures, and at their deliverance from oppreſſion, becauſe they happen to be of a different country from our own. The true intereſts of a nation never yet ſtood in oppoſition to the general intereſts of Mankind, and it never can happen that Philanthropy and Patriotiſm can impoſe on any man inconſiſtent duties.

However, even in the narroweſt view in which the French Revolution can be conſidered, and having regard only to the

* It is impoſſible to juſtify the outrages which have been committed at Paris, and in ſome other parts of France; but that all the good which has been done in France cannot compenſate for the miſchiefs, is an opinion which one would have thought could never have entered the mind of any man who had once breathed the air of England. If your anceſtors had poſſeſſed that political ſuperſtition, to think that every public evil ought to be endured rather than riſque the ſhedding of any human blood, England would have been at this moment a land of ſlavery, and every country in Europe would probably have been doomed to continue for ſome ages longer a prey to the tyrant who happened to have dominion over it. That however which is rather matter of aſtoniſhment in France, is, that ſo great a Revolution ſhould have been effected with ſo little bloodſhed. In the battle of Edge-hill alone (the firſt battle which was fought between the army of king Charles the Firſt. and that of the Parliament) ten times as many lives were loſt, as it has hitherto coſt France, ſince the firſt dawning of its Liberty; and yet the number of the ſlain at Edge-hill was ſmall compared with thoſe who fell in all the numerous battles afterwards fought in different parts of England, between the partizans of the king and the adherents to the Parliament.

the particular intereſts of England, it is an event in which every Engliſhman has the trueſt cauſe to rejoice, becauſe it muſt neceſſarily be productive of the greateſt advantages to this country.

The firſt and moſt important of theſe advantages is, that it will ſecure the liberties of England for ever; or, which I truſt is the ſame thing, as long as the people of England ſhall continue worthy of being free. If the liberties of this country are ever loſt, they muſt be abandoned by the People, for they cannot now be wreſted from them; Public Liberty never can be in danger, but from the corruption of the People, or from a foreign force; and no force formidable to the Liberties of this country can ever exiſt while France is free.

If we would eſtimate what ſecurity the liberties of England derive from the recovery of liberty in France, we have but to take a view of our hiſtory, from the time when our Freedom was firſt eſtabliſhed on a ſolid baſis. We ſhall find, that from that period, it has never been in real danger but from a foreign power, and that power has invariably been France.

If that nation had been free in the reign of Charles II. could that tyrant have entered into a league with France, to deſtroy thoſe liberties which he had ſolemnly ſworn to protect? Could his ſucceſſor, when expelled from the throne, have turned the arms of France againſt his native country, and have waſted the lives of thoſe who were once his people, in an obſtinate but unavailing ſtruggle, to recover his forfeited authority? If at a later period of our hiſtory, France had been free, would it have given ſuccour and encouragement to the offspring of a

dethroned King, and have enabled them to assert their odious claims over a nation which had delivered itself from their yoke; to bring war and devastation into the heart of what they called their kingdom; and to exercise the only act of Royalty in their power, that of spilling the blood of their subjects?

Another advantage which we shall derive from the Revolution in France, and the next in importance to that which has been already mentioned, is the prevention of war. All the wars in which this country has been engaged for a century past, and most of the wars in which it was engaged for two centuries before, were wars with France. The reproach may have been just, but it is certain that that reproach can be justly urged no longer. Wars will never now be waged by France to gratify the ambition of a Prince, who has been flattered into an idea that he is superior to mankind, and that the blood of his fellow-creatures is a proper offering to his imagined divinity. They will never be waged to serve the criminal designs of a minister, planning how he may have opportunities to plunder his country to most advantage, or how he may best render his talents necessary to the capricious Monarch whom he serves.* The wars which are hereafter

* The war of 1688 was excited by Louvois, the French Minister, to *secure himself in his office*, which he judged to be in danger from perceiving, as he thought, an alteration in Lewis the 14th's disposition towards him. The story is thus related by the Duke de St. Simon, in his memoirs.—"The castle of Trianon was just built "when the king perceived a defect in the proportion of one of the "windows. Louvois, who was naturally insolent, and who had "been so spoilt that he could hardly bear to be found fault with by "his master, maintained that the window was well proportioned. "The king turned his back on him, and walked away. The next "day

after waged by France, will be wars consented to by the People; by those at whose expence they are undertaken, with

"day the king seeing *Le Notre*, the architect, asked him if he had "been to Trianon: he answered in the negative. The king order- "ed him to go thither, and told him of the defect which he had "discovered in the window. The next day the king again asked "him, if he had been to Trianon: he again answered that he had "not. The following day the same question was again asked by the "king, and the same answer given by the architect. The king "now saw clearly that Le Notre was afraid of being under the ne- "cessity of declaring that either he or his minister was in the wrong, "and with some anger, he commanded Le Notre and Louvois to meet "him the next day at Trianon. No evasion was now possible, ac- "cordingly they met. The window was immediately mentioned. "Louvois persisted in his former opinion: Le Notre remained silent. "At last the king ordered him to measure the window; he obeyed, "and while he was so employed, Louvois, enraged that such a cri- "terion was resorted to, discovered his chagrin, and insisted with "acrimony that the window was exactly like the rest. When Le "Notre had finished, Louvois asked him what was the result: Le "Notre hesitated. The king with much passion, commanded him to "speak out. He then declared, that the king was in the right, and "that the window was not proportioned to the rest. Immediately "the king turned to Louvois, told him there was no enduring his "obstinacy, and reproached him with much vehemence. Louvois, "stung with this reprimand, which was pronounced in the presence "of many courtiers, as well as of workmen, and footmen, returned "home, furious with rage. At his house he found *St. Fouange, Vill- "neuf*, the *Chevalier de Nogent*, the two *Tilladets*, and some other of "his most devoted friends, who were much alarmed at seeing the "state of mind he was in. 'It is all over,' said he, 'I must have lost "all credit with the king, from the manner in which he has been "treating me only about a window. I have no resource but in *war*; "which will divert his attention from his buildings, and will ren- "der my assistance necessary; and by God, war he shall have.' He "kept his word: war was declared a few months afterwards, and "he contrived, in spite of the king and of the other powers, to "render it general."

Thus

with whoſe blood they are carried on, and on whom all the calamities which attend them muſt inevitably fall. Where ſuch a conſent muſt be obtained, no wars will be undertaken but what are juſt and neceſſary.

If England ſhould now plunge into a war with France, it cannot be with the pretext, that that *perfidious* nation, *as it was once the faſhion to call it*, was always either making or meditating war; but it muſt be avowedly becauſe we delight in ſacrificing our real proſperity, and all the ſolid comforts of peace, to a phantom of national glory—that is to the power of doing miſchief, and rendering our fellow creatures miſerable. The wars which ſhall hereafter ariſe between France and England, muſt be wars proceeding from reſtleſs ambition, not of France, but of England. It will no longer be in our power to ſay, that the French and Engliſh are *natural enemies*, for if there was any ſenſe in which that aſſertion could be juſtly made, it muſt have been founded merely on the different forms of Government eſtabliſhed in England and in France, ſince Liberty and Slavery may truly be ſaid to be natural enemies to each other.

Leſs habituated to war, we ſhall loſe thoſe martial prejudices which have already coſt this nation ſo dear.—We ſhall ceaſe to think that the addition of ſeventy, or perhaps an hundred millions to our debt, an enormous increaſe

Thus did a childiſh diſpute between a vain-glorious Prince and an inſolent Miniſter, on the moſt trivial occaſion, kindle a war which laſted for eight years; which raged in Ireland, in France, in the Weſt Indies, upon the ſeas, in Spain, in Savoy, in Flanders, and in Germany; in which millions of treaſure were ſpent, many thouſand lives loſt, all the towns and villages of the Palatinate burned, and that whole country reduced to a ſcene of univerſal deſolation!!!

increaſe of taxes, and the deſtruction of many thouſand lives, are a low price for the honour of being a terror to all the nations of Europe. We ſhall begin to ſee the folly of victory, and the miſchief of foreign conqueſts.

If wars are waged by this country, they will be wars of abſolute neceſſity, and they will be waged with a ſincere deſire of ſecuring the bleſſings of Peace to the lateſt poſterity. If any wars are hereafter waged by France and England, they will be waged as allies, not as enemies. If any rivalſhip hereafter ſubſiſts between England and France, it will be a rivalſhip not who ſhall enjoy the moſt advantageous Commerce, not who ſhall poſſeſs the moſt extenſive Empire, not who ſhall gain the moſt ſplendid Victories, or win the moſt bloody Trophies; but who ſhall ſooneſt and moſt effectually promote the *Happineſs of Mankind*, and extend the empire of *Reaſon*, *Humanity*, and *true Philoſophy*.

PHILANTHROPOS.

BOROUGH REPRESENTATION.

The State of Borough Repreſentation in this country being of great importance to the public at large, as well as a matter of univerſal curioſity; as it will demonſtrate the vaſt extent, and gigantic ſtrength of *ariſtocratical* influence, in the election of the repreſentatives, as they are called, of the *People*, in the Houſe of Commons; which influence, is directly ſubverſive of our excellent Conſtitution, we ſhall endeavour to give our readers as perfect a view of it as we poſſibly can, during the future progreſs of our work.

Wendover, in Buckinghamſhire.

POLITICAL CHARACTER. This Borough is one of thoſe where the elective franchiſes of the inhabitants

bitants are transferable in the Repreſentative Market like any other goods and chattels that may be purchaſed. It was the ſole property of the late Earl Verney; but, during his lordſhip's life, it was ſold to its preſent poſſeſſor, John Parker Church, Eſq.

ANECDOTE. A circumſtance happened during the poſſeſſion of the late owner, which is too remarkable to omit. All the houſes being then the property of the late Earl Verney, and the tenants in general living rent-free, on condition of giving their votes to ſuch Gentlemen as his lordſhip ſhould recommend, the electors were prevailed upon in 1768, to accept a preſent good in preference to the above privilege.

A Mr. Atkins, a conſiderable lace-manufacturer in this place, had undertaken, by a *coup de main—a maſter ſtroke*, to carry the election againſt his lordſhip's intereſt, and conducted his meaſures with ſuch ſecrecy, that no oppoſition was expected until the day of election. At this moment, to the aſtoniſhment and confuſion of Earl Verney and his agents, Sir Robert Darling, a former Sheriff of London, was propoſed, and immediately returned by a conſiderable majority. This diſobedience to his lordſhip's wiſhes, was puniſhed by the voters being inſtantly ejected out of their houſes, and obliged to take refuge in huts and tents, where they remained for ſix months, in all the penitence of ſorrow, until a promiſe of good behaviour in future, ſo far ſoftened the rigour of this *Noble's* reſentment, as to ſuffer them all, with ſome few exceptions, to re-poſſeſs their former dwellings.

The inhabitants keeping this ſevere treatment in remembrance, took the firſt opportunity to retaliate upon his lordſhip, by a repetition of their former conduct in

1784; when his lordſhip, having every reaſon to apprehend that he ſhould loſe his ſeat for the county, offered himſelf and Mr. Jolliffe as their candidates. The electors well knowing the deranged ſtate of his lordſhip's private affairs would oblige him to ſell, very ſhortly, his property in the borough, took the opportunity of again putting up their ſuffrages to the higheſt bidder. One individual engaged that two candidates ſhould be choſen againſt his lordſhip's intereſt and influence, for 6000l. This being ſettled, a Gentleman was employed to go down, where he was met according to previous appointment, by the electors at a mile from the town. The electors aſked the ſtranger, where he came from? He replied, "from the "Moon." They then aſked him, "What news from "the Moon?" He anſwered that he had brought from the Moon 6000l. to be diſtributed among them by the Borough-Agent, and to whom the money was then delivered. The electors being thus ſatisfied with the golden news from the Moon,* choſe the candidates, and received their reward.

We have heard of lunar influence; but we never remember to have met with ſuch prevailing arguments in favour of it as the above. No one can therefore be ſurpriſed, that near 100 perſons ſhould be ſo affected by this Cynthian impulſe, as to loſe all ſenſe of obligation to their noble friend, except that of not giving him the trouble of guarding their political intereſts any longer.

The Borough was ſome time after purchaſed by the preſent poſſeſſor, J. B. Church, Eſq. againſt whom a feeble

* We have heard of the Nabob of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore having Repreſentatives in the Houſe of Commons, but this is the firſt tidings we have received of the inhabitants of the Moon having interfered to obtain a ſeat in our Legiſlature.—*The Editors.*

feeble oppoſition was made by two Gentlemen in the intereſt of the Marquis of Buckingham; but as the Moon had withdrawn her influence, the people were determined to prefer a *Chriſtian Church* to an *Apoſtate Temple*.

The INTEREST of this Borough appears to have been Miniſterial, by the Speaker being ordered May 13, 1735, to iſſue his warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out a new writ for the electing a Burgeſs to ſerve in Parliament in the room of John Hampden, Eſq. who, after his election, accepted the offices of Commiſſaries of his Majeſty's ſtores and proviſions at Minorca and Gibralter. At leaſt the above proves, that Court Influence prevailed over that Independence which ſhould characterize every Repreſentation.

RIGHT OF ELECTION. Nov. 21, 1702, "Reſolved, "That perſons coming by certificate to live in the Bo- "rough, have not thereby a right to vote for the election "of Members to ſerve in Parliament for the ſaid Borough. "The Right is therefore in the Inhabitants, houſekeep- "ers within the Borough, not receiving alms. Return- "ing officers, the Conſtables.

Number of Voters 130.

The

The Editors regret that the following Hiſtorical Fragment is not longer, and ſtill more that a ſketch ſo happily begun ſhould remain unfiniſhed; ſuch as it is, however, they have no doubt but it will be highly agreeable to their readers.

HISTORICAL FRAGMENT.

Written in February, 1782.

Dear Madam,

THE charming deſcription you ſent me of your Aviary, I ſincerely thank you for, and aſſure you it gave me great pleaſure, inaſmuch as I perceive by every line of it, that it is to you a ſubject of delight: With ſo truly poliſhed and refined a taſte, who would not wiſh to coincide? But as candour obliges me to confeſs my ignorance in ſuch matters, I ſhall add no more on that head, than to aſſure you that I envy your birds.

You are upon the point of finiſhing a ſecond time, I am told, the Hiſtory of the renowned Charles V. You need not now be informed, that the fetters of Ignorance and Superſtition, in which the human mind had been bound for a thouſand years, began to be broken in the end of the 15th, and during the 16th century; that the diſcoveries then made, removed thoſe barriers that had

formerly separated kingdoms and Continents from one another, and united, by means of commerce, all the regions of the globe into one great society. In this vast society of the world, empires and kingdoms are the same thing that individuals are in our petty, domestic parties. In the one, as well as in the other, there is generally one person that rises to a degree of superior eminence, to whom the attention of the rest is steadily directed, who for a season stands forth as the most capital figure in the picture, and then sinks into an equality with those who were once inferior, while another pushes forward to that rank which he had formerly maintained. During the first half of the sixteenth century, Charles was superior to every European prince; his steps were narrowly observed by every other power, and his conduct, like the awful nod of ancient Jove, gave peace to mankind. Accordingly the history of his reign is the history of Europe. His son, Philip II. heir of his dominions in Spain, in the Netherlands, and in both Indies, became after him the most powerful Monarch of his time. Hence his reign characterizes the age in which he lived. The many important revolutions which happened in Europe while he swayed the Spanish sceptre, render his history peculiarly interesting. The grand rebellion in the Netherlands, the rise and progress of the Seven United Provinces, the religious wars in France, and the vigorous struggles of Henry IV. for that crown, the marriage of Philip with Mary, Queen of England, the bloody persecutions of her cruel reign, and the death of that infernal Princess; the succession of the illustrious Elizabeth, the establishment of the Protestant Religion in Britain, and the destruction of the Spanish invincible Armada; the death of Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, and the union of that kingdom with Spain:—These and similar events, render

the

the reign of Philip as ſtriking, and as much fitted to command the attention, as the beſt written tragedy. This is the book you are next to read; and you ſee here a little peep of what various entertainment is before you.—The prodigious exertions made by Charles and Philip, in the bloody wars they carried on, added to the baniſhment of the Moors from Spain, and the emigrations of thouſands of Spaniards to America, ſo exhauſted that fine country of men, manufactures, and commerce, that from being the braveſt, and moſt powerful kingdom in the world, it has degenerated into one of the moſt inſignificant, and contemptible States of Europe.*

After

* The above true, but deplorable reflection, in regard to the former, and preſent ſituation of *Spain*, is a very awful memento, and may prove an equally uſeful leſſon to the people of this country. We may now be ſaid to ſtand at the very pinnacle of proſperity in regard to our commerce and manufactures, and let us not loſe ſight of the *cauſe* of our being ſo—viz. the infant ſtate of America for manufactures, and the preſent troubles occaſioned by the glorious ſtruggle for liberty in the neighbouring kingdom of France. Let us keep in mind, as we value theſe bleſſings we now enjoy, that America is every day improving and extending her manufactures, that the expences of her government are trifling, her taxes, next to nothing, and her extent of country ſuch, as to admit of millions emigrating thither, without a poſſibility of diſadvantage or inconvenience, *but quite the reverſe*, to the preſent inhabitants. Let us remember, and be certain, that as ſoon as the manufactures and commerce of France ſhall come to feel the alleviation of one half of their taxes, and the benign and active influence of a mild, juſt, and attentive Government, inſtead of the haughty oppreſſion, and contemptuous diſcouragement of their late oppreſſive one; then will the manufactures and commerce of Britain woefully feel the ruinous preſſure of their preſent burdens, in caſe the ſame ſhall be continued. Firſt, in the total deprivation of the French market for theſe manufactures, which Britain has enjoyed, for

ſome

After the death of Philip and of Henry IV. during the minority of Lewis XIII. the religious wars ſtill continued to diſturb the peace of Chriſtendom. The Houſe of Auſtria, though weak in Spain, was powerful in Germany (for you know that Charles, upon his own reſignation,

ſome years paſt, almoſt entire, particularly through the late confuſions in France. And even the loſs of that market will be felt here ſeverely. But we have further to dread, the loſs of the market for theſe manufactures, in other foreign countries, from which under ſuch a difference of circumſtances Britain will ſoon be cut off by France. And finally, in the loſs of our own market, or home conſumption. It behoves us therefore to loſe no time in bringing about as ſpeedily as poſſible a *Reform of Parliament*, which alone can ſave us from thoſe evils accruing to us, by the adoption of ſuch wiſe and ſalutary regulations as may effectually avert or prevent them. Let us remember that by the oppreſſive, impolitic, and unjuſt meaſure, *the revocation of the edict of Nantz*, the French Government drove away their beſt manufacturers, artificers, and artiſans; they flew for refuge to this country, and were one great means of raiſing us to the exalted pitch of proſperity we now ſtand in:—let us attend ſeriouſly, to the ſhameful and impolitic reſtrictions inforced upon the Diſſenters in this country, at the preſent moment; and reflect, that a majority of manufacturers in Mancheſter, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, &c. are Diſſenters, and let us dread that high taxes, oppreſſive laws, and tyrannical perſecution, may operate with us, as it has heretofore done not only with us, but with other nations, and let us dread, as the greateſt of evils, a ſpirit of emigration, from whatever cauſes, taking place in this country. One of the greateſt ſources of wealth and ſtrength in a nation, ſays the enlightened Adam Smith, "is the number of its people, and their being properly regulated and *protected* by its laws,"—that regulation and protection ought to be extended *equally* to *all*, and if it is not, thoſe who are deprived of their juſt rights and privileges will go elſewhere, into countries where they will be certain of obtaining them. Let us call to mind that England is *not* now the *only* aſylum for Liberty and Freedom to fly to—Let us determine to be *juſt*, in order to be *great*—and let us never forget—"*to do unto our neighbours, as* "*we would they ſhould do unto us.*" *The Editors.*

tion, had caused his brother to be elected Emperor) and threatened the liberties and religion of the Protestant States. To check the exorbitant power and oppressive designs of the Emperor, a great man happily appeared in a country that had hitherto been thought to have little influence in the balance of Europe; this was Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden. He took upon him the management of affairs in Germany, fought bravely in the cause of Liberty and Religion, and with 30,000 Swedes made his Imperial Majesty tremble on his throne. The history of his reign which was brilliant, but short, is the history of the age.

A few years after the death of Gustavus, a Prince began to appear, whose reign was remarkably long, and who makes the greatest figure of any Monarch in modern history. This man you will guess to be no other than the famous Lewis XIV. He had in the beginning of his reign a series of the most rapid success; for his Generals the great Condé and Turenne, were attended by victory and triumph wherever they turned their steps: They raised the military glory of France to the highest pitch, and made the Sovereigns of Europe dread that Lewis would actually realize that universal Monarchy to which his ambition prompted him to aspire; but his haughty heart was doomed to feel a sad reverse of fortune. William, the King of England, during several campaigns, gave a check to the progress of his arms; but it was a woman, the good and peaceful Queen Anne, who had the honour of reducing him to the greatest distress.—Marlbrough and Eugene struck every Frenchman's heart with terror, won every battle in which they engaged, and forced the aspiring Lewis humbly to sue for peace. He died in the year 1715.

For ſome years before and after his death, a ſtriking ſcene was diſplayed in the north of Europe. Peter the Great of Ruſſia, and Charles XII. of Sweden, fought, the one like a madman for the ruin of his country, the other, like a Patriot and an Hero, for the advantage of his ſubjects, and for laying the foundation of an empire that may one day prove fatal to the liberties of Europe.

After Peter and Charles had quitted the ſcene, a new Hero aroſe in this preſent century, who has almoſt renewed the age of Lewis XIV; I mean Frederick III. King of Pruſſia. His anceſtors were but petty Dukes of Brandenburgh; his Grandfather was the firſt who was dignified with the title of King: His father, fond of military parade, raiſed and ſupported a numerous army, introduced a rigid military diſcipline, and laid the foundation of his ſon's grandeur. In 1740, an occaſion was offered to Frederic for diſplaying his talents in the art of war. The Emperor of Germany died without a ſon; his daughter was married to the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, who was to ſucceed his father.—***—*The reſt is wanting.*

ON THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

IT is an indiſpenſible truth, that the inordinate luxuries of the times are, with reaſon, complained of. A love of pleaſure, of expence, and frivolous amuſe-

ments

ments has, it is moſt certain, with a poiſonous contagion, affected all ranks of people. Hence, I preſume may moſt naturally be accounted for, that political languor, ſupineneſs, and indifference to the intereſts and welfare of their country, which to the misfortune and diſgrace of Britons, have been gradually for ſome time paſt, diffuſing their noxious influence over the inhabitants of this once great and magnanimous kingdom. May their intoxication be only temporary! and may they awake from it before it be too late, is the wiſh and prayer of every thinking, ſerious, and enlightened mind! The change is not altogether impoſſible. Sparta, I have read, from the exhortations of one man, Lycurgus, I think, was his name, emerged from a moſt luxurious depravity of manners. They ſuffered themſelves to be converted from the laſt ſtage of an effeminate prodigality, to a plan of the moſt rigid abſtinence and œconomy. They ſubmitted to be led by that wiſe law-giver, from the greateſt degeneracy and even deadneſs, to the moſt exalted ſenſe of national honour, to ſo high and ſuperior a taſte for public virtue and genuine patriotiſm, that the Spartans remain to this day illuſtrious evidences upon record, that a nation can never be ſo irretrievably ſunk into the lap of indolence and inſenſibility, as to preclude all practicability of being reclaimed; reclaimed even ſo as to become ſhining lights to poſterity for the ſimplicity and frugality of their characters in private life, and for the moſt ſpirited and glorious activity in the public exertions of their national powers. It may be, perhaps, too much to exact from ſuch a commercial people as we are, any cloſe adherence to the abſtemious forms of Spartan manners. I am beſides aware that ſome of the inſtitutions of Lycurgus bordered upon barbariſm and immorality. I adduce the Spartans only as

examples

examples of what may be effected in the way of popular reformation; and I own, I often recur to the history of this celebrated people as a remedy to avoid that despair which some persons are inclined openly to profess, of ever seeing my countrymen reviving to a general character of private and public virtue. But, further, there was perhaps an æra in the history of our own country, when, if a politician were to have predicted the fall of England, from the gross and abandoned luxury of the court, and the indecent and licentious style of our dramatic performances; from the successful tyranny of the last years of that infamous reign (I mean that of Cha. II.) and the patient, the abject forbearance of the people, in crouching their necks; were a politician, I repeat, from this complication of circumstances to have predict their fate, he would have been warranted in prophecying, that the liberties of England had seen their termination, and that the nation had become too enervated by pleasure and debauchery, ever again to figure in the eye and estimation of Europe. But the vigour of the people was, it seems, not absolutely sunk; it rose again in the reign of the arbitrary and superstitious James,* and by one great and noble effort accomplished the glorious Revolution. With the recovery, and even improvement of their sinking and almost lost constitution, the national spirit and character revived, as I may say, with a proportionally renewed lustre, and my countrymen were seen, as the events of the succeeding reigns abundantly manifested, to do something more than restore themselves to the place they had heretofore held as freemen, and upon the scale of European powers.

Our

* James nevertheless must be allowed to have possessed more natural courage and honesty, and much less king-craft than any of his predecessors, the *blessed martyr* not excepted.

Our brother Lazarus is not dead but ſleepeth, was ſome time ſince very happily applied by the Apoſtate Burke to the drowſy North, ſlumbering upon the Treaſury Bench of the Houſe of Commons. It may, perhaps, with a ſuperior force of application be aſſumed of the Engliſh people. Succeſſive adminiſtrations have treated the nation as if it were ſunk into a ſtate of apathy, even beyond that of ſleep;—as if they conſidered it as in effect dead—dead to every ſenſe of its own condition, or its own intereſt: dead to every ſenſe of virtuous and manly reſentment—but they may, and I hope will, find themſelves miſtaken; I flatter myſelf they will find, that one of the firſt nations on the globe, and on the roll of fame, *is not dead, but ſleepeth*; and that when once awakened, the native ſons of liberty, far from being rendered languid by their former ſlumbers, will ſhew themſelves on the contrary, renovated with the *ſpirit and ſtrength of a giant refreſhed with wine*.

I have been led into theſe reflections by an account I lately met with reſpecting the very defective ſtate of the *Repreſentation* of the People of this country in the Houſe of Commons: and muſt confeſs I am not maſter of words to expreſs, as I would wiſh, my aſtoniſhment that a whole nation, whoſe boſoms have always beat high with tranſport at the ſound of Liberty, and whoſe greateſt pride and ambition has ever tended to ſee themſeves enrolled as firſt among the ſons of Freedom, ſhould remain thus blind to their higheſt intereſts, thus ſupine and eaſy under the privation of one of their deareſt rights, of their moſt valuable privileges.

That learned and elegant writer, Sir W. Blackſtone, ſpeaking of parliament, vol. 1, p. 161, ſays,—"It is a "matter

" matter moſt eſſential to the liberties of this kingdom, " that ſuch members be delegated to this important " truſt as are moſt eminent for their probity, their for- " titude, and their knowledge," for it was a known apothegm of the great Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, " that " England could never be ruined but by a *parliament*." To the ſame purpoſe the Preſident Monteſquieu preſages, " that as Rome, Sparta, and Carthage have loſt their " liberty and periſhed, ſo the conſtitution of England " will in time loſe *its* liberty, and will periſh: it will " periſh whenever the legiſlative power ſhall become " more corrupt than the executive."

It is a moſt melancholy reflection, that ſuch are the frailties and infirmities incident to human nature, that in thoroughly examining, and minutely inveſtigating the moſt perfect and noble ſtructures, raiſed with the greateſt Care and attention, by the wiſeſt and beſt of men, the pleaſure, the delight we experience during our perception of their beauties, *muſt* at length give place to the painful recollection that all their proud pre-eminences, from ſome dire circumſtance or other, will one day be buried in the duſt, and as the immortal Bard ſo nervouſly and beautifully expreſſes it, will

" Like an unſubſtantial pageant fading,
" Leave not a *rack* behind.————

When I review the words of Monteſquieu, which pourtray in ſuch warm and glowing colours the calamity which he predicts will one day be the cauſe of the downfall of that fineſt fabric—the Conſtitution of this Country—" that it will periſh whenever the Legiſlative Power " ſhall become more corrupt than the Executive."—When I think for a moment how near that fatal period may be approaching—I feel my pen arreſted, as it were,

by an irresistible impulse—I am involuntarily obliged to pause; and like the bleeding bosom of tenderness, whose irksome duty it is to look with a steady eye, and with seeming apathy to open the painful wound which it is necessary to probe, I turn away reluctant from the object, and feelingly ejaculate—"irksome and dreadful as the task is, it must be performed."——I beg pardon for this involuntary digression, and will now, with your permission, resume the subject.

Montesquieu, the keen, the penetrating, the eagle-eyed investigator into the Spirit of Laws, emphatically warns us, that Corruption is the vortex which will one day swallow up and overwhelm our Constitution. The Executive Power no doubt has the means, and there is too much reason to fear it has sometimes the inclination also; it therefore behoves the People to be upon their guard, and to leave no effort unassayed, which may be necessary to ward off so dreadful a calamity, as that of a Nation of Freemen, either degenerating, or suffering themselves to be betrayed into a Hord of Slaves. And nothing can or will so effectually operate toward so desirable an end;—nothing can so effectually check and counteract the baneful and secret influence of our common and gigantic enemy, Corruption, as the obtaining a full, fair, equal and complete Representation in Parliament. It is the helmet and the buckler under whose protection we may bid defiance to all attacks:—it is the immortal Ægis which alone can securely guard us, from all assailants:—and possessed of which, our constitution will not be vulnerable even in the heel.*

RUSSELL.

(To be continued)

* This is a neat allusion to the story of Achilles, whom his mother *Thetis* dipt in the *River Styx*, and so made him invulnerable in all parts of his Body but the heel by which she held him. *Ed.*

ANECDOTE

OF AN OFFICER AT THE BATTLE OF MALPLAQUET.

AN officer of acknowledged braverv, who had riſen ſtep by ſtep to the rank which he then held, was entruſted to maintain an important poſt. At the firſt attack he was ſeized with a panic. He deſerted his poſt, fled, and never ſtopped till he reached Calais. On his arrival at that city, where he had relations, he thought of paſſing over into England to conceal his diſhonour, and to eſcape puniſhment for deſertion. After a night's reflection he wrote to Marſhal Villars, confeſſed his fault, aſked pardon of his General and his fellow-officers, begged to be brought before a court martial, that in his puniſhment he might afford a ſalutary example, and concluded with informing the Marſhal that he waited his orders. The Marſhal humanely replied, that he pitied him, adviſed him to forget what was paſt, and bade him adieu. The unhappy officer returned his Croſs of the Order of St. Lewis, laid aſide his ſword, and condemned himſelf never to reſume it. 'I ſaw him,' ſays the perſon who relates this inſtructive anecdote, 'I ſaw him in his 'old age, dreſſed in his uniform, with an impreſſion of 'deep melancholy on his countenance, attract the notice 'of the garriſon, and expoſe himſelf to their obſervation 'as a victim devoted to ignominy.' This is a remarkable inſtance of the whole tenor of a life embittered by a momentary error.

Anquetil's Memoirs of the Court of Lewis 14th, Vol. 2. p. 172.

That

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday, May 15.

ON THE

GOVERNMENT OF THE BRITONS.

ALTHOUGH the Government of the Britons is rather obſcure, from time having obliterated moſt of thoſe few records their own want of literature had left behind them, yet, *Cæſar*, *Tacitus*, *Dion Caſſius*, and others, have left ſufficient teſtimonies of their freedom. Spelman* ſays, the Britons had their *Commune Conſilium*, or parliament, which they called *Kyfr-y-then*, from their laws being formed in the aſſembly. And when Lucius ſent to Pope Elutherius for the Roman Laws, the Pope, not ignorant of the Britiſh conſtitution, wrote him an anſwer to the following purport.—"*Habetis*

* Spelm. Concil. tom. 1, 34.

"*penes vos in regno utramque paginam, ex illis, Dei gra-*
"*tia, per Concilium regni veſtri, ſume legem, et per illam,*
"*Dei potentia, veſtrum rege Britanniæ regnum.*" "*Thou*
"*haſt almoſt every page of them in thy kingdom. From*
"*them by the grace of God, by the council of thy kingdom,*
"*take the law, and by that power of God rule thy kingdom*
"*of Britain.*"

And as a further evidence that the Britons had not only political, but municipal laws, Bede ſays, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, book 1. c. 1. "*Erat Britanniæ,*
viginti et octo Civitatibus quondam nobiliſſimis inſignita,
præter Caſtella innumera, quæ et ipſa muris, turribus,
portis, ac ſuis erant inſtructa firmiſſimis."—"*There were*
"*in Britain twenty-eight cities formerly the moſt diſtin-*
"*guiſhed, beſides innumerable caſtles that were defended by*
"*walls, towers, ports, and barred gates.*"

This authority demonſtrates that they were not then an itinerant people, as ſome have imagined, wandering tribes without government, or ſettled habitations. On the contrary, they are thus proved to have made ſuch conſiderable progreſs in civilization, as to have formed a government, eſtabliſhed communities, and to have fortified themſelves by caſtles, like every other country in which civil ſociety has been eſtabliſhed; for whenever ſocial compacts raiſe an idea of property, caſtles are generally built for its defence.

In their moſt early ages, the Britons were, as we have already ſhewn, undoubtedly, like every other uncivilized people, diſorderly in their lives, deſtitute of manners, prone to wars, and uncultivated in morals, policy and religion. The Druids, as has been before obſerved,

were their prieſts, rulers, and legiſlators; and their Bards were the only perſons, who with the Druids, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their genius and literature. But when Cæſar landed, he found they had ſo far proceeded in forming a government, that it was like that of the Gauls, a republic.*

They were not ruled by one king: for in Britain, there were found ſeveral petty kings, or rather chiefs, of the diſtricts over which they preſided. As the Gauls, in affairs of great difficulty, they demanded a public council of the people. "*Publicum gentis concilium.*" "Camden Britannia epitomized 16," in which they choſe one governor, or commander. Thus, according to Cæſar, Caſſibelene, or Caſſivelaunus, was *permitted*, by their council, to take the chief adminiſtration of their affairs, in the war in which they were engaged with the Romans. And happy would it have been for the Britons, had they depended on their own valour and conduct alone, after the departure of the Romans, in the ſame manner as they did before their arrival in this iſland.

It may very juſtly be ſaid that wretched is that ſtate or people who cannot ſupport or defend themſelves without calling in the auxiliary aſſiſtance of foreigners, whoſe own immediate intereſts can never be the ſame with thoſe of the people they come to ſuccour, but which will always be preferred by the aſſiſting party, to the infinite injury and detriment, and very frequently to the ſubjugation of the others. This obſervation is peculiarly verified in the caſe of the Britons after the departure of the Romans from this iſland.

The

* This argument is uſed by Camden to prove, that the Britons and Gauls were the ſame people.—Britannia epitomized, 16.

The Britons being now left to themselves, considered their new liberties as their greatest calamity. They had been long taught to lean upon others for support; and *that* now taken away, they found themselves too feeble to make any opposition. Far from practising the lessons and following the advice they had received from the Romans, they aggravated their misfortunes with unavailing complaints, which only served to render them still more contemptible. The few men of any note who remained among them, were infected with the ambition of being foremost in command; and disregarding the common enemy, were engaged in dissentions among each other.

In the mean time, the Picts and Scots, united together, began to look upon Britain as their own, and attacked the Northern Wall with redoubled forces. In this exigence the unhappy Britons had a third time recourse to Rome, hoping to extort by importunity, that assistance which was denied upon prudential motives: and applied for succour, in a strain of the most abject solicitation. Their letter was inscribed, "*The groans of the Britons.*" The tenor of the epistle was suitable to its superscription. *The Barbarians*, say they, *on the one hand, chace us into the sea: the sea, on the other, throws us back upon the barbarians; and we have only the hard choice left us, of perishing by the sword or by the waves* Such however were the calamities of the Romans themselves, that Ætius the renowned General of Valentinian, to whom their letter was addressed, at that time pressed by the arms of Attila, the most terrible enemy that ever assailed the empire, had no leisure to attend to the complaints of allies, whom generosity alone could induce him to assist.

The Britons thus rejected, were reduced to despair; while having left their fields uncultivated, they began to find

find the miseries of famine added to the horrors of war. And in this deplorable and enfeebled state, they were informed of fresh preparations for an invasion, by their merciless northern neighbours. Wherefore, to oppose their progress, they pitched upon and elected Vortigern as their General and Sovereign.* This step was only productive of fresh calamities. Vortigern, instead of exerting what strength yet remained in the kingdom, only

 set

* Such was the strong sense the Britons had of their natural rights and authority over their Governors, that not even the period of 480 years intercourse with the Romans could obliterate the practise of *electing* their Kings. The Romans had no sooner abandoned South-Britain, and discharged the Britons from their allegiance, then they, agreeably to their ancient customs, proceeded to elect or dethrone their Kings, as such measures were found favourable or inimical to their common interests. And not even Vortigern whom they had elected sole Monarch of South-Britain, could perform any business of moment without their concurrence. It was with the consent of his subjects, that he, too fatally for them and himself, invited the Saxons to defend his kingdom against the depredations of the Scots and Picts.

Such is the sense of natural right implanted in the human mind, that the most unlettered have the most pure, simple, and efficient sentiments of freedom. Before the arts of refinement unnerve the vigour of the intellect, and reason is made the sport of sophistry, the principles of justice, are too clear, and self evident for a people to be deluded into slavery. They may be conquered and thus submitted to arbitrary power. But common sense is only necessary to convince them, that every species of authority independent of their controul, is a cruel infringement of that justice, to which as human beings, they are entitled. As a very sensible political writer, (the Rev. T. Northcote, on the natural and civil rights of Mankind) observes—"Men are bound, by the prior law of their Maker, to be "men; that is, moral & free agents; and by the Constitution of their "country, to be freemen, which they cannot be while any others "usurp their rights. Tyrants, that attempt to make them less, are in "rebellion to the laws of God and their country."

ſet himſelf to look about for foreign aſſiſtance; and the Saxons appeared to him at once the moſt martial, and the moſt likely to eſpouſe his intereſts.

The Saxons were one branch of thoſe Gothic nations, which, ſwarming from the northern hive, came down to give laws, manners, and liberty to the reſt of Europe. A part of this people under the name of Suevi, had ſome time before Cæſar's invaſion of Gaul, ſubdued and poſſeſſed an extenſive empire in Germany: theſe, for their ſtrength and valour, were formidable to all the German nations, and each became famous for ſubduing that country which was the object of its invaſion.—France, Germany and England, were among the number of their conqueſts.

There is a period between ſavage rudeneſs and exceſſive refinement, which ſeems peculiarly adapted for the purpoſes of war, and which fits mankind for great atchievements. In this ſtate of half refinement, when compared to the Britons, the Saxons were, at the time their aſſiſtance was thought neceſſary. They dreſſed with ſome degree of elegance, which the generality of the Britons, even though ſo long under the inſtitutions of the Romans, had not yet learned to practice. Their women uſed linen garments, trimmed and ſtriped with purple. Their hair was bound in wreaths, or fell in curls upon their ſhoulders; their arms were bare, and their boſoms uncovered; faſhions which, in ſome meaſure, ſeem peculiar to the ladies of England to this day. Their government was generally an elective monarchy, and ſometimes a republic. Their commanders were choſen for their merit, and diſmiſſed from duty when their authority was no longer needful. The ſalaries they were

were supplied with, seldom exceeded a bare subsistence; and the honours they received were the only reward of their superior dangers and fatigues.

The custom of trying by twelve men, *our trial by Jury*, is of Saxon original: slavery was unknown among them, and they were taught to prefer death to a shameful existence. We are told by Marcellinus "that a body of "them being taken prisoners, were kept for exhibition on "the Amphitheatre at Rome, as gladiators for the enter-"tainment of the people. The morning however in which "they were expected to perform, they were every one "found dead in his cell, each chusing rather a voluntary "death than to be the ignominious instruments of brutal "pleasure to their conquerors." The chastity of this people was equally remarkable, and to be without children, was to be without praise. But their chief excellence, and what they most gloried in, was their skill in war. They had, in some measure, learned discipline from the Romans, whom they had often defeated, and had for a century and an half before made frequent descents upon the coasts of Britain, for the sake of plunder. They were therefore a very formidable enemy to the Romans when settled there; and an officer was appointed to oppose their inroads, under the title of the *Count of the Saxon Shore*.

It was upon this people that Vortigern turned his eyes, and solicited for succour against the Picts and Scots: and was by no means a disagreeable circumstance to these conquerors, to be thus invited into a country upon which they had for ages before been forming designs. In consequence therefore of Vortigern's solemn invitation, they arrived with 1500 men, under the command of Hengist and

and Horsa, who were brothers, and landed on the Isle of Thanet. There they did not long remain inactive, but being joined by the British forces, they boldly marched against the Picts and Scots, who had advanced as far as Lincolnshire, and soon gained a complete victory over them. Hengist and Horsa being sensible of the fertility of the country they thus came to succour, and the barrenness of that which they had left behind, invited over great numbers of their countrymen to become sharers in their expedition, who accordingly sent over a fresh supply of five thousand men.

It was now, but too late, that the Britons began to entertain apprehensions of their new allies, whose numbers they found augmenting as their services became less necessary. They had long found their chief protection in passive submission: and they resolved upon this occasion, to bear every encroachment with patient resignation. But the Saxons being determined to come to a rupture with them, complained that their subsidies were ill paid, and their provisions withdrawn. They therefore demanded a redress of those grievances, otherwise they would do themselves justice; and in the mean time they engaged in a treaty with the Picts, whom they had been called in to repress. The Britons impelled by the urgency of their calamities, at length took up arms, and having deposed Vortigern, by whose counsel and vices they were thus reduced to an extremity, they put themselves under the command of Vortimer, his son.* Many were

* The Britons, sensible that Kings were only chosen to serve, and not to injure their people, either by weakness, indolence, or tyranny, always deposed them and chose others, whenever they found themselves in danger, from the folly, inactivity, or despotism of their Sovereigns. No authority however elevated, could with them sanction any system of conduct or proceeding that endangered the welfare of the community. When they found therefore,

were the battles fought between these enraged nations, their hatred to each other being still more enflamed by the difference of their religions, the Britons being all Christians, and the Saxons still remaining in a state of idolatry. In one of those battles fought at Eglesford, Horsa, the Saxon General, was slain.

Hengist

Vortigern incapable of protecting them, they compelled him to resign his legal authority in favour of his son Vortimer, whom they conceived more capable of their Government. Thus to save a people from imminent destruction, the paternal and filial attachments were obliged to resign their powerful claims on sensibility. They thought it better that the father should be supplanted by the son, than a nation be destroyed by the weakness of a Sovereign.

From the above view of the Government of the Britons, it is evident they enjoyed the blessings of Liberty at that period, in the most unlimited sense of the word. They were not only possessed of the right to debate on the formation of their own laws, but they could even remove their executive powers. Conscious that laws wisely framed, might be weakly or wickedly administered, they exerted the privilege which nature dictates, of removing any ruler whom, they were convinced, could not be continued in his authority without the greatest danger to themselves. This proves that the Britons retained the principal controul in their Government. As Tacitus says, *De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus, omnes. Of the lesser affairs the Princes consulted, but of the greater the whole community.*

It was from observing the chief authority being under the controul of the Britons, that every ancient writer upon their Government has always subscribed to the people having preserved to themselves that controul which could only secure them in the possession of their native rights. Thus Xiphiline, from Dion Cassius' life of Severs says, *Apud hos (Britannos) populos magna ex parte principatum tenet. Among the Britons (the people) hold chiefly the Sovereignty.* And these are the rights which as Northcote judiciously observes "not "belonging to individuals, but to mankind and communities, cannot "be alienated."

Hengiſt now became ſole commander, and procuring conſtant ſupplies from his native country, carried devaſtation into the moſt remote corners of Britain. Chiefly anxious to ſpread the terror of his arms, he ſpared neither ſex, age, nor condition, but laid all the country deſolate before him. The people were maſſacred in heaps; and ſome chuſing life upon the moſt abject terms, were contented to become ſlaves to the victors. It was about this time, that numbers deſerting their native country, fled over to the province of Armorica, ſince called Brittany, where they ſettled in great numbers, among a people of the ſame manners and language with themſelves.

The affairs of the Britons gradually declined, and they found but a temporary relief in the valour of one or two of the ſucceeding Kings. After the death of Vortimer, Ambroſius, a Briton, though of Roman deſcent, was inveſted with the command, and in ſome meaſure proved ſucceſsful in uniting his countrymen againſt the Saxons. He penetrated with his army into the very heart of their poſſeſſions, and though he fought them with doubtful advantage, yet he reſtored the Britiſh intereſt and dominion. Still, however, Hengiſt kept his ground in the country; and inviting over a new tribe of Saxons, under the command of his brother Octa, he ſettled them in Northumberland. As for himſelf, he kept poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Kent, comprehending alſo Middleſex and Eſſex, fixing his royal ſeat at Canterbury, and leaving his newly acquired dominions to his poſterity.

After the death of Hengiſt, ſeveral other German tribes, allured by the ſucceſs of their countrymen, came over in great numbers. A body of their countrymen, under the conduct of Ella and his three ſons, had ſome time

time before laid the foundation of the kingdom of the South Saxons, though not without great oppoſition and bloodſhed. This new kingdom included Surry, Suſſex, and the New Foreſt.

Another tribe under the command of Cerdic, and his ſon Kenric, landed in the Weſt, and from thence took the name of Weſt Saxons. Theſe, tho' retarded in their progreſs by the celebrated King Arthur, had yet ſtrength enough to keep poſſeſſion of the conqueſts they had already made. Cerdic, therefore, with his ſon Kenric, eſtabliſhed the third Saxon kingdom in the iſland, namely, that of the Weſt Saxons, including the counties of Hants, Dorſet, Wilts, Berks, and the Iſle of Wight.

It was in oppoſing this Saxon invader, that the celebrated Prince Arthur acquired his fame. However unſucceſsful all his valour might have been in the end, yet his name makes ſo great a figure in the annals of the times, that ſome notice muſt be taken of him. This Prince is of ſuch obſcure origin, that ſome authors ſuppoſe him to be the ſon of King Ambroſius, and others only his nephew; others again affirm that he was a Corniſh Prince, and ſon of Gurlois, King of that province. However this be, it is certain he was a commander of great valour, and could courage alone have repaired the miſerable ſtate of the Britons, his might have been effectual. According to Nennius, and the moſt authentic hiſtorians, he is ſaid to have worſted the Saxons in twelve ſucceſſive battles. In one of theſe, viz. that fought at Caerbaddon, in Berks, it is aſſerted that he killed no leſs than 440 of the enemy with his own hand. But the Saxons were too numerous and powerful to be extirpated by the deſultory efforts of ſingle valour: ſo that a peace

and

and not conqueſt, were the immediate fruits of his victories. The enemy therefore ſtill gained ground; and this Prince, in the decline of life, had the mortification, from ſome domeſtic troubles of his own, to be a patient ſpectator of their encroachments. His third wife was debauched by his own nephew, Mordred. This produced a rebellion, in which the king and his traiterous kinſman meeting in battle, they ſlew each other.

In the mean time, while the Saxons were thus gaining ground in the weſt, their countrymen were not leſs active in other parts of the iſland. A body of adventurers under the command of Uffa, ſeized upon the counties of Cambridge, Suffolk and Norfolk, and gave their commander the title of King of the Eaſt Angles, which was the fourth Saxon kingdom founded in Britain.

Another body of theſe adventurers formed a kingdom under the title of Eaſt Saxony, or Eſſex, comprehending Eſſex, Middleſex, and part of Hertfordſhire. This kingdom, which was diſmembered from that of Kent, formed the fifth Saxon Principality founded in Britain.

The kingdom of Mercia was the ſixth which was eſtabliſhed by theſe fierce invaders, comprehending all the middle counties, from the banks of the Severn, to the frontiers of the two laſt named kingdoms.

The ſeventh and laſt kingdom which they obtained was that of Northumberland, one of the moſt powerful and extenſive of them all. This was formed from the union of two ſmaller Saxon kingdoms, the one called Bernicia, containing the preſent county of Northumberland

land, and the Biſhoprick of Durham; the ſubjects of the other called the Deiri, extending themſelves over Lancaſhire and Yorkſhire. Theſe kingdoms were united in the perſon of Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, by the expulſion of Edwin his brother in law, from the kingdom of the Deiri and the ſeizure of his dominions.

In this manner, the natives being overpowered, or entirely expelled, ſeven kingdoms were eſtabliſhed in Britain, which have been ſince well known by the name of the Saxon Heptarchy.

The unfortunate Britons having been exhauſted by continual wars, and even worn out by their own victories, were reluctantly compelled to forſake the more fertile parts of the country, and to take refuge in the mountainous parts of Wales and Cornwall. All the veſtiges of Roman luxury were now almoſt totally deſtroyed by the conquerors, who rather aimed at enjoying the comforts of life, than its magnificence. The few natives who were not either maſſacred, or expelled their habitations, were reduced to the moſt abject ſlavery, and employed in cultivating thoſe grounds for their new maſters, which they once claimed as their own.*

[*To be continued.*]

* Thus do we ſee at how early a period the unfortunate inhabitants of this devoted Iſland, ſeverely ſmarted by, and in the end became *ſlaves* to, thoſe ungrateful foreigners they had ſo fooliſhly invited to protect them. Ill do they deſerve liberty who have not in themſelves the ſpirit to defend it againſt all aſſailants. *The Editors.*

ON

AN ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

THE torrents of abuſe and falſehood, which are daily poured forth in certain prints, generally ſuppoſed to be in the actual pay of the preſent rulers in this country, againſt the *French Revolution*, are at once a diſgrace to their pay-maſters, and a violent injury aimed at the good ſenſe, and even the *juſtice* of the *nation*. We have ſeen frequent, and ſometimes very ſerious and important inſtances, where what is called the *Government* of a nation, and the *Nation* itſelf, have been of very different ſentiments on the ſame ſubject. As a proof of this having actually *been* the caſe in our own country, we need look no further back than to the Ruſſian Armament, on which the Miniſter acknowledged, that he had changed the meaſures he had at firſt adopted, becauſe he found thoſe meaſures were not approved of by the *nation at large*. The meaſures had nevertheleſs, been previouſly ſanctioned by a very great majority in parliament. Mr. Pitt is the firſt ſervant of the Government, as well as of the

the People, from whence that government ſprings. The meaſures of Mr. Pitt, as firſt ſervant of the government, and of the people, are ſanctioned by a great majority of the Houſe of Commons:—the Houſe of Commons are ſaid to be the repreſentatives of the *whole people*; and yet theſe very meaſures thus ſanctioned and adopted, are obliged to be given up and abandoned, after occaſioning the expenditure of millions; for the expreſs reaſon, that the meaſures adopted were contrary to the ſentiments and will of the *people*. What does this prove? Why, it manifeſts as clearly, as that two and two make four, that the *people* are not properly, fully, and adequately repreſented in the Houſe of Commons, as they are pretended to be:—and it proves ſtill more ſtrongly, that by means of this defective repreſentation, the nation is liable to one of two evils on every ſimilar occaſion: either to pay ſeveral millions for the abſurd meaſures of a miniſter, without gaining any thing to compenſate the expence: or of fatally plunging into a war, which like that of *America*, might not perhaps merely bring us to the brink, but we have every reaſon to dread, would drag us over the precipice into the *gulph of ruin*.

It ſeems to me then to follow as a plain and natural deduction, that *war* is the monſter, next to corruption, which we have the greateſt cauſe to dread. In conſequence of five wars, in which this country has been involved in little more than a century, we are now ſinking under a load of debts, which render us unable to meet another, without the moſt imminent danger. We cannot doubt but there is a limit, beyond which, if we go in adding to our debt, ruin muſt follow; and it is more than probable that one more war may bring us to that limit.

The

The *old* and *deſpotic* government of France, was almoſt the ſole cauſe mediately, or immediately, of drawing us into former wars. The *new* and *free* government of France, have not only declared, that they are determined to renounce for ever, all views of conqueſt, and all *offenſive wars*, but they have alſo declared, that it is a wiſh neareſt their hearts to enter into a liberal and laſting alliance with this country; and ſurely there is not a truly enlightened and well informed man in this nation, who is really diſintereſted, and loves his country, but muſt acknowledge, from a thorough conviction, that ſuch a meaſure is the moſt deſireable we can embrace.

I have lately obſerved this very meaſure mentioned in one of the *proſtitute* prints above alluded to, in the following ridiculous manner.—"The friends of revo-"lution in this country adviſe an immediate alliance with "France, we would aſk them with whom ſhall we make "this alliance? with their *National Aſſembly*; with their "*Jacobin Clubs*; their *municipalities*, or their *fiſhwo-"men*?" Fie on ſuch expreſſions!—Shame on ſuch language!* The very idea of its ſpeaking the mind of the nation, would be the groſſeſt libel on it. Such abſurd, ſuch low terms would diſgrace even our *Billingſgate*: in ſhort, they are only fit for the filthy and polluted fountains from which they flow.

I firmly

* Perhaps indeed the Queriſt is in good earneſt and wants information. He may be ſome abject tool of power, or needy placeman, who lives in hopes of encreaſing his wages by occupying ſome important poſt during the negociation. Should this be his view we would adviſe him to produce his credentials, and propoſe his treaty to the *Fiſhwomen*, as being moſt congenial to his talents, and becauſe none of te other parties he mentions, would condeſcend to indulge him with an audience. *Editors.*

I firmly believe that the majority, and a very great majority too, of this nation, would rejoice in the event of an alliance, on a *broad* and *liberal* baſis, being entered into between our Government, and that of *regenerated* France, which I conceive conſiſts of men of the firſt abilities, and moſt honourable principles; headed by a *Patriot King*, who lately told the Deſpot, Francis the firſt, of Hungary, "*that the nation had ſworn to live free or* "*die, and that he with them had taken the ſame oath.*" And this alliance, the act of the efficient government, would be confirmed by the mighty fiat of one of the greateſt kingdoms in Europe, through the organ of their *real* and *glorious repreſentation*, the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

As to the *Revolution* itſelf, there ſeems to be (except within the immediate circles of miniſters and their adherents) but one ſentiment concerning it, in this land of liberty; and that is the warmeſt and moſt univerſal admiration. The ſons of freedom of this happy iſland join with their *Patriot Prelate*,* in conſidering "the "revolution in the civil and religious conſtitution of "France, as to the mode of its accompliſhment unparal-"leled in the annals of the world. They coincide in "opinion with him, that 'as friends to civil and poli-"tical liberty,' which they admit 'conſiſts not, in de-"mocratic licentiouſneſs, but in obedience to laws enact-"ed by the *general ſuffrage* of a free people, they cannot "but rejoice in the emancipation of the French nation, "from the tyranny of legal deſpotiſm: and they are "tremblingly alive, leſt that emancipation ſhould be

* See the Biſhop of Llandaff's late admirable charge to the clergy of his Dioceſe.

" more apparent than real; yet they gladly embrace the " conſolation,' which even in the worſt circumſtances " ' preſents itſelf;—that whatever may be the final iſſue of " this wonderful ſtruggle, they are induced to think and " hope, that the French will obtain three things—a *Trial* " *by Jury*—an *Habeas Corpus* act, and an incorrupt ad- " miniſtration of juſtice. Bleſſings theſe of ineſtimable " value! which were not till lately ſo much as heard of " in France; which conſtitute the felicity of Great-Bri- " tain; and in the enjoyment of which, it is their duty " as Men to wiſh *all nations* to participate."

Let us ſeriouſly and maturely conſider this ſubject in every point of view, and I think it will appear evidently and clearly, that this Revolution, which I complain is ſo foully abuſed and malignantly vilified, from a certain quarter, muſt inevitably prove in the end, in the greateſt degree beneficial to the intereſts of this country.

I have before mentioned the tremendous weight of our debt. A long period of peace, therefore, to give us time for its redemption, is neceſſary to our ſecurity; and, perhaps, even to our exiſtence. In France there is a diſpoſition to unite itſelf to us, by an alliance for maintaining and perpetuating peace. Such an alliance would be an union between the two firſt kingdoms in the world for the nobleſt purpoſe. It would be an effect worthy of that union of philoſophy to politics, which diſtinguiſhes the preſent æra of the world. It might ſave Britain. It would bleſs the world, and complete the hopes of all the friends of human liberty, and human happineſs.

Such

Such may be the fruits of this glorious revolution I am now endeavouring to vindicate againſt the ſhafts of malignant aſperſion, and malevolent detraction. It promiſes a new and better order in human affairs. The paſſions of kings and their miniſters have too often and too long involved nations in the calamities of war; but now (thanks to the National Aſſembly of France) the axe is laid to the root of this cauſe of human miſery, and the intrigues of courts are likely to loſe their power of embroiling the world.

In this kingdom we have been uſed to ſpeak of the kingdom of France as our *natural enemies*; and however abſurd, as well as ungenerous and wicked, ſuch language was, it admitted of ſome excuſe while they conſiſted only of a monarch and his ſlaves. But now, with a ſpirit that aſtoniſhes mankind, and that makes tyrants tremble, they have broke their yoke, they have aſſerted their rights, and made themſelves as free as we are. In the fight for freedom, we have been an example to *them*. THEY are now become an example to us; and we have reaſon to expect, and to hope, that they will ſoon crown their glorious work by calling us to *meet* them (not as formerly in fields of blood at the command of a deſpot) but on the ſacred ground of Liberty, to embrace us as brethren, to exchange vows with us of eternal amity, and to ſettle terms for a confederation for extending the bleſſings of Peace and Liberty through the world. Thus united, the two kingdoms will be omnipotent. They will ſoon draw into their confederation HOLLAND, and other nations on this ſide of the globe, and the United States of AMERICA on the other; and when alarms of war come, they will be able to ſay to contending nations, PEACE, and there will be PEACE.

If

If Mr. Pitt has really the *furor* he is said to have, of possessing the office of *balance master* to Europe; in the centre of this *alliance*, he may most securely stand, without fear of losing the *equilibrium*; and though he must part with his favourite *armaments*, I have no doubt, but that a gentleman of his extensive and brilliant talents, may find ways of satisfying the craving of all his dependants, family, and friends, in the various honourable departments which appertain to even a *peace establishment*.

I am, Gentlemen,

A sincere well-wisher to your valuable Publication,

ALFRED.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

YOUR noble exertions to enlighten and improve the people of England, I behold with pleasure. As a member of that body, permit me to pour forth the effusions of a grateful heart. The study of Civil Government, so important to the happiness of man, though in itself plain and simple, has by the arts of despotism been wrapt in darkness and obscurity. May your labours then draw aside the veil of mystery, and evince to the world its genuine simplicity! May they teach the inhabitants of this country that government is their own work,

work, eſtabliſhed for their good, and is only excellent as it anſwers that end. If by occaſional obſervations I can in the moſt inconſiderable degree aſſiſt you in ſo benevolent a taſk, I ſhall deem every effort a pleaſure.

The object of the preſent letter is principally to caution your readers againſt an error too fatal to their improvement; to intreat them upon all occaſions ſtudiouſly to avoid the mingling of Religion with Politics. To effect this, ever has been, and ſtill is the policy of corrupted governors; their exiſtence depends upon their ſecrecy. Thus, ever anxious to wean the public eye from the obſervation of their conduct, they excite diſputes upon Religion, and then, in undiſturbed ſecurity, purſue their meaſures. Such are the arts of men in power, and againſt ſuch manœuvres I cannot too earneſtly caution my countrymen.

Religion ſhould never be intruded in the diſcuſſion of our rights. He that would reprobate a ſentiment, becauſe uttered by a member of any ſect, be perſuaded, is an enemy to your freedom. Dread his converſation, as you would the approach of a man who, plotting your deſtruction, aſſumes the garb of friendſhip. By inflaming your prejudices, he ſeeks to withhold you from, of all others, the moſt important ſubject of enquiry—the conduct of your governors. Every Religion is good which commands us to do good to man. No friend to Freedom can wiſh to cramp the conſcience of a fellow-creature; for, ſhall fallible man dare to direct thoſe thoughts for which we are accountable to God? If an example be neceſſary, turn your view to a neighbouring people, worthy of your affection and admiration. In planning their Revolution, they enquired, *not* whether the equality

lity of man was recommended by a Catholic or Proteſtant; but whether it originally did, and ought again to exiſt. The different ſects among them, are as numerous as they are among ourſelves; yet do they regard each other as the children of one common father, and all united in one common cauſe.

That you may, then, baniſh from your political enquiries every ſymptom of Religious Prejudice, is the warm hope and ſincere deſire of

Your fellow-citizen,

CIVIS.

[We are very much of opinion with the writer of the above ſenſible and moderate letter, and beg leave to caution our readers againſt ſuffering themſelves to be deluded and led away by ſuch deceptive means. If the community at large feel the neceſſity of a redreſs of grievances, and that a reform in Parliament is the firſt and ſureſt ſtep towards obtaining that redreſs, it is the intereſt of all to unite warmly, firmly and zealouſly to obtain this deſirable end, without attending to any difference in the forms by which they offer their tribute of ſervice to the Deity, in whoſe all benignant and all merciful eye every good and virtuous man is equal. Toleration is not the oppoſite of intolerance, but is the *counterfeit* of it. Both are deſpotiſms. The one aſſumes to itſelf the right of withholding liberty of conſcience and the other of granting it. The one is the Pope armed with fire and faggot, and the other is the Pope ſelling or granting indulgencies. The former is Church and State and the latter is Church and Traffic.

But toleration may be viewed in a much ſtronger light. Man worſhips not himſelf, but his maker; and the liberty of conſcience which he claims, is not for the ſervice of himſelf but of his God. In this caſe therefore we muſt neceſſarily have the aſſociated idea of two beings; the mortal who renders the worſhip, and the IMMORTAL BEING, who is worſhipped. Toleration therefore places itſelf

not

ot between man and man, nor between church and church, nor etween one denomination of religion and another, but between od and man; between the being who worſhips, and the being who worſhipped; and by the ſame act of aſſumed authority by which tolerates man to pay his worſhip, it preſumptuouſly and blaſphemouſly ſets itſelf up to tolerate the Almighty to receive it.

Were a Bill brought into Parliament, entitled "An act to tolerate or grant liberty to the Almighty to receive the worſhip of a Jew or a Turk" or "to prohibit the Almighty from receiving it" all men would ſtartle and call it blaſphemy. The preſumption of toleration would then preſent itſelf unmaſked; but the preſumption is not the leſs becauſe the name of "man" only appears to thoſe laws, for the aſſociated idea of the worſhiper and the worſhipped cannot be ſeparated. Who then art thou vain duſt and aſhes! by whatever name thou art called, whether a King or a Biſhop, a church or a State, a Parliament, or any thing elſe, that obtrudeſt thine inſignificance between the ſoul of man and his maker? Mind thine own concerns, and if he believe not as thou believeſt, it is a proof that thou believeſt not as he believeth, and there is no earthly power can determine between you.

With reſpect to what is called denominations of religion, if every one is left to judge of his own religion, there is no ſuch thing as a religion that is wrong; but if they are to judge of each others religion, there is no ſuch thing as a religion that is right; and therefore all the world is right or all the world is wrong. But with reſpect to religion itſelf without regard to names, and as directing itſelf from the univerſal family of mankind to the Divine object of all adoration, *it is man bringing to his maker the firſt fruits of his heart*; and though thoſe fruits may differ from each other, like the fruits of the earth, the grateful tribute of every one is accepted.

A Biſhop of Durham, or a Biſhop of Wincheſter, or the Arch-Biſhop who heads the Dukes, will not refuſe a tythe ſheaf of Wheat, becauſe it is not a cock of hay; nor a cock of hay becauſe it is not a ſheaf of wheat; nor a pig becauſe it is neither one nor the other, but theſe ſame perſons, under the figure of an eſtabliſhed church, will not permit their maker to receive the varied tythes of man's devotion!!

If the house of an individual is on fire, he involuntarily finds himself obliged by the united efforts of those who are the means of extinguishing it, though every one of them should be of a different religious persuasion to himself, how much more incumbent then is it in every one to lay aside these absurd prejudices in the attempt to attain a measure, in the event of which, not only the property, but the life and liberty also of every one, is so materially and inevitably concerned "*Divide, et impera*" "*Divide, and command the people*" the universal maxim of *priest-craft* and oppression. And when despots and their agents have done this, they laugh at the body of the people by whose folly they have been enabled to do it, and treat them afterwards with the scorn andcontempt they deserve. They meet their complaints with derision, repay their cries with taunts and scoffs, and the clanking of the chains of slavery is music in their ears; and all this they know they may safely and securely indulge themselves in, so long as they can deceive the people and keep them from uniting as one man. Beware, then, O Britons!—let us be upon our guard, and not suffer the seeds of religious dissention to be sowed amongst us by our common enemy, to prevent us from gathering the glorious and inestimable fruit, which, without our own folly impedes it, is certainly within our reach. *The Editors.*

On Government and Political Liberty.

IT has been very sensibly and properly observed by an *elegant*, a *nervous*, and what is of still greater importance, a truly *constitutional* English writer,* that "The first concern of every man should be, the nature "and construction of the machine in which he is embarked "on the voyage of life: other interests or pursuits obtaining

* See letters on political Liberty.

"ing only ſecondary attentions." And it ſeems almoſt needleſs to obſerve, that the machine he alludes to is the *government* of the country in which we live.

To obtain a true knowledge on this momentous ſubject ought to be the ſtudy, as it cannot fail to be the wiſh, of every individual. The moſt intereſting and important of his rights and privileges, as a member of the community, depend upon it, as well as thoſe of his poſterity: and it ſeems, as it really is, a vain, idle, and ridiculous boaſt, to vaunt that as Engliſhmen we are peculiarly *happy*, becauſe we are remarkably *free*; without being able to evince either to ourſelves or to others, in what our freedom and our conſequent *happineſs* conſiſts; further than as we are *Engliſhmen*. This is no more than ſaying we are *free*, becauſe we are not *ſlaves*, without previouſly defining either what *freedom* or *ſlavery* means, or what it is that conſtitutes either the one or the other.

There is nothing which time and experience have more clearly demonſtrated, than that this ſubject, at once the firſt, and of the greateſt magnitude, both in its moment and conſequences, to every individual, has been taken more upon truſt in this country, than in almoſt any other in the known world; and the evils reſulting from ſo blind and abſurd a credulity, are now beginning, *I hope not too late*, to be univerſally felt and lamented. "Better late than never," is certainly an excellent adage, which we ought to keep always preſent in our remembrance, and ſurely no period in the annals of England has afforded objects more numerous and intereſting than thoſe which now employ its attention.

The abuſes of government are ſaid to have arrived to ſuch a pitch, and are contended to be ſo manifeſt, and

so manifold, that associations are daily springing up in every part of the kingdom, in order if possible, to check and counteract them. Though the professed aim of the people forming those assemblies, is openly stated by them, to be the accomplishment of a *reform in Parliament*; party writers in the public prints of the day have the audacity to brand them with the foulest and basest epithets. Venal and hireling wretches, who live on the bread of prostitution, and who would sell their country and its liberties, for a "mess of pottage," with a shameless and daring effrontery, stigmatize every one who wishes for the smallest reform, with the horrid title of *incendiary*, and charge them with the black and abominable design of overturning and destroying the *constitution*.

Taking advantage of the fatal ignorance which it is too well known pervades the mass of the people, as to a knowledge of this subject, they endeavour to puzzle and confound their ideas, by substituting the constitution for the government, and government for the constitution, as shall best suit their own wicked and detestable purposes; and the only means that the people have of escaping their snares, and of forming a sure and proper judgment of the steps they ought to pursue, and of obtaining a confidence as to the ground they stand on, is, as speedily as possible, to inform themselves of the essentials of this government, and this constitution, and to make a solem determination, to act, as men always should, from their own knowledge, and the dictates of their reason; and not to pin their faith upon the sleeve of any man, or set of men, because he or they are of this or that party.

Parties, are at this moment, and ever have been the bane of this country; and the most determined, and inveterate

veterate enemies, to the real intereſts of the *people*. The leaders of them have uniformly, and invariably been actuated, by their own partial and ſelfiſh intereſts, and thoſe of their immediate dependants; to obtain which they have never failed to ſacrifice every other; and the only difference that can fairly be ſaid to exiſt between them, is, that the whig party, as it is called, have been *rather* more the *friends*, or perhaps, to ſpeak with more diſcreet propriety, *leſs* the *enemies* of the *people*, than the other.

"Whether the evils we endure" ſays the enlightened author before alluded to, "and the greater evils we "appr hend, are owing to errors and faults of particular "adminiſtrations perverting the powers of an excellent "conſtitution; or whether the government of England "be a confuſed combination of heterogeneous and diſ- "cordant principles, are queſtions forced on the judgment "of all men.

"Perſons in high offices, ſenators and lawyers, claim "an excluſive right of judging on theſe queſtions; be- "cauſe they have had experience and poſſeſs knowledge "of facts; but the claim is the effect of impoſture, or "of want of knowledge of the ſubject. Government as "an *art*, may be beſt underſtood by thoſe who diſ- "charge its offices: but the principles of government, "conſtitute a profound and arduous *ſcience*; and to "combine or harmonize them, is the employment of the "ſublimeſt underſtandings, uſing experience, or fact, as "the materials of deliberate contemplation.

"The great misfortune is, that politics have never "been treated as a ſcience, and the demonſtrations thereof deduced

" deduced from clear or indisputable data. Government " has been referred to the appointment of Deities; to the " regulations of Patriarchs; to the physical influence of " climates; to the ebullition of accidental circumstances " producing the spirit of nations; to divine rights in fa- " voured families, to superiority of talents; to the pre- " valence of force; and to a *compact*, tacit or express, of " the governors and the governed.

" If government be referrable to either of these " causes, it has no sure or indisputable principles, in " common with other sciences: but if it be the institu- " tion of men, to obtain security and happiness, it is to " be considered as any other contrivance the parts of " which are constructed on *principles*. The Savages of " America imagined ships to be the vehicles of immortal " spirits; and a ship wreck on their Coast may have " occasioned disputes as perplexing, or argumentation " as subtle, as those in Europe by the decomposition of " ancient Governments.

" It is time to discard the reveries of Savages, and to " apply principles of *Science* to all *scientific* objects. As " in the construction of Machines, it is necessary to ar- " range and estimate the forces of combinations, to pro- " duce general effects; so in *Government*, first principles " must be discovered, or all disquisitions will be vague: " the pretensions of all impostures in the art of admini- " stration will be equally plausible: and remedies for its " disorders be offered at random or applied with hazard."

In order to do this, it becomes absolutely necessary, that the clearest method should be observed, and the too frequent difficulties which have hitherto occurred, should be

be prevented, by an adoption of, and adherence to, clear and honeſt definitions. Writers on Government, have created much confuſion, by not attending to, and preſerving the juſt diſtinction of *civil* and *political* liberty. They have blended them together as if they were the ſame; nay, ſome have contended, that they are ſynonimous in derivation:—this the above author diſproves in the following manner—"the Greek nonu *polis*, from "which political is derived (ſays he) is a city or commu-"nity: and the latin word *civis*, from which comes civil, "is a citizen;" and conſonant to this is *his* definition of the two, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, by which he avoids the confuſion occaſioned by uſing the ſame term in two different ſenſes.

"Monteſquieu ſays, *political* liberty reſpecting the "conſtitution, conſiſts in the proper diſtribution of the "three powers: and *political* liberty, as reſpecting the "ſubject, in ſecurity, or an opinion of ſecurity."

Here political and *civil* liberty are blended together, under the word *political*; and the one made relative to the conſtitution, the other to the ſubject or individual. How much clearer is the following definition?

"Political or conſtitutional liberty (according to my "idea, ſays our author) conſiſts in the ſecurity which "the whole community has reſerved, that its govern-"ment formed of three, ſeven, nine, or any magic num-"ber of powers, cannot with impunity purſue any inter-"eſts ſeparate from thoſe of the *public*.

"Civil Liberty is the ſecurity of every citizen; that "another citizen cannot with impunity gratify a paſſion "or purſue an intereſt to his injury, or at his expence."

So that civil liberty is that portion of liberty we enjoy in our ſingle or *individual* capacity: political or conſtitutional liberty, is that which belongs to us as a *body*, *community*, or *public*.

The neceſſity is therefore obvious that every reader ſhould carefully bear in mind, the diſtinction between *civil* and *political*, or conſtitutional liberty; as we will ſhew them in a future paper, that the ſame ſtate, may enjoy civil liberty in a very perfect, and extenſive degree, while nearly deſtitute of political: and political in a high degree, with but a very ſmall appearance of civil liberty.

ON THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE.

(Continued from p. 107.)

THAT my argument in ſupport and defence of the rights and privileges of Britons, may not be liable to the epithets of *factious*, *ſeditious*, *turbulent* &c. ſo liberally beſtowed by the enemies to reform, on all thoſe who preſume to ſtand forth as its advocates:—I beg your patience till I make another quotation on the ſubject from ſo truly reſpectable an authority as the aforeſaid Sir William Blackſtone who in Vol. 1. p. 1712. ſpeaking of the qulifications of electors ſays—"the true reaſon of re-"quiring any qualification, with regard to property in voters

" voters is to exclude ſuch perſons as are in ſo mean a ſitu-
" ation that they are eſteemed to have no will of their
" own. If theſe perſons had votes they would be tempted
" to diſpoſe of them under ſome undue influence or
" other.* This would give a great, an artful or a weal-
" thy man, a larger ſhare in elections than is conſiſtent
" with general Liberty. If it were probable that every
" man would give his vote freely, and without influence
" of any kind, then, upon the true theory *and genuine*
" *principles of liberty*, every member of the community,
" however poor, ſhould have a vote in electing thoſe de-
" legates, to whoſe charge is committed the diſpoſal of
" his *property*, his *liberty*, and his *life*. But ſince that can
" hardly be expected in perſons of indigent fortunes, or
" ſuch as are under the immediate dominion of others, all
" popular ſtates have been obliged to eſtabliſh certain
" qualifications, whereby ſome, who are ſuſpected to
" have no will of their own, are excluded from voting,
" in order to ſet other individuals, whoſe wills may be
" ſuppoſed independent more thoroughly upon a level
" with each other."

" And this Conſtitution of ſuffrages is framed upon
" a wiſer principle, with us, than either the methods of
" voting, by Centuries or Tribes, among the Romans.
" In the method by Centuries, inſtituted by Servius
" Tullius, it was principally property, and not numbers,
" that

* The ſame reaſoning would be equally concluſive for thinning the houſes of Parliament for a majority of their members it is evident, Grandees, Prelates, and wealthy ones as they are, are never the-leſs in ſo " *mean a ſituation*," in ſuch poverty of integrity that they are conſtantly " tempted to diſpoſe of their votes under ſome undue in-
" fluence or other ;" and we accordingly find that this gives " art-
ful men a larger ſhare" in parliamentary diviſions " than is conſiſtent with general liberty."

" that turned the scale; in the method by tribes, gra-
" dually introduced by the tribunes of the people, num-
" bers only were regarded, and property entirely over-
" looked. Hence the laws passed by the former me-
" thod had usually too great a tendency to aggrandize
" the Patricians or rich Nobles; and those of the latter
" had too much of a levelling principle. Our *Constitu-*
" *tion* steers between the *two extremes*. Only such are
" entirely excluded as can have no will of their own;
" there is hardly a free agent to be found, but what is
" entitled to a vote in some place or other in the king-
" dom."

Here the *right* of electing our representatives, is clearly laid down by the learned Judge, and the cause pointed out which can *alone* deprive a Briton of his suffrage. " Only such are entirely excluded, says he, as " can have no will of their own: there is hardly a free " agent to be found, but what is entitled to a vote in " some place or other in the kingdom." The *right* being thus evidently, fairly and legally established, it remains to be enquired into in the next place, whether this *right* is exerted by the people to that extent which seemed necessary in the eyes and estimation of our ancestors, (who procured it with their blood) that it ought to be. And here I am afraid we shall find the *fact* to differ very widely indeed from the *right*—For a series of years, the *people*, either from ignorance or inattention, or both, have gone blindly on in the beaten track of election, which the interested crew, the enemies of our noble constitution have pointed out to them, without once adverting to the reflection, of whether it was right or wrong, and have fatally shut their eyes upon the exercise of a *right* which is of more inestimable value than *all the others* which the constitution has vested in them.

But

But, thank heaven, it is a fundamental maxim of our law, that the *diſuſe* or *not uſing* of a right, is not a renunciation, nor a legal impeachment of the right itſelf. With which conſolatory obſervation I will for the preſent take leave of the queſtion of *right*, in order to enquire into the degree and extent of the *exerciſe* of it in the preſent ſtate of the repreſentation of the *people* in the Houſe of Commons.

The Houſe of Commons claims a right, and has ever maintained that right pure and undefiled, without having ſuffered it in the minuteſt or moſt trifling degree to be infringed, I mean the *right* of originating *all taxes*, the general reaſon given for which excluſive privilege of the Houſe of Commons—ſays Blackſtone, v. 1. page 169, is, "that the ſupplies are raiſed upon the body of "the people, and therefore it is proper that they alone "ſhould have the right of taxing themſelves"—this reaſon he ſays would be *unanſwerable* if the Commons taxed *none but themſelves*, but as they alſo tax the large ſhare of property belonging to *the Lords*, it cannot be the true reaſon.* "The true reaſon (he adds) ariſing from

* We think the ingenious author of this letter has very judiciouſly made choice of this high legal authority to found his argument on, and coincide with him in opinion that either of the reaſons alluded to, fully anſwers his purpoſe; but we can by no means agree with the learned judge; on the contrary, we differ with him "*toto cœlo*" "altogether."

Indeed, though we greatly reſpect the labours of the learned judge in this work, we cannot help obſerving, that he too often uſes vague and uncertain terms, and very often language infinitely too ſophiſtical, when ſpeaking on ſo important a ſubject, as the conſtitution. We think that the *general reaſon* given for the above excluſive privilege in the Houſe of Commons, is, the *true reaſon*; viz. "that

" from the ſpirit of our conſtitution, ſeems to be this.—
" The Lords being a permanent hereditary body, cre-
" ated

" that the ſupplies being raiſed upon the body of the people, it is
" therefore proper that they alone ſhould have the right of origina-
" ting taxes, and thereby taxing themſelves." What are the learned judges objections to this reaſon? Why, " that a very large ſhare of
" property is in the poſſeſſion of the Houſe of Lords; that this pro-
" perty is equally taxable and taxed, as the property of the Commons;
" and therefore the Commons not being the *ſole perſons* taxed this can-
" not be the reaſon of their having the ſole right of raiſing and
" modelling the ſupply." It is ſomewhat curious to obſerve, with what eaſe the learned Judge paſſes from the *property* of the Peers to to the *perſons* of the Commons—he begins his objection with *property* and concludes with *perſons*. Take it both ways and it comes to the ſame point. If it is *property* that is repreſented, the Houſe of Commons have a right to originate and model the ſupplies, becauſe, the *property* of "*the body of the People*," not being Lords, muſt bevery ſurprizingly greater than the *property* of the Lords; and therefore the Conſtitution has veſted in them a right of raiſing and modelling the taxes, eſpecially as their grants are not effectual until they have received the aſſent of the Lords, and the King alſo. This is a full and ſufficient ſecurity, againſt the Grants of the Commons operating to the injury of the property of the Lords.

The ſame argument applies exactly, if we ſuppoſe *perſons* only taxed in reſpect of their property. And this we contend is really the caſe. Perſons only can properly be *repreſented* in the Houſe of Commons, and when taxed by their repreſentatives, they pay each in proportion to his property. The Lords being an hereditary body, act as their own attornies, or repreſentatives (which muſt the Commons are obliged to delegate) and take care of their own property, by ſeeing that no tax ſhall be raiſed or modelled, by the repreſentatives of the Commons, which ſhall operate in an unjuſt proportion upon the perſons or property of the Lords. But it cannot be *property* that is repreſented in the Houſe of Commons; nor, that is the ſole object of taxation, becauſe the greateſt part of the property in the nation is neither *repreſented*, nor liable to be *taxed*. The circumſtance however that puts the matter out of doubt, and clearly proves,

" .hat-

" ated at pleaſure by the King, are ſuppoſed more lia-
" ble to be influenced by the crown, and when once in-
" fluenced to continue ſo, than the Commons, who are
" a temporary elective body, freely nominated by the
" *People.*"

Either of theſe reaſons fully prove the purpoſe for which I have introduced the quotation, which is this. Firſt, that in the eye of the *Conſtitution*, the Houſe of Commons is looked upon as the fair, equal, full and complete Image or Repreſentation of the *whole People.* And ſecondly, that it is the natural barrier and bulwark on which the people may always depend for the ſecurity of their liberties, rights and privileges againſt the open attacks or ſecret encroachments of either of the other branches of the legiſlature.

The conſtitution, has veſted in the Houſe of Commons, a right to originate taxes: they exerciſe this right, and afterwards concur with the other branches of the legiſlature to impoſe taxes to whatever amount they pleaſe on the people;—and to the payment of theſe taxes, every individual member of the community, is by that act compellable. They do not fall upon this town, or that county, but mediately and immediately, upon the whole body of the people.

Here

" that the Houſe of Commons has the *ſole* right of originating, raiſ-
" ing, and modelling the ſupply, becauſe the ſupplies are raiſed upon
" the body of the people," is, that the Houſe of Commons cannot do any act, but as repreſentatives of the *body of the people*:—and that the Houſe of Lords cannot make the ſmalleſt amendment whatever to a money bill. They may throw it out, or reject it altogether, but they cannot make an alteration even of a letter. And for this reaſon, the Lords have made it a ſtanding rule of their houſe to reject immediately any, and *every bill*, which ſhall be tacked to a money bill.—*The Editors.*

Here then the queſtion naturally occurs, and it becomes incumbent on us to enquire into the truth of it—Is the repreſentation of the people of this kingdom in the Houſe of Commons, ſuch, as that, that Houſe can fairly and conſtitutionally, be ſaid to be a full and complete image, and repreſentation of the whole body of the people? Let us candidly examine how the fact ſtands. The people of Great Britain are ſuppoſed to amount to ſix or from that to ſeven millions. The whole of the members of the Houſe of Commons are five hundred and fifty eight, and they are choſen and returned by abont forty thouſand; out of theſe forty thouſand, great numbers, from the extent and diffuſion of their property, have five or ſix votes, and thoſe members of the Houſe of Commons, thus returned by a number ſo very ſmall in compariſon of the whole,—are ſaid, *unbluſhingly ſaid*, to be the repreſentatives of the *people*. Of the forty thouſand who vote for and return them, they are undoubtedly repreſentatives, and of no more. —Every individual Briton, beyond that number, conſtituting together the great body of the people, amounting as before obſerved, to ſo many millions: is unrepreſented to all intents and purpoſes, as much and in an equal degree with a Jew, a Turk, or a Japaneſe, who may ſettle in this country.

RUSSELL.

(To be continued)

THE

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday, May 29.

On the Government of the Saxons.

IN our laſt, we took leave of the few remaining Britons who did not chuſe to ſubmit to a ſtate of Slavery to the Saxons, flying for refuge to the mountainous parts of Wales and Cornwall. From this time, the Britiſh and Roman cuſtoms entirely ceaſed in the iſland; the language, which had either been Latin or Celtic, was diſcontinued, and the Saxon or Engliſh only was ſpoken. The land, before divided into Colonies, or Governments, was cantoned into Shires, with Saxon appellations to diſtinguiſh them. The habits of the people in peace, and arms in war, their titles of honour, their laws, and methods of trial by jury, were continued as originally practiſed by the Germans, with ſuch alterations only as increaſing civilization produced.

Thus was eſtabliſhed, after a violent conteſt of near a hundred and fifty years, the Heptarchy, or ſeven Saxon kingdoms in Britain. So long as the conteſt was maintained with the natives, the ſeveral Saxon Princes preſerved a union of counſels and intereſts; but after the Britons were ſhut up in the barren countries of Cornwall and Wales, and gave no farther diſturbance to the conquerors, the band of alliance was in a great meaſure diſſolved among the Princes of the Heptarchy. The wars therefore, and revolutions of theſe little rival States were extremely numerous, and, being foreign to our purpoſe, we ſhall paſs them over, and notice only ſuch material events as are in ſome degree or other materially connected with the particular ſubject which we are now endeavouring to trace "*ab initio*," "from its original ſource," viz. the ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

About this period, however, an event took place which deſerves our particular notice, and that is no leſs than the introduction of Chriſtianity among the Saxons, which took place by means of a very extraordinary and fortunate circumſtance. It happened, that Gregory, ſirnamed the Great, then Roman Pontiff, had ſome years before, while he was in a private ſtation, obſerved in the market-place of Rome, ſome Saxon youths expoſed to ſale, whom the Roman merchants, in their trading voyages to Britain, had bought of their mercenary parents. Struck with the beauty of their fair complexions and blooming countenances, Gregory aſked to what country they belonged, and being told they were Angli, Angles, or Engliſh—he is ſaid to have cried out in the Latin language, "*Non Angli ſed Angeli forent; ſi eſſent Chriſtiani.*" "They would not be Engliſh, or Angles, but Angels, "had they been Chriſtians." It were a pity that the

Prince

Prince of Darkneſs ſhould enjoy ſo fair a prey, and that ſo beautiful a frontiſpiece ſhould cover a mind deſtitute of internal grace and righteouſneſs. Enquiring farther concerning the name of their province, he was informed that it was *Deïri*, a diſtrict of Northumberland: "*Deïri*, "(replied he) *that is good! They are called to the mercy* "*of God from his anger*, De ira." But what he aſked, is the name of the King of that province? He was told it was Ella or Alla. "*Allaluiah* (cried he) *we muſt endeavour that the praiſes of God be ſung in their country.*"

From that time, he was ſtruck with an ardent deſire to convert that unenlightened nation, and actually was about to embark in a ſhip for Britain, for that purpoſe, when his pious intentions were fruſtrated, by his being detained at Rome by the populace, who loved him. He did not, however, lay aſide his holy reſolution; for having ſucceeded to the Papal Chair, he ordered a Monk, named Auguſtine, and others of the ſame fraternity, to undertake the miſſion into Britain. It was not without ſome reluctance that theſe reverend men undertook ſo dangerous a taſk; but ſome favourable circumſtances in Britain ſeemed providentially to prepare the way for their arrival.

Ethelbert, King of Kent, in his father's lifetime, had married Birtha, the only daughter of Caribert, King of Paris, one of the deſcendants of Clovis, King of Gaul. But before he was admitted to this alliance, he was obliged to ſtipulate that this Princeſs ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of her religion, which was that of Chriſtianity. She was therefore attended to Canterbury, the place of her reſidence, by Luidhard, a Gauliſh Prelate, who officiated in a church dedicated to St. Martin, which had

had been built by the Romans near the walls of Canterbury. The exemplary conduct and powerful preaching of this primitive bishop, added to the Queen's learning and zeal, made very strong impressions upon the King, as well as the rest of his subjects, in favour of Christianity. The general reception of this holy religion all over the Continent, might also contribute to dispose the minds of these idolaters for its admission, and make the attempt less dangerous than Augustine and his associates at first supposed.

This pious Monk, upon his first landing upon the isle of Thanet, sent one of his interpreters to the Kentish King, declaring he was come from Rome with offers of eternal salvation. The King immediately ordered them to be furnished with all necessaries, and even visited them; though without declaring himself as yet in their favour. Augustine, however, encouraged by this favourable reception, and now seeing a prospect of success, proceeded with redoubled zeal to preach the Gospel, and even endeavoured to call in the aid of miracles to enforce his exhortations. So much assiduity, together with the earnestness of his address, the austerity of his life, and the example of his followers, at last powerfully operated. The King openly espoused the Christian religion, while his example wrought so successfully on his subjects, that numbers of them came voluntarily to be baptized, their missioner loudly declaring against any coercive means towards their conversion. The Heathen Temples being purified, were changed to places of Christian worship, and such churches as had been suffered to decay were repaired. Augustine was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, endowed with authority over all the British churches, and his associates having spread themselves over

over all the country, completed that converſion which was ſo happily begun. Thus was Chriſtianity eſtabliſhed among the Saxons.

It is worthy obſervation, that Conquerors, although they diſſeminate their own laws and manners, often borrow from the people they ſubdue. In the preſent inſtance they imitated the Britons in their Government. The Saxon exerciſe of conſtituting their *Wittena-gemotes* and *Mickle-gemotes*, which were ſubverted by the feudal tenures eſtabliſhed by the Normans, was only a continuance of the *Kŷfr y-thon*, or popular aſſemblies of the Britons, as improved by their intercourſe with the Romans; their own cuſtoms of forming laws by General Councils being congenial with thoſe they found in their newly acquired territory, they had only to change their name, and not their nature. Thus was the Britiſh appellation of their public meetings altered to that of the Saxon. The aſſembly of the people themſelves, was called, as before obſerved, *Mickle-gemote*—"The council of the many." And the aſſembly of the many, was called the *Wittena-gemote*—"The council of the prudent!"* The honourable epithet attached to the latter popular meeting,

 proves

* Camden conſiders the epithet Wittena, as meaning prudent St. Amand conſiders it as meaning wiſe. But were we to cavil at the word, we ſhould from common practice as well as derivation, ſuppoſe it to mean wit, which evidently is of the ſame origin as this Saxon word. But as neither wit, nor wiſdom merely can fill the idea of what a repreſentative ought to be, we adopt the interpretation of Camden, as being the moſt complete, and as containing one of the firſt qualities a member of parliament ſhould poſſeſs. A repreſentative may be both witty and wiſe, without having the prudence to exerciſe either to the advantage of his conſtituents. If he be prudent he will always act in ſuch a manner as to deſerve the confidence with which he has been entruſted.

proves that *prudence* was the first and most essential qualification of a Saxon Representative.

During the Saxon Heptarchy, we have several instances recorded of these *Wittena-gemotes* being held for the enacting of laws, regulating public concerns, and advising on every matter relative to the whole community.

According to Spelman, the famous parliament summoned by Ethelbert, in the year of our Lord 605, was the common council of the clergy and the people. *Commune concilium tam cleri quam populi.* Spelm. Concil. tom 1, 126.

Ina, the most renowned and illustrious of all the kings who reigned in England during the Heptarchy, compiled a body of laws, which served as the groundwork of those which were afterwards published by Alfred. About the year 712, he assembled a great council, or parliament, wherein some ecclesiastical laws were made concerning marriages, and other affairs relative to the public. Spelman says, this celebrated assembly was summoned for the purpose of promoting public unanimity, by thus taking the council and consent of all the Bishops, Princes, and distinguished persons, all the wise Seniors, and of the people of the whole kingdom.*

From the clergy forming a great part of these councils, they were then called *Synodus magna*—"a great Synod." This has caused them to be mistaken for mere Convocations, which, according to general acceptation, are

* Ad concordiam publicam promovendam per commune concilium, et assensum omnium episcoporum et principum, proceerum, comitum, et omnium sapientum, seniorum, et populorum totius regni.—Spelm. Concil. tom. 1. 219.

are ſuppoſed to mean a meeting wherein eccleſiaſtical affairs are only conſidered. But as the learned Somner ſtates, in his Gloſſary, that the parliament was then called a great Synod, we are to underſtand by every ſuch Synod we read of being held by the Saxons, that they were the *Commune concilium*—the Wittena-gemote, or Parliament of the Kingdom. It was in one of theſe meetings that the grand league and union between the Britons, Saxons and Picts, was framed and confirmed. According to Bede, it was concluded, "per *Commune concilium* et aſſenſum omnium Epiſcoporum, procerum, comitum, et omnium ſapientum ſeniorum et *populorum*, et per præceptum regis Inæ:"—"By the *common council* and aſſent of all the biſhops, diſtinguiſhed perſons, the wiſe ſeniors and *people*, and by the præcept of King Ina."* Bede's Eccl. Hiſt. lib. 1.

Although the Wittena-gemote of the Saxons was not reduced to the forms, diſtinctions and ceremonies of the Norman parliaments, yet no new law was enacted, or old ſtatute altered, without the concurrence of its members. Without the baubling frippery of a mace, the aſſumption of arrogant and unauthoriſed privilege, or the refined compliance to the neceſſity of contributing to a miniſterial majority, this *Commune concilium* was the effective ſource, guide, and control of the Government.

This

* What is now called a writ of ſummons from the king, was then called a precept, which is now applied to that iſſued by the Sheriff for the election of repreſentatives. This diſtinction of two matters in which there is no eſſential difference, is owing to the policy of our Norman tyrants, who although the writ was their precept or command, thought the injunction had better appear as the act of their ſheriff than a mandate of royalty.

This was the system which was adopted in each of the seven petty kingdoms composing the Saxon Heptarchy. Although they were distinct States they had but one principle of legislation. Every district had its assembly, wherein the lives, rights, properties and interests, were guarded by each individual of these associated communities, being consulted on whatever related to the general welfare. And the *Commune concilium* of each petty kingdom was formed from select members of these small assemblies, being present either by person or representative. Contrary to what Blackstone asserts, as a reason to support his opinion of the uncertain origin of our ancient established customs—"that the subdivision of the Hep-"tarchy must necessarily create an infinite diversity of "laws;"* their laws were few in number, simple in their principle, and similar in their letter. Being derived from the same source of Government which they all brought from their native provinces of Germany, their political maxims and practice were evidently the same. Although they were divided into separate portions, according to the separate States of the Heptarchy, yet there was no essential difference in either their nature or principle.

These Clans, or Colonies,† as they are rather severely and unjustly termed by the said author, although composed of Jutes, Angles, proper Saxons, &c. originally sprung, as he confesses, from the same mother country which poured forth its warlike progeny over Europe in the sixth and seventh centuries. Wherever they esta-

* Comment. vol. 4. 403.

† The kingdoms forming the Heptarchy could neither be clans nor colonies, as they were not governed by a mere feudal chief, or subject to a foreign power.

eſtabliſhed themſelves, the ſame principles of freedom characterized their Government. Inſtead of multiplying laws, they diſpenſed one common bleſſing, which Nature had taught them was the inviolable right of man to poſſeſs. This bleſſing was LIBERTY, unſhackled by lawleſs ambition, or corrupted by the inſidious ſophiſtry of legal mercenaries.

The nearer laws are traced to their ſource, t' ey are found fewer in number, purer in their nature, and more efficient in their practice. But as States increaſe in their time of exiſtence, laws are more numerous, perplexed, and arbitrary. The Patriot Chief becomes a King, the King a Monarch, and the Monarch a Deſpot, until the people are obliged, by an exceſs of oppreſſion, to revert to their ancient, free, ſimple and explicit Government.

Multiplicity of laws too much characterize frequent endeavours to ſubvert the liberties of a people. So clear are the principles of freedom, that before a nation can be enſlaved, they muſt not only be confounded by vague interpretations, but entombed beneath a mountain of ſtatutes and comments, explaining away the ſenſe, as well as the rights of man. Blackſtone has therefore committed an error againſt his own knowledge and experience. What he muſt have read and ſeen of laws and governments could not but have convinced him, that the ſtate of the Saxon heptarchy was too near the ſource of their laws to admit of their conſiſting then of an infinite diverſity. Neither legiſlators nor lawyers had been then employed to enact innumerable ſtatutes, enforce their contradictory but arbitrary principles, or pervert the ſenſe of the few that might remain in favour of the ſubject. So few were their laws that all their ſyſtem was

founded

founded on the following three plain and liberal propositions:

That every individual had an intereſt in the ſtate: and therefore, a right to be concerned in the making, amending, or altering its laws.—That no human power ſhould be exerted againſt the intereſts of a people.—And that no perſon ſhould be amenable to laws made without his conſent, or againſt which he had never tranſgreſſed.

(To be continued.)

ON AN ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE.

LETTER II.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

IN my laſt, I mentioned an alliance with *regenerated* France, as an object highly deſerving the attention and conſideration of the Ruling Powers in this country; and I think I ſhewed to the conviction of every impartial and diſintereſted perſon, that the glorious revolution in France is an event, in the accompliſhment of which, the people of this country have every reaſon to rejoice. I

am

am well aware that every method is adopted, and every means purſued, by the proſtituted agents of a certain deſcription of perſons, to poiſon the minds of the people,* in order to give them a different bent, by accounts of tranſactions in that kingdom, as far from Truth as their fabricators are from Heaven; and as deſtitute of Reaſon as the writers are of Honour or Honeſty.

Every little diſturbance, raiſed by the intriguing cabals and miſrepreſentations of *ariſtocrats* and refractory prieſts, who cannot brook the loſs of immenſe, overſwollen revenues, but who, following the deteſtable and abominable maxim of the arch-fiend, "Would rather "*reign* in Hell, than *ſerve* in Heaven"—every ſuch petty diſturbance, I ſay, is magnified into a mountain of ſedition and rebellion againſt the new Conſtitution, and blazoned forth, by theſe venal and hireling oracles, as the ſure forerunners of a *Counter-Revolution.* Whereas the very reverſe is the caſe. It cannot be denied but that many diſturbances of this ſort have happened, but their being uniformly quelled and put an end to in a few hours, marks, in the ſtrongeſt colours, their extreme weakneſs, and the ſtrength and power of the Conſtitution; which has ſo lately formed itſelf out of the *whole body of the people,*

* And what effect this poiſon, this hot ſpirit, drawn "by "ſtateſmen and prieſts out of the alembic of hell" has produced, the Birmingham riots are a ſufficient proof. There, a number of our countrymen, of reſpectable characters, and peaceable deportment, have had their houſes burned, their property ſtolen, their private confidential letters expoſed to the eye of malicious curioſity, for no other reaſon than becauſe ſome of them profeſſed themſelves diſenters from the eſtabliſhed church, and joined with others of their fellow citizens in celebrating the anniverſary of the French revolution. O Britain, land of liberty, how art thou fallen! how is thy freedom, thy liberality debaſed by ſome of thy miſguided ſons!

people, and which can never be overturned, till that *whole body* shall be traitors to themselves, and to their true interests:—a supposition which refutes itself the moment it is made.

Is it to be imagined, that a Revolution in the civil and religious Constitution of one of the greatest kingdoms in the world, should be brought about, without some struggles against it? Can the mind of any rational being suppose, that amongst thirty millions of people, there should not be many hundreds, nay thousands, discontented with any good that could be offered to the whole? Vain and ridiculous idea! The experience of ages serves only to convince us, that the friends and abettors of Tyrants and Despots, are too numerous.—NERO fiddled while Rome was burning; and he well knew that he was surrounded by thousands, who, heedless of the horrid spectacle, would joyfully dance to any tune that he should play: And CALIGULA, in wishing that the people had but one neck, that he might at one step tread them underfoot, was perfectly sensible that he could command thousands of wretched, debased creatures, who would not only assist him in forging the chain, but in rivetting it round the necks of the rest of their fellow-subjects, so that *they* might be permitted to share in the spoil and plunder resulting from the act.

. . . . . .

The system of one part of a nation plundering another part of the same nation, has too long, and too fatally predominated in the world, even in modern Governments. What is it to any man that is plundered of his property, under any Government, whether it is for the purpose of defraying the expences of ruinous wars; to support the prodigal expenditures of peace establishments; the aggrandisement of particular families; or the insatiable avarice

rice and rapacity of others, whose peculated and enormous wealth, swells the pages of the books of foreign funds, and foreign banks; while the Body of the People, in the several kingdoms, thus situated, are groaning under the weight of exorbitant taxes, and oppressive laws? The affected mystery of Governments, has hitherto contrived to blind all the world, but those who were immediately concerned in putting on the mantle, till the French revolution, operating on the political hemisphere with the omnipotent power of the sun, bursting from under a cloud, has dispelled the mists of ignorance, opened the eyes of the formerly deluded people, and convinced them, that Governments in general are a composition of knavery and deceit, and Ministers, and their agents, neither more nor less, than State-mountebanks, jugglers, and sleight-of-hand-men.

It becomes the duty of the *People*, then, to watch them with a careful eye, and to take especial heed that they do not suffer themselves to be deceived and misled, by the false suggestions, misrepresentations and exaggerations of their venal and hireling agents and tools. These reptiles tell us, and would endeavour to persuade us to believe, that the Constitution of *regenerated* France (I delight in the expression *regenerated*, because I know it is *gall*, *myrrh*, *aloes* and *cassia* to all despotic palates in every country) cannot continue to stand its ground, because the nation is in a state of *bankruptcy*. But this is not the truth. It was in a state of bankruptcy antecedent to the revolution, and that very circumstance was the principal cause of effecting that memorable event. But it is now a very rich country, every day paying off and lessening the enormous weight of its national debt, for security of which the creditors have obtained the pledge of the faith

and property of the whole nation, inſtead of thoſe few only who plundered it: a *real* ſecurity in the place of an *ideal* one.

But, ſay theſe detractors and decriers of the French Conſtitution, they have only paper money, and this paper money is at the amazing diſcount of forty or fifty per Cent.—but this is only a temporary inconvenience, occaſioned by the adventitious circumſtances of the moment; ſo long as the ſecurity for this paper money is *bona fide* and fundamentally good, every one who holds it is ultimately ſafe. This was one of the deceptive arguments uſed by the political jugglers of this country to blind the people in the courſe of the American war. "The Americans (ſaid they) have no *ſpecie*—they have nothing "but paper money; that paper money is already depre-"ciated one hundred per cent. and by the forged circu-"lation which will be contrived to be introduced amongſt "them, it will be ſunk to no value at all: they cannot, "therefore carry on the expences of the war—but muſt "inevitably ſubmit very ſoon." The event of the American war renders any comment on this ridiculous argument unneceſſary. To mention the circumſtance is ſufficient, ſave that the argument when applied to France, is infinitely more abſurd and futile than it was when applied to America.

But then, ſay the Engliſh advocates for arbitrary power, the reſt of the Powers of Europe are uniting together for the purpoſe of oppoſing themſelves againſt the new Conſtitution of the French, and to bring about a counter-revolution in that kingdom. In other words, the *Deſpots* of Europe have entered into an infernal league to exterminate that bleſſing ſo hateful in their eyes, which is known by the heavenly appellation of LIBERTY.

Here

Here I intreat my readers to pauſe—to ſeriouſly reflect, and then anſwer to themſelves the following queſtion. By what right or authority, all or any of the Powers on the Continent can juſtify themſelves in forcibly interfering with, or dictating to the French nation, with regard to the ſettlement of their *internal* polity and concerns?

Every independent nation has an undoubted right to form a Conſtitution, and to regulate its own internal conduct, as to its laws, cuſtoms, manners and religion. The French nation, one of the greateſt and moſt independent in the world, have lately thought proper to change and new model their form of Government. They have formed and adopted a new Conſtitution—they have ſubmited it to the conſideration of their King—he has accepted, and ſworn to maintain and defend it.

No power on earth has any right to ſay they ſhall not do ſo, and therefore cannot lawfully moleſt them for ſo doing. No *one* Power or State in Europe, either dare or can attempt it with impunity. A league is formed of *all* the Powers or States on the Continent of Europe, to effect a purpoſe, which any one State, or all of them together, have not the ſmalleſt *right* to attempt. Is not this *league* then illegal and unjuſt? Here we may fairly aſk Mr. Pitt where is the balance of power? Or what is hence forward to be thought of it, when all the other States are ſuffered to combine againſt one, to prevent it from regulating its internal polity?

Further, if this league of Deſpots ſhould be crowned with ſucceſs, and ſhould be able to effect a counter-revolution in France, and to reſtore the old deſpotic government, in what ſituation may this country be ſuppoſed to

ſtand? When our neighbour's houſe is on fire, it is natural to look towards the ſecurity of our own. Liberty is the hated object which theſe Deſpots purſue, and wiſh to annihilate. If we tamely look on, and ſee them carry their point in France, how are we certain they will not wiſh to advance their proceedings acroſs the channel, and tell the legiſlature of this country, that they ſhall not paſs any more acts to ſecure the Liberty of the ſubject—that they ſhall not take off any more taxes, or dare to diminiſh any further the national debt—"that our King holds "his Crown in *contempt* of the *People*, and that they will "protect him in all his meaſures." What would our Miniſter ſay to this? *One* only of theſe Deſpots has lately obliged him to retract his menaces, and eat his big words—what would he do againſt ſuch a hoſt? Britons look to it. Yours is the ſtake—not his. Remember this, —that a *free people*, who tamely, ſupinely, and indolently ſtand by, and unconcernedly ſee another *free people*, their neighbours, oppreſſed and enſlaved, are not only in danger of ſharing the ſame fate; but what is more, they *deſerve* it.

ALFRED.

REASONS

For preferring triennial *to* ſeptennial, *and* annual *to* triennial *Elections.*

FIRST, becauſe it is extremely evident, and clear beyond a doubt, that when a ſeat in parliament ſhall become *leſs* an *object* to ambitious, artful and wealthy

wealthy men, there will be proportionably *leſs idleneſs, riot, intemperance*, and *immorality* of all kinds, and that the very ſource of corruption will ſoon be ſtopped.

Secondly, becauſe our natural feuds and animoſities are ſtrong enough at preſent to laſt for ſeven years, and would in all probability, nay almoſt to a certainty, be much appeaſed and weakened by *frequent well ordered* elections.

Thirdly, becauſe if parliaments were of ever ſo ſhort duration (within any of the periods above named) they would find ample time to tranſact all *neceſſary* buſineſs, and little, if any, for mere loquacity or empty railing; there would be few conteſted elections to ſettle; and public affairs would be leſs obſtructed by the anxiety of the members to ſecure their future ſeats.

Laſtly, and principally, becauſe in *ſeven* or in *three* years, multitudes of *Britiſh* ſubjects muſt become indiſputably qualified to vote, by the attainment to their *majority*, or 21 years of age; *deſcent* of property, or *acquiſition* of it by *marriage*, deviſe, ſettlement or promotion, who muſt be bound for a long time, unleſs elections be *annual*, by laws *to which they gave no aſſent*; either by themſelves or their repreſentatives: which is repugnant to the ſpirit of the conſtitution. But no change in the *duration* of parliaments will deſtroy the monſter *Corruption*, unleſs the right of ſuffrage be conſtitutionally extended. In further aid and ſupport of the foregoing reaſons, we ſhall ſubjoin the following extracts made by that truly worthy character, and genuine Patriot, Capel Lofft, Eſq. from Anchitel Grey's debates.

GREY's DEBATES, VOL. X.

Sat. Jan. 28, 1692.

On the first reading of a bill from the Lords, for the frequent calling and meeting of parliaments,

Mr. Pelham. I am sorry to see Gentlemen offended at a Bill of so good a title and intent. The objections have been three—that it comes from the Lords—that it will hazard the Government—that it is unseasonable.*—As to the first, I take the Lords to be concerned to do some such thing, because they rejected a Bill from this House to much the same purpose. As to the second, nothing

* This argument of a reform in Parliament being *unseasonable*, is the stale, worn-out trick of every minister, and every venal tool who supports him. Charles Townsend used to say, Petitions to this effect were improper at two seasons, the season of war and the season of peace. In peace because they tended to disturb the general tranquillity, and in war because ministers had sufficient employment for their abilities without being troubled with Petitions. We suppose Mr. Townsend must have meant the *general tranquillity* of ministers and their tools, who could not bear the Petitions of the People to *disturb* their quiet enjoyment of *otium cum dignitate*, *leisure with dignity*, in superb elegant villas, raised and supported by equally splendid establishments, from resources arising from the guilty spoils fleeced from the plunder of an oppressed and deluded People. This same fallacious and delusive argument is made use of at the present moment, and those very persons who contended most warmly that a reform in Parliament was absolutely necessary to save the Constitution in 1785, have now the barefaced effrontery to assert that it is at *present* not only *unreasonable*, but *absolutely unnecessary*. Britons, reflect on this!—Be no longer deceived.—Convince yourselves first that *it is necessary*—and then determine resolutely, and like Englishmen, worthy of their glorious ancestors, *that in matters of moment there is no time like the present*. *The Editors.*

thing of this kind can hazard the Government, from the people of England. A preſent Member of this Houſe, a Member alſo of the *Penſion Parliament*, told me that he, by order, paid penſions to thirty Members of that Houſe. The like, by long ſitting, may be done again. As to the third, the Bill can never be more ſeaſonable than when we give ſo much money.——*Page* 301.

Mr. Hutchinſon. I think we, by negligence and late attendance, ſeem weary of our ſitting.

Mr. Herbert. I had rather have a ſtanding army, than a ſtanding parliament. (He might have added, the alternative is but ideal; for wherever the laſt is, you may be ſure of the other.—*Remark of the Extracter.*)

Mr. Bowyer of Southwark. The two greateſt miſchiefs to this kingdom are, either to have no Parliaments, or to have long Parliaments. The Bill of Rights would have "frequent Parliaments," in the plural number. Such a Bill would make men not ſpend money to be elected——*Page* 301-302.

Mr. Harley. Annual Parliaments have been enacted by ſeveral ſtatutes. It is no entrenching upon the prerogative, but is for the honour of the King. *A ſtanding Parliament can never be a true Repreſentative.* Men are much altered after being ſome time here, and are not the ſame as ſent up.——*P.* 302.

Sir Thomas Clarges. I ſhould be unworthy to ſit here, if I did not give teſtimony to this Bill. The language of this Bill is the ſame with the ancient former laws for annual Parliaments,

Mr. Foley. It is neceſſary for us to have frequent Parliaments, and to take care alſo that Parliaments be not corrupted, which frequent and freſh are leſs ſubject to.

Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave. Since, formerly, laws made for this purpoſe have been evaded, it is fit now that ſuch laws ſhould be explained. I have ever found long Parliaments ungrateful to the people. The reaſon to perpetuate ourſelves is of no great benefit; but, on the other ſide, let your neighbours come in, and thoſe we repreſent be at liberty to be ſerved better. I think, long ſitting of Parliaments not for the King's intereſt. This Parliament hath either had adjournments or ſhort prorogations; by which means, by reaſon of privileges, the people cannot have their rights. By this, we ſhall ſhew that we are not lovers of ourſelves. [Meaning, more than of Juſtice, the Conſtitution, and our country.——*Remark by the Extracter.*]

Col. Granville. I think this Bill takes care of our ancient Conſtitution, and does not innovate. When Parliaments ſit long, many will ſpend money to come in. I hope Gentlemen will not be againſt looking their country in the face, when they are diſcharged.——*P.* 304.

Mr. Hopkins. Our anceſtors always aimed at this, as appears by ſeveral ancient laws. When men continue here long, they alter. They come up here, free men, but are here bondmen. If to be elected be an honour, let neighbour's ſhare; if a burden, ſo likewiſe.

On the ſecond reading, Feb. 10. Frequent Parliaments will be much better, and the Miniſtry alſo will be much better.——*P.* 306.

Mr.

Mr. Howe. The argument of prerogative, and the advantage we shall give our friends by this Bill, are words we make use of for our own sakes. It is said it will weaken our alliances. It is unreasonable; but we should have some good laws for ourselves, and not respect alliances in neglect of ourselves. [He might have added, nor expect the faith of our treaties and the benefit of our alliance will be esteemed the higher by other States, in proportion as we resign ourselves to servility and corruption.——*Extracter.*] Lord Coke says, before the conquest, a Parliament was held twice a year; and in the time of Edward III. once a year;* and this to redress grievances which every day happen.

Mr. Brockman. I wonder this should be thought to intrench on the prerogative. *It is better for the King to rely on his people, than on the ministry; not excepting the present ministry.*

Mr. Goodwin Wharton. I believe the bill not designed ill by the Lords. I believe they thought not ill of this House; for only a good House will consent to such a bill.

Mr. Hungerford. The triennial act intended a new Parliament every year†; not a triennial sitting.

Colonel Titus. Manna, when it fell, was sweet as honey; but if kept, bred worms.

Bill passed 200 to 161. [Rejected by a very invidious exertion of the negative claimed by the Crown.——*Extracter.*]

Monday,

Monday, Dec. 18, 1693.

In a grand committee on an ingroſſed bill from the Lords, for the frequent calling and meeting of Parliaments.

Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave. I think we have a juſt right to annual Parliaments.

On the third reading. There is nothing ſo much for our Conſtitution as frequent Parliaments.

Sir John Thompſon. Every body is tender of the prerogative; and I hope, we are too of our liberties.

Colonel Titus. It is no objection that this bill came from the Lords. As for the diſobligation to the people, good parliaments they deſire, and I never ſaw long parliaments good ones. A picture new drawn may be like the perſon it repreſents; but in time the colours will fade, and it ſo alters from itſelf, that no man can know what it repreſents. If we would have a picture like, it muſt be new drawn. P. 372.—3."

The above extracts furniſh us with teſtimonies of the right, expedience, and neceſſity, of frequent parliaments; from members themſelves, ſpeaking againſt their own obvious and ſeducing intereſts. It alſo appears, that holding of parliaments was properly and conſtitutionally underſtood at that time, by ſeveral members at leaſt, to mean ſeſſionally elected parliaments.

EXTRACT

EXTRACT

From an hiſtorical Eſſay on the Engliſh Conſtitution.

MUCH has been ſaid, and much has been written about patriotic kings and patriotic miniſters, but give me leave to tell the good people of England, that it is all *patriotic nonſenſe*. It is the principles of the conſtitution, the conſtant annual exerciſe of their elective powers, and thoſe only, that muſt make this nation free and happy. It is their buſineſs as electors, it is their buſineſs as the people in general, to watch over, and take care that the firſt principle of our conſtitution be not evaded by any power in the ſtate.

If they will not do this, they muſt periſh; for they will never find any patriotic adminiſtration that will do it for them. It is not the intereſt of any adminiſtration to have a ſharp-eyed Houſe of Commons to overlook them. They had much rather *manage* a Houſe of Commons, than be managed by one. So if they intend to leave it to ſuch an adminiſtration, they may wait, like the Jews, till dooms-day; and cry lo! here he cometh, and lo! there he cometh, but they will never find any ſuch Meſſiah, that will come to their aſſiſtance.

The

The people at large that loſe their conſtitutional guard, are like a Rope of Sand, eaſily divided aſunder; and therefore, when the acting parts of the Conſtitution ſhall abuſe their truſt, and counteract the end for which they were eſtabliſhed, there is no way of obtaining redreſs, but by aſſociating together, in order to form a new chain of union and ſtrength, in defence of their conſtitutional rights. But, inſtead of uniting for their common intereſts, the people have ſuffered themſelves to be divided and ſplit into factions and parties, to ſuch a degree, that every man hath roſe up in enmity againſt his neighbour; by which they have brought themſelves under the fatal curſe, of a kingdom divided againſt itſelf, which cannot ſtand.

It is the common political trick of Stateſmen, to throw out ſome bone of contention among the people, to divide them, and ſo divide their ſtrength; by which, the latter become as weak as children, while the former, and their prevailing factions, get poſſeſſion of ſo much power, as to overturn the Conſtitution, and rob the people of their rights. Thus the people of England have been ſpending their ſtrength and fury upon one another, about Whigs and Tories, High Church and Low Church, and ſuch like things, of no more import to the happineſs and well-being of the nation, than long men or ſhort men, or fat men and lean men, till the prevailing faction of thoſe days, obtained a law, under pretence of providing for the diſtemper of the times, by which they have loſt nay, what have they not loſt.

They have loſt the diſtinguiſhing character between Freemen and Slaves! —they have loſt the diſtinguiſhing character of Engliſhmen!—They have loſt, what the

moſt

moſt tyrannical kings of England could never force from them! They have, in a great meaſure, loſt what their forefathers ſpent their blood and treaſure to defend—the greateſt jewel that any people can poſſeſs—their conſtitutional and natural liberty—their birth-right and inheritance derived from God and Nature! They have loſt the conſtitutional means of redreſs for all their grievances! What is it, indeed, they have not loſt by that hated ſeptennial law, which has fettered down the elective power of the people, like a dog to a manger, who is only ſuffered to go abroad, *once in ſeven years*, for an airing! *

Let us then fling away all animoſity, and tear from our hearts all party names of diſcord, and evil diſtinction; and unite heart and hand, as one man, from the Eaſt to the Weſt, and from North to South, and recover by our union, what we have loſt by our diviſions. Let us carefully weed from our conſtitution, all modern heterogeneous matter that hath poiſoned its principles, and eſtabliſhed a tyranny upon the ruins of our ancient laws and liberties.

* We are by no means ſurprized to ſee writers of quick ſenſibility, and fine feelings, expreſs themſelves with great warmth, and the higheſt degree of irritation, when ſpeaking of the very unconſtitutional act above alluded to; but we flatter ourſelves, that our *loſſes* are not ſo very extenſive, and of ſuch immenſe magnitude, as are enumerated in this extract. At leaſt we hope, any loſſes of the kind which we may unfortunately have ſuſtained, are not irretrievable we pleaſe ourſelves with the fancy that they have only diſappeared for a time; and that they will ſoon be reſtored to us with a renovated ſtrength and luſtre; that their reſtoration will awake us to a regard, care, and watchfulneſs, of them in future, proportioned to the anxiety and miſery, we have felt, in the idea and fear of the; eternal privation of gems ſo radiant, and of ſuch ineſtimable value. *The Editors.*

ON THE

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE.

(Continued from page 144.)

IS this the conſtitution of ſuffrages ſo much extolled by Blackſtone, when he ſays "only ſuch are entirely "excluded from voting as can have no will of their own, "and that there is hardly a free agent to be found but "what is entitled to a vote in ſome place or other in the "kingdom?" when it appears, that according to the preſent mode of elections, not one twentieth part of the people have any choice of thoſe who are ſaid to be their repreſentatives? It is the moſt abſurd and barefaced impoſition that ever was attempted to be paſſed on the credulity of mankind. It is a doctrine which proves the aſſertors, and ſupporters of it to be knaves; and conveys at the ſame time, the moſt mortifying of inſults, in the idea, that if the people believe it, they muſt be fools! This is not even the *ſhadow* of repreſentation. The ſhadow will always follow the ſubſtance; but this is the ſubſtance following the ſhadow.—It is a mere mockery. In order to make this a repreſentation of the *people*, you muſt reverſe the ſyſtem of nature:—you muſt overturn every ſettled axiom, and every ſelf-evident principle:—

You

You muſt prove a *part* to be greater than the *whole*; and then, and *not till then*, can you fairly infer, that the Members of the Houſe of Commons, choſen and returned as they now are, are really and *bona fide*, the Repreſentatives of the People of Great-Britain.

Perhaps it may be aſked, how this is to be accounted for? This I will endeavour to explain, on the ſame conſtitutional ground on which I have hitherto proceeded. The ſame learned authority before quoted, ſays V. 1. p. 174, "that the electors of Citizens and Burgeſſes, are "ſuppoſed to be the mercantile part, or trading intereſt, "of this kingdom. But as trade is of a fluctuating na"ture, and ſeldom long fixed in a place, it was formerly "left to the Crown to ſummon *pro re nata*, the moſt "flouriſhing towns to ſend Repreſentatives to Parliament. "So that as towns increaſed in trade, and grew popu"lous, they were admitted to a ſhare in the legiſlature. "But the misfortune is, that the deſerted Boroughs con"tinued to be ſummoned, as well as thoſe to whom their "trade and inhabitants were transferred; except a few "which petitioned to be eaſed of the expence then uſual "of maintaining their members, four ſhillings a day "being allowed for a Knight of the Shire, and two ſhil"lings for a Knight or Burgeſs, which was the rate of "wages eſtabliſhed in the reign of Edward the Third. "Hence the number of boroughs now bear a quadruple "proportion to thoſe for counties; and the number of "parliament men is increaſed ſince Forteſcue's time, in "the reign of Henry VI. from 300 to upwards of 500, "excluſive of thoſe for Scotland."

Here indeed we may with juſtice exclaim, "*tempora mutantur*;" "*the times are changed*." And here the

the grand cauſes of the preſent miſerably defective ſtate of our repreſentation in the Houſe of Commons, moſt apparently manifeſt themſelves. All the deſerted boroughs continued to be ſummoned, except a few which petitioned to be eaſed of the expence, then uſual, of maintaining their members. Our ſimple, unlettered, and uninformed anceſtors, who petitioned as above, it is evident, looked no further at that time, than the preſent moment, otherwiſe we ſhould have more boroughs than we have. Their immediate heirs and deſcendants hearing them expreſs their joy at being delivered from what they deemed a burden, "the maintenance of their mem-"bers,"* adopted alſo the ſame ideas; and in this manner, unfortunately perpetuated from father to ſon, the united deception of avarice and ignorance. They did not foreſee the vaſt extent of power and dominion, to which a ſtate, or nation, may in time arrive; they had no conception or idea, of the immenſe riches, which a commerce extended ſince to every quarter of the globe, would neceſſarily pour into the nation:—they knew not the ſplendid baits, which would in ages after them reſult, in the forms of *loaves* and *fiſhes*, from the wily eſtabliſhment of a *national debt*:—and that what they then viewed as a grievous burden, and petitioned to be exempted from, would as it is has ſince done, become an object of ſuch immenſe importance. They would have deemed that man a fool, or a madman, who ſhould then have whiſpered, that a period would one day come, in which thoſe very ſeats in parliament from which they thus improvidently excluded themſelves and their heirs, by

* Andrew Marvel, Member of Parliament for Hull, 1660, was the laſt member who received an allowance from his conſtituents He was a man of firſt rate talents, and his works deſerve the careful peruſal of every friend to liberty.

by their own act, from a right of ſuffrage; would in future, be moſt ſedulouſly, and anxiouſly ſolicited for, not only without wages; but that thouſands, and tens of thouſands, would with avidity be paid for them. In ſhort, they were too ignorant, to know the value of a right of ſuffrage; and by no means could conceive, that it was more eſtimable than any other, which our conſtitution had veſted in them; becauſe it is more extenſive in its operation, and in its conſequences.

The ſame cloud of ignorance, I am ſorry to ſay, has till this very moment continued to pervade and darken our political hemiſphere, in a very great degree, either from the people at large being inattentive to the importance of this right, which they have ſo long been deprived of; or too indolent and careleſs, to give themſelves the neceſſary trouble which might be demanded for the recovery of it. Be the cauſe what it will, it is a right which has too long been ſuffered to lie dormant, and it behoves us now to aſſert our claim to it; for, *like our brother Lazarus*, "*it is not dead, but ſleepeth.*"

As a ſtrong reaſon, why we ought no longer to remain inattentive to this momentous object, permit me to urge it forcibly, and to requeſt every reader to conſider, that the right of *taxation*, and *repreſentation*, ought always to be coupled together, and are virtually the ſame:—the ſeparating them was the cauſe of the loſs of America: The people of that country, ſprung from the ſame ſtock with ourſelves, our brethren as it were, but divided from us by an ocean of 3000 miles in extent, on an attempt of our government to tax them, claimed the right which the conſtitution has given to every free member of it, and which, till that fatal period was never diſputed, of being governed by their repreſentatives; they contended

for that natural security, which the wisdom and valour of our forefathers secured for ourselves; and which with unparalelled injustice and ingratitude, then endeavoured to wrest from them of having delegates from among themselves; who being subject to the laws they should make, *or consent to being made*, might be induced to frame such as would prove equitable and beneficial, to those whom they represented. This they requested in numberless petitions, and that request was as often disdainfully refused. They were told that they were *virtually* represented. This position they would by no means agree to: therefore, when *taxation* was attempted to be enforced, they resisted: the consequence of which was that after a long, a violent, but in the end a *glorious* struggle, on their part, they became independent of this their mother country. They acquired a constitution founded on the liberty they had so bravely fought for; far superior in *their* minds to that so much boasted of by this nation; because it partakes of all the excellencies of ours—of all its blessings—divested of the various mischiefs and evils, which are either inherent, or have crept into that of England. They became a *free people*, and we have the melancholy reflection, that in attempting to with-hold and wrest from our brethren, that which constitutes the very best ornament in our own cap of liberty, *a right of representation*, we added one hundred millions of pounds sterling, to *our former enormous national debt*.

I remember it was an argument, used by the advocates of the then administration, in support and vindication of their unjust and impolitic measures; and as an answer to the plea, set up as before mentioned, by the Americans, "*that taxation and representation ought to be inseparable*;"—and as a foundation for the answer returned

ed to their ſeveral petitions, "that they were *virtually* repreſented"—that they, the Americans, were as *much* and as *effectually repreſented*, as the people reſiding in Mancheſter, Birmingham, Sheffield, and all thoſe other towns in Great Britain, which ſend no members: and amidſt the hurry of the times, and the ardour which then filled the breaſts of an high ſpirited, but deluded people, or at leaſt a majority of them, who, by their ill judged addreſſes, encouraged a profligate adminiſtration to bring, if they could, their brethren to ſubmiſſion, this argument, atrocious as it was, paſſed unnoticed, and ſeems to have been too much unattended to ſince.

At that time, I muſt confeſs, I was a ſtranger to the immenſe inequality which there is in the repreſentation of the people of this country; and the moment I became thoroughly apprized of it, the above argument occurred to my memory, and the more I have reflected on it ſince, the more I have been ſurprized, that *a whole people*, ſhould ſo long have ſhut their eyes on a matter of ſuch infinite importance, as being deprived of one of the higheſt and moſt eſſential rights and privileges that belong to a Briton; a right, which in a moſt peculiar manner contributes to his ſecurity both in life, liberty, and property, and which has nevertheleſs been hitherto overlooked, as of no more eſtimation, than the diamond on the dunghill to the poor cock, who, in ſpite of the ſplendor it exhibited, and the real and high value attached to it, would have been much better pleaſed with a ſingle grain of wheat.

I feel myſelf affected with indignant emotion, when I reflect that this argument, at that time urged for ſo baſe a purpoſe as the enſlaving a free people *by ourſelves*,

is most indisputably *true*; and applies in a very home, and forcible manner *to ourselves*.—If the Americans were then as *much*, and as *effectually* represented as the people of Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, and all those other towns in Great Britain which do not send members to parliament, it follows of course, that the people of those towns, are no more represented now, than the Americans were then; which was *not at all*:—and let sophistry say what it will, in spite of all its acts, in defiance of all its blandishments, the fact is indubitably *true*. What then is the reason why the people of those towns are deprived of so inestimable a right? Nothing but a civil offence or crime should exclude a citizen the privilege of suffrage in the appointment of legislators and magistrates, who are to determine on his happiness and life. Have the inhabitants of those unrepresented towns incurred any such legal incapacity? No—no—no. Their only crime is, that, by their populousness, their manufactures, their industry and their talents, which are the best and most valuable resources of every community, they contribute in a vast degree of superior proportion to the revenue, to the riches, and support of this kingdom. And is this a reason why they should be disfranchised of the first right of a citizen, the right of suffrage? Forbid it Heaven! forbid it Justice! forbid it, O Spirit of Liberty! and to that end, infuse thyself, with all thy ardor, all thy fire, and all thy divine and irresistible energies into the souls of the whole people.

If the Americans were not bound, or liable by law, to pay taxes imposed on them by a British parliament, *because* they were not represented in it, how, or by what right, are so many millions of the people residing in

Great

Great Britain, and no more represented in that parliament than the Americans were, bound and obliged to pay every tax which that parliament thinks proper to impose on them? I have stated the question, let every man answer it to himself as his reason directs.

And now return we to the constitution, and endeavour to trace by what means this right of suffrage is become vested in the hands of so small a number of the people, to the detriment and disfranchisement of so very large a one. Blackstone says "that it was formerly left "to the crown to summon *pro re nata*, the most flourish-"ing towns to send representatives to Parliament. And "that as towns increased in trade and grew populous, "they were admitted to a share in the legislature." But the learned author has not told us, at what period of time the crown and its advisers *desisted from*, or *omitted* to summon towns, "increasing in trade and growing populous to send representatives to Parliament:" however, it matters not at what time those omissions happened, it is clearly evident that they have taken place; whereby the towns of Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, &c. have for a number of years been deprived of this invaluable right of suffrage, which is vested in them by the constitution, and whenever they shall petition the king to be restored to this right, they cannot fail of receiving a gracious acquiescence to their request; because it is a well known maxim in our law, "that *no man shall take advantage of his own laches*"* and therefore the King being the Law, it must be well known to him that, as "*the Crown* "*by neglecting to summon these flourishing towns to send re-*"*presentatives to Parliament*," has for a length of time deprived them of a representation there:—it cannot object its own neglect, to their injury; but in justice, must acknow-

* Omissions or Neglects.

acknowledge, that neglect having been so long injurious to the inhabitants of those towns, and to the Constitution, shall in future be remedied, by granting them in the fullest manner, the prayer of their petitions.

Thus have I endeavoured to lay before my readers, a fair, candid, and impartial history of this most inestimable privilege, the "right of suffrage," or "chusing "our representatives in parliament." I have indisputably proved to them that this right is vested in *every* man (not under a legal incapacity) and that it is vested in him by the constitution itself. I have presumed to point out the great importance of it, and to shew by what means we have so long suffered ourselves to be deprived of it. I will now proceed to shew, what dreadful abuses have been the consequence of that privation. I will faithfully delineate the state of representation, and on the perusal of the picture, I doubt whether the intelligent and rational observer will find his feelings most affected by the sensation of pity, of contempt, or indignation.

Permit me to request your attention once more, to what Blackstone says of the electors of citizens and burgesses. "These," says he, "are supposed to be the "mercantile part, or *trading interest*, of this kingdom; "but as *trade* is of a fluctuating nature, and seldom long "fixed to a place: it was formerly left to the crown, to "summon *pro re nata*, the most flourishing towns, to "send representatives to parliament, so that as towns "*increased*, and grew *populous*; they were admitted to "a share in the legislature. But the misfortune is, that "the deserted boroughs continued to be summoned

"as

"*as well as thoſe*, to whom their *trade*, and *inhabitants* "were transferred."

The real misfortune is, that the deſerted boroughs were continued to be *ſummoned*, and thoſe increaſing towns, to which their *trade* and *inhabitants* were transferred, were *neglected* to be ſummoned:—and thus the towns of Mancheſter, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, &c.* ſo truly "populous, and, flouriſhing in trade," have not yet obtained repreſentatives. The crown, which was entruſted by the conſtitution, with the power and right of ſummoning them, and which has uniformly in a greater or leſſer degree endeavoured to encroach upon and curtail the liberties and privileges of the people, ſoon perceived, that by ſummoning the deſerted boroughs and,

* An attempt was made by Oliver Cromwell, during the time he was Protector, to remedy this great defect in the conſtitution, (which is not radical or inherent in it, but occaſioned by the illegal and oppreſſive acts of tyrants, beginning with Henry 6th. in whoſe reign the firſt act was framed and paſſed for disfranchiſing the ſubjects of their right of ſuffrage, or voting for the election of their repreſentatives in the Houſe of Commons) by adding more members for the counties, and by admitting moſt of the great trading towns to their right of having repreſentatives in Parliament. Leeds ſent two members, Halifax and Mancheſter one, to Parliament, in the year 1657. (ſee Banks's life of Cromwell, and eſpecially that curious work, Preſtwick's Reſpublica, in which the names of theſe members may be found)

But this, together with ſeveral other wiſe regulations and improvements, propoſed or introduced by Cromwell, were all done away at the reſtoration of the profligate Charles II. and though the compilers of the thankſgiving ſervice for the 29th of May, have not enumerated it among the other great bleſſings which accompanied the reſtoration, nor directed their followers to thank God for the benefits of an unequal repreſentation, yet no doubt, every true courtier and hungry placeman, is particularly thankful for it, and kiſſes his oak leaves with rapture.

and omitting the towns which were daily growing into population and trade, the ſtate of repreſentation would ſoon fall into a very few hands; that even thoſe few would, from their great and ſuperior wealth, be in the power of the ariſtocratical branch of the legiſlature, which had ever been equally jealous and envious of the liberties and privileges of the people, with the crown itſelf: and of courſe, would be eaſily rendered ſubſervient to the views of the crown, in bringing about as it were, one common object, the humiliation of the people: the crown, I repeat, perceiving the manifold and great advantages reſulting by theſe means to its own arbitrary views, continued from time to time, to purſue the ſame courſe of procedure; and the *people*, ignorant of the conſequences, blindly ſuffered themſelves to be thus ſurreptitiouſly deſpoiled of their rights, till a ſeries of revolving years, at length preſents them with the hideous aſpect of our preſent defective ſtate of repreſentation.

RUSSELL.

[*To be continued.*]

THE

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday, June 12.

ON THE

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE.

PROCEED we now to review those boroughs, which at present send a quadruple proportion to the members of the counties; and thereby shew that neither the *property* nor the *people* of this country are fairly and equally represented. "The *people* (says an enlightened "and well informed member of the Yorkshire associa- "tion*) cannot, with truth, be said to be represented, "if the word representation has any meaning in the Eng- "lish language. Many of those venal and decayed bo- "roughs, are represented by persons, to whose very "names their constituents are perhaps strangers. Some "wretched Contractor, who goes to parliament as he "goes to the alley, in the way of speculation.—Some

* H. Duncombe, Esq.

"Indian Governor 'rich with the ſpoil of plundered "provinces,' who purchaſed thereby impunity to his "crimes, by a vote of ready acquieſcence, to every *mi-* "*niſter* and every *meaſure*." "In fact, the Burgage te- "nures (ſays another member of the ſame aſſociation*) "do not partake of any one quality belonging to the "people. Their members have no conſtituents to re- "preſent or be anſwerable to. Some circumſtances re- "lating to them are inſulting and degrading in the ex- "treme. There is one in the county of Suſſex, near "the ſeat of a Peer, and his park wall has †*ſix or eight* "*black ſtones in it*, every one of which has *a vote for a* "*member of parliament*. In the extenſive county of "York, out of thirty members which it ſends to parlia- "ment, eighteen are ſent by boroughs that are private "property; and of the remaining twelve, there is "ſcarcely one which is purely conſtituted. There are "other claſſes of boroughs, which for a century have "been under the influence of the firſt Lords of the "*Treaſury* and *Admiralty*; and ſome of which are *wholly* "*under the control of the miniſter, for the time being.* "There is another deſcription ſtill worſe, which carry "their freedom to market, and ſet it at a price. Theſe, "inſtead of controling their members, are controled by "them. The members having purchaſed their ſeats, as "they would any other property, with a view towards "increaſing their wealth, have *their* price alſo, and ſell "themſelves to the miniſtry. Hence it is that the *Na-*

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* Mr. Stanhope.

† Stones formerly compoſing a part of certain Burgage houſes, which are long ſince crumbled into duſt, but in which the right of returning members inherent in its original inhabitants, ſtill is ſaid to exiſt.

"*Bob of Arcot*, and the *Rajah of Tanjore* (two princes "in India) have more votes in the Britiſh Houſe of Com- "mons than the whole county of York."*

The Briton who can read the above true and candid account of the ſtate of the Repreſentation of the *people* of this country, without an involuntary bluſh of indignation ſuffuſing his cheeks, may, in my mind, fairly be deemed inſenſible of the real dignity of his character, and undeſerving the various, the important, and invaluable rights and privileges which are veſted in him by a conſtitution *originally* moſt excellent; purchaſed at firſt by the blood of our anceſtors, formed and foſtered by their greateſt care; but ſince, improvidently ſuffered in many of its parts to go to decay, by *their* immediate and ſucceſſive deſcendants, and *our* predeceſſors.

The ſummary of the foregoing pages is briefly this. The whole of the *people* in Great Britain are ſaid to be repreſented in the Houſe of Commons, and for that reaſon, the Houſe of Commons lays claim to its own greateſt privileges. The whole of the members of that houſe (558) are returned by about forty thouſand people: out of this number, by which they are returned, the boroughs ſend full four times as many members as the counties: very many of the boroughs are private property, and return ſuch as the owner commands; others, corruptly bartered away; nearly all partially conſtructed, and a ſcandalous mockery of repreſentation. Nabobs and Rajahs in the Eaſt Indies, repreſented in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons; and only forty thouſand of the inhabitants of Britain, conſiſting of ſix millions, who have

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* So ſpake theſe very reſpectable Yorkſhire Freeholders, in the year 1782, and ſuch in general were the ſentiments of their compatriots; why their language has yet been unaccompanied with correſpondent actions, is a myſtery which they alone can explain.

a vote, or are at all repreſented there. And yet this is called, a repreſentation of the whole *people!!*

With the ſame bare-faced effrontery, the purchaſers of venal boroughs alledge, that all the miſchiefs ariſing to our conſtitution, ſpring from the corruption of the people at large: "they ſold themſelves to us (ſay they) "and we have therefore a right to ſell ourſelves to the "****, the Miniſter or the Devil, if we chuſe it."

This is a libel upon the *people*, *an actual libel:* not, according to the doctrine of a certain Chief Juſtice, "be-"cauſe *it is true*;" but for the real and true cauſe on which every libel ought to be grounded, that it is *falſe*, *malicious* and *groſſly defamatory:* that it adds the groſſeſt inſult to the ſevereſt injury; and charges the body of the people with the black and atrocious crime of *corruption*; when ſuch infamy is only truly attributable to the robbers and deſpoilers of the people's juſt rights and privileges.

It may be ſaid perhaps that I expreſs myſelf with warmth; I acknowledge it:—but at the ſame time, aver it to be a warmth at once pardonable and praiſe worthy. In a reflection ſo trying to the ſoul of any feeling intelligent Briton, to be cool is, in my judgment, to be criminal; and not to be indignant, or rather to repreſs my indignation, is, according to my political conſcience, to be paſſively acceſſory to the ruin of our country.

Rouſe then, ye Britons! Awake from the ſlumbering ſtate of apathy in which you have ſo long ſuffered yourſelves inglorioufly to remain! Open your eyes to the injuries which have been heaped on you; and aſſert your right

right to have them redreſſed. Evince to all the world that you are the true deſcendants and ſons of your once famed, glorious anceſtors: prove yourſelves worthy to inherit, in its higheſt degree of perfection, that *conſtitution*, which they raiſed by their valour, and cemented with their blood. Raiſe your voice—the voice of the people—and ſound in the ears of tyrants and their abettors, that you *will be free*, and you are ſo: that voice is the noble, the mighty *Fiat*, which none can, or dare attempt to gainſay.

Several years ago, the Members of the aſſociation in the county of York, and almoſt every other county in the kingdom, in very forcible and animated language, told us, "that a reform in parliament was then abſolutely "neceſſary to ſave our unhappy country from ruin:" the evils at that time complained of have ever ſince been increaſing, and no one can ſee any end to their accumulation, if not ſpeedily put a ſtop to. The whole body of an injured *people* is the only engine poſſeſſed of ſufficient power and authority to effect ſo deſireable and neceſſary a purpoſe; and to that *people* I now appeal.

I warn them that it is neceſſary their united and collective ſenſe on this ſubject ſhould be immediately made known, and ſupported by the moſt efficacious means which can be deviſed, conſiſtent with obedience to the regulations of the law. Aſſociation is a mode conformable to law, and a mode by which I have no doubt, the united and vigorous efforts of an independent and free people will be crowned with final and complete ſucceſs. I have mentioned the Yorkſhire, and other aſſociations, which took place ſome years ago: but though I very highly approve the proceedings of thoſe ſeveral bodies, as far as they went at that time, I cannot help obſerving, that in

in my opinion, their meaſures fell ſhort, very far ſhort, indeed, of what the magnitude of the ſubject *the*—"*general welfare of the kingdom*"—demanded. They ſeem to have extended their views and intentions no further than "to the cities and boroughs which now ſend "members to parliament:" the addition of more members for the counties, and curtailing or lopping off ſome of the moſt obnoxious of the boroughs, would be only a partial reform, and by no means ſuch as would effectually renovate and reſtore the conſtitution: they ſeem alſo to have confined their ideas to effect that partial reform they then contended for, by means of thoſe votes which are now allowed to uſurp the right of ſuffrage, to the detriment and injury of ſo many millions of their countrymen; by which the body of the people would have remained as much unrepreſented as they are at preſent, though the repreſentation of thoſe who now have votes would be more complete. The number of theſe voters now exerciſing the right is very inſignificant and diminutive indeed, when compared with the whole body. In ſhort, as his Grace the Duke of Richmond moſt juſtly obſerves, in his letter to Colonel Sharman, on the ſame ſubject, "the greateſt objection, in my opinion, "to this and to every other narrow and contracted plan "of reform, is, that it proceeds upon the ſame bad prin-"ciple as the abuſe it pretends to rectify; it is ſtill par-"tial and unequal; a vaſt majority of the community is "ſtill left unrepreſented; and its moſt eſſential concerns, "life, liberty and property, continue in the abſolute "diſpoſal of thoſe whom they do not chuſe, and over "whom they have no control."

The "*Conſtitution*" has veſted a right of ſuffrage in every man in the kingdom, not under a legal incapacity.

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It will be therefore neceſſary that Mancheſter, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, and all other populous unrepreſented towns, ſhould be called upon to join in the aſſociations. Theſe, when united to that part of the people already in poſſeſſion of their right of ſuffrage, who muſt ſee and feel, that the ſmallneſs of their number is the great, if not the ſole cauſe of their petitions and remonſtrances being unattended to, either by the —— or the parliament, will form a virtuous and important phalanx, the very buz of which will make any time-ſerving miniſter and his venal crew, ſhrink back into their original nothingneſs; they will convince ***** that the petitions of a whole people muſt be attended to: that notwithſtanding a long lapſe of time, and negligent attention, on their parts, have ſeemed to countenance innumerable encroachments on their deareſt rights and privileges, the period is at length arrived, when the political bandage by which their eyes were bound, is at length dropped off; that they can and will now ſee for themſelves: and that they feel it immediately a duty incumbent on them to ſay decifively to Corruption, 'Thus 'far, Monſter, haſt thou proceeded, but now thy progreſs 'muſt be checked. Our conſtitution once ſo glorious, 'thou haſt contaminated, and enfeebled: our care ſhall 'be to renovate and reſtore it: to the execution of ſo de'ſireable a work we will all unite as brothers, bound to 'ſupport ſo noble, and magnificent a fabric, on the baſis 'of which our liberties are founded, and under the ſa'cred ſhade of which, as we were born and have lived 'free, ſo will we die.'

RUSSEL.

MR.

MR. THOMSON's PREFACE

To a Speech of John Milton, for the Liberty of unlicenſed Printing.

THERE is no need of a *preface* to recommend this admirable defence of the beſt of human rights, to any one who has ever heard of the divine *Milton*, and it is impoſſible to produce better arguments, or to ſet them in a more convincing, awakening light.

Is it poſſible that any free born Briton, who is capable of thinking, can ever loſe all ſenſe of religion and virtue, and the dignity of human nature, to ſuch a degree, as to wiſh for that univerſal *ignorance*, *darkneſs*, and *barbarity*, againſt which the *abſolute freedom of the preſs* is the only preſervative? For what elſe ſpreads light or diffuſes knowledge through the world? but it ſeems, as a ſenſe of the value of health is ſometimes loſt in the midſt of its full enjoyment, ſo men, through a habit of liberty, may become inſenſible of its ineſtimable worth; otherwiſe would not every one awake, arouſe himſelf, and ſay, when the moſt dear and valuable of all the privileges, that government is deſigned to protect, is menaced, *That he will ſooner part with life itſelf, than with that liberty without which life is not worth the having; that he will ſooner ſuffer his eyes to be put out, than his underſtanding to be extinguiſhed*? We are told in hiſ-

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tory of a * people that, after they had been inured to slavery, were in a panic fear when their liberty was offered to them. And this *terrible* effect of slavery ought to make every lover of mankind tremble at the thoughts of any steps or approaches towards the diminution of liberty. "For without it, as Homer has told us, men "soon cease to be men; they soon cease to be rational "creatures."

Now, without the absolute unbounded freedom of writing and publishing, there is no liberty, nor shadow of it; it is an empty sound. For what can *liberty* mean, if it does not mean *the liberty of exercising, improving, and informing our understandings?* "A people have liberty, said a truly good King of England,† when they "are free, as thought is free. What is it that makes a "city (said the good Alcæus, a poet, whose muse was "always sacred and faithful to the best of causes) it is "not walls and buildings; no, it is being inhabited by "men; by men who know themselves to be men, and "have suitable notions of the dignity of human nature; "by men who know what it is alone that exalts them "above the Brutes."

Can we be either virtuous or religious without the free use of our reason, without the means of knowledge? And can we have knowledge, if men dare not freely study, and as freely communicate the fruits of their studies? What is it that distinguishes human society from a brutish herd, but the flourishing of the arts and sciences, the free exercise of wit and reason? what can government mean, intend, or produce, that is worthy of man, or beneficial to him, as he is a rational creature,

* The Cappadocians. † Alfred.

creature, beſides wiſdom, knowledge, virtue, and ſcience? Is it merely indeed that we may eat, drink, ſleep, ſing and dance, with ſecurity, that we chooſe governors, ſubject ourſelves to their adminiſtration and pay taxes? Take away the arts, religion, knowledge, virtue, (all of which muſt flouriſh or ſink together) and in the name of goodneſs, what is left to us that is worth enjoying or protecting? Yet take away the liberty of the preſs, and we are all at once ſtript of the uſe of our nobleſt faculties; our ſouls themſelves are impriſoned in a dark dungeon; we may breathe, but we cannot be ſaid to live.

If the end of governors and government is not to diffuſe with a liberal, unſparing, equal hand, true, rational happineſs, but to make the bulk of mankind beaſts of burden, that a few may wallow in Brutiſh pleaſures, then it is conſiſtent politics to root out the deſire and love of light and knowledge. Certain Scythian Slaves, that they might work the harder, had only their eyes deſtroyed; but to extinguiſh human underſtanding, and eſtabliſh a kingdom of darkneſs, is juſt ſo far more barbarous than even that moſt monſtrous cruelty, as the mind excels the body, or as underſtanding and reaſon are ſuperior to ſenſe. Cardinal Richlieu ſays, in his *Political Teſtament*, "That ſubjects with knowledge, ſenſe, and reaſon, are "as monſtrous as a beaſt with hundreds of eyes would "be, and that ſuch a beaſt will never bear its burden "peaceably. Whence he infers, it is impoſſible to pro- "mote deſpotic power, while learning is encouraged and "extended: the people muſt be hoodwinked, or rather "blinded, if one would have them tame and patient "drudges. In ſhort you muſt treat them every way like "pack-horſes or mules, not excepting the bells about "their necks, which by their perpetual jingling may be

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"of use to drown their cares." Now, this is plain dealing and consistent politics. But to talk of Liberty and free-Government, public good and rational happiness, as requiring limitations on the press, and licensers of books, is as absurd as to speak of liberty in a dungeon with chains on every limb. Hobbes too was consistent with himself, and advises those who aim at absolute dominion, to destroy all the Greek and Latin authors; because if those are read, principles of liberty, and just sentiments of the dignity and rights of mankind must be imbibed. But can there be more glaring barefaced nonsense than to say, "That the very support of a free Constitution re-"quires the extinction of the press?" that is, the extinction of knowing what we are as *men*, and *christians*; what our natures are capable of; what is our just happiness, and how we ought to be treated by our Governors: that is, by those whom we have entrusted with the management of our interests and concerns.

I hope it will never be this nation's misfortune to fall into the hands of an administration, that do not from their souls abhor any thing, that has but the remotest tendency towards the erection of a new and Arbitary Jurisdiction over the press; or can otherwise look upon any attempt that way, than as the greatest impiety, the cruelest, the wickedest, the most irreligious thing that can be imagined. Would it not be sacrilegiously robbing God of the only worship he delights in, *the worship of the heart and understanding?* Can there be any religion or virtue without reason, thought or choice? Or can reason, thinking, knowledge and choice subsist, without the only conceivable means of making men wise and understanding, rational and virtuous? What is the kingdom of Christ? Doth not our Saviour delight in calling it *light* and *a kingdom*

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of light? And what did he come to deſtroy but the kingdom of darkneſs? And can there be a kingdom of light, without the liberty, the unreſtrained liberty, of diffuſing light and knowledge? What is the *Reformation*, or what does it mean but the liberty, the abſolute and perfect liberty, of correcting and refuting errors, and of undeceiving mankind? What is it that we call *proteſtaniſm*, but a reſolution ſtedfaſtly and undauntedly to oppoſe all encroachments upon rational liberty, the liberty of the judgment and underſtanding; and to maintain it as our moſt invaluable treaſures our greateſt and nobleſt privilege, in compariſon of which all other rights are mean and trifling, and hardly deſerve the name of bleſſings and advantages? A free, proteſtant country, without the liberty of the preſs, is a contradiction in terms; it is a free ſlavery, or enchained liberty. Light and darkneſs are not more oppoſite, than liberty, and the deprivation of the means of being rational.

Who that loves mankind, is not ſorry that any thing is ever publiſhed, tending to confound men's underſtanding, miſlead their judgments, or deprave their morals? But is there any more likely method for ſenſe to prevail againſt abſurdities, than leaving her at full liberty to paint them in her native colours? Can truth be better armed againſt error, than with the *mighty blade of uncontrouled reaſon*? Or virtue more ſurely triumph over immorality, than by the vigorous execution of the truly wholeſome laws, purpoſely framed for her ſupport?

I hate all *calumny* and *defamation*, as I hate the corruption of heart, from which alone it can proceed; and do with the utmoſt zeal deteſt thoſe prophaners of liberty, who, pretending to be friends to it, have recourſe to

ſuch

ſuch black, diabolical methods. But I take the laws already in force amongſt us, to be a more than ſufficient preſervative (at leaſt, as far as human prudence is able to provide) againſt all the abuſive overt acts I am now expreſſing my abhorrence of; and as ſuch, we have reaſon to eſteem them very valuable ſecurities of our liberties and reputations. But becauſe wicked things are publiſhed, muſt there be no publiſhing? I know it is objected that there is a medium between an *abſolute liberty* of the preſs, and an *abſolute ſuppreſſion* of it, which I admit; but yet aver, the medium (by which either licenſing or nothing at all is meant) is far worſe on all accounts, than either extreme. For though we are indeed told, that licenſers would ſerve us with wholeſome goods, feed us with food convenient for us, and only prevent the diſtribution of poiſon, ſure ſuch cant was never meant to impoſe on any, but thoſe who are aſleep, and the truths, which theſe contain, are not fundamental, Man is not Man, but a Beaſt—Religion and Virtue are empty names.

1. What is our moſt valuable part, or what is it that maketh us capable of religion, virtue, or rational happineſs? Is it not our Reaſon and Underſtanding?

2. What then is the nobleſt privilege that belongs to Man? Is it not the free exerciſe of his Underſtanding, the full uſe of all the means of advancing in Virtue and Knowledge?

3. What is it, then, that is, and muſt be, the chief end of Government to encourage and promote? Is it not Knowledge, Virtue and Religion?

4. And can Knowledge, Virtue and Religion, be promoted, if the only means of promoting them are taken away? For, what are the means of promoting them, but the liberty of writing and publishing, without running any risk, but that of being refuted or ridiculed, where any thing advanced chances to labour under the just imputation of falsehood or absurdity.

On the pernicious Effects of a blind, mistaken Zeal in Matters of Religion;

AN ESSAY.

"Zeal is only fit for *wise men*; but it is chiefly in fashion among fools."

THERE is nothing more commonly esteemed than *zeal in religion*; and yet there is nothing in which men do more frequently mistake, and in the expressions and effects of which, they ought to govern themselves with more care and caution. Zeal, like other passions, is in its own nature indifferent, and of itself neither good nor bad, but according to the object and degree of it: for zeal is nothing else, but *an earnest concern for, or against something, and a violent pursuit of it.* If it be applied to a right object, and exerted for things that are unquestionably good, and against things that are unquestionably evil, and this in a due degree; that is, if the expressions and effects of it be proportionable to the greater or less good or evil of things, then it is a commendable

meudable quality or virtue. On the other hand, if it be wrong placed—if it is exercised in support of evil, and against that which is good, or about things which are of a doubtful nature as to the good or evil of them; and above all, if the spirit and effects of it are contrary to that universal benevolence and charity which the Christian religion inculcates, then it is so far from being a virtue, that it is a most pernicious vice, and hath as bad effects as can proceed from the worst principles or disposition of the mind.

Religion is the highest accomplishment and perfection of human nature, and *zeal* for it, when properly directed, must be acceptable to God. But nothing is more barbarous, or stimulates men to more horrible impieties, than a blind zeal for God, and false, mistaken principles in matters of Religion. The conduct of the Priests and Rulers of the Jews towards our Saviour, is a full proof of this. They sought the honour of men, not that which was from God, *and loved the praise of men more than the praise of God*. The precepts of meekness, humility and self-denial which Christ taught, were contrary to their notions, and as they clearly discovered, would lessen their authority over the people: they therefore were highly enraged against him, opposed his doctrine, attacked his character, and at length prosecuted him unto death. Yet while they were guilty of these enormities, they professed the warmest zeal for God, and the honour of the Church: as if any pretence of piety could authorize them to do wickedly, and by how much the wiser and more holy they were, they might do so much the worse actions.

[Another

Another remarkable inſtance of blind, furious zeal, is that of St. Paul before his converſion. It is a ſtrong proof that miſtakes and falſe principles, are no where ſo pernicious, and of ſuch miſchievous conſequences, as in matters of religion; and that a blind, miſguided zeal for it, is enough to ſpoil the beſt diſpoſition in the world. He was naturally of a kind, compaſſionate temper; yet what a fury did his miſtaken zeal render him! And if God had not miraculouſly converted him, he would probably have ſpent his whole life in acts of cruelty and perſecution. "For (ſays he) I verily thought with myſelf "that I ought to do many things contrary to the name "of Jeſus of Nazareth; which things alſo I did, and "many of the ſaints I ſhut up in priſon, having received "authority from the chief PRIESTS. And when their "ſaints were put to death, I gave my voice againſt them; "I alſo puniſhed them oft in every ſynagogue, and com-"pelled them to blaſpheme; and being exceedingly "mad againſt them, I perſecuted them even to ſtrange "cities." His zeal was probably ſincere, and intended to promote the glory of God and Religion; yet the ſincerity of it, did not change the nature of the actions he performed, or render them leſs wicked. This he feelingly acknowledges after his converſion, calling himſelf *the chief of ſinners*, and confeſſing that he had been guilty of blaſphemy, murder, and a moſt barbarous perſecution of good men. It appears then, even by the teſtimony of an apoſtle, that men may commit the moſt wicked and damnable ſins, under the maſk of religion, and a pretended zeal for the glory of God.

Innumerable other inſtances of the miſerable effects of a furious, bigotted zeal, might be ſelected from Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory; by which it would appear, that moſt, if

if not all the wars, cruſades and perſecutions mankind have ſuffered from, may be aſcribed to this as their ſource and original; and that the Prieſts, in all ages, have availed themſelves of the paſſions and credulity of the laity, to eſtabliſh their own power and emoluments. But theſe particulars would extend far beyond the limits of an Eſſay for a periodical Paper: they muſt therefore be omitted to make room for ſome Reflections on the re-appearance of this pernicious ſpirit in the preſent times, and on the fatal conſequences which will probably attend it.

That the leaven of Perſecution not only remains, but is reviving in this country, is a fact too apparent to be denied. That the Clergy have a great influence over the laity of all ranks, but eſpecially the very high and very low, and can, in a conſiderable degree lead them as they pleaſe, is not leſs evident. The oppoſition to the repeal of the Teſt Act is an indication of their influence among the former, and the remarkable ſcenes lately tranſacted at B——, is an indication of their control over the latter. 'Tis the duty of a peaceable citizen to ſubmit to the deciſions of thoſe in authority, and therefore no remarks ſhall be made upon the conduct or reaſons of our ſuperiors; but as to the mob, no ſuch compliment is due to them; and though Charity will ever diſpoſe its votaries to pity them, yet it never ought to be extended to apologize, much leſs to vindicate their evil deeds. When therefore they are ſtimulated to do miſchief; when furious, bigotted men, uſe every artifice to inſpire them with a furious, frantic zeal, and either ſecretly, or with leſs reſerve, encourage them to inſult the perſons, or to deſtroy the property of their neighbours, the injured have a right to complain. Religion is ſurely inſulted, and receives its deepeſt wounds, when they who

profeſs themſelves its votaries and defenders, are guilty of thoſe very crimes which it forbids, and diſplay that malignant, uncharitable ſpirit, which it was intended to deſtroy. Yet is not this the prevailing ſpirit of the times? *The Church!—the Church!* is now the common cry of multitudes who are a ſhame and diſgrace to any Church, and whoſe actions ſhew, that they rather belong to the ſynagogue of Satan. We have ſeen men diveſted of common honeſty and ſobriety—of all appearances of humanity, in order to be—religious, or rather what they were taught to believe was religious. They drank, they ſtole, they ſwore, they ran mad, under the ſanctified pretence of a zeal for God, and the purity of Religion. In other words, they defended Religion by thoſe very means which it abſolutely prohibits; they defended the Conſtitution of their country, by violating its laws, and expoſing themſelves to the gallows.

Such are the miſerable effects of a blind, miſtaken zeal, in matters of Religion; and to ſuch lengths does it lead its deluded votaries. Yet how few are there now among thoſe who have undertaken to teach and exhort mankind, that ſtrive to inculcate a better ſpirit, a more Chriſtian diſpoſition, and the conſtant practice of our Saviour's golden rule. They appear more anxious about the ſuppoſed orthodoxy of their faith, than the purity of their lives; and are more zealous to ſupport the peculiarities of a party, than the practical duties of religion. So that drunkards, adulterers, common ſwearers, and other notorious offenders, provided they are zealous for the party, and ready to obey the orders of thoſe who chuſe to lead them, are as it were tacitly tolerated in their vices—while ſober, virtuous and honeſt men, who only differ in ſpeculative matters from the eſtabliſhed faith, or political creed, are inſulted and perſecuted.

O Britain! Queen of Isles! why will thy sons thus suffer Statesmen, Priests, or any other order of men, to set them against each other, with rancorous zeal for mysterious points of faith, or political speculations. Let them rather be persuaded to live like fellow-men, and fellow-christians; take care to inform their consciences aright, and govern themselves by the equitable, benevolent rules of the Gospel. For no pretences whatsoever of zeal for religion, can justify an irreligious, wicked action: before this can be done, the immutable laws of good and evil must be changed.

CLERICUS.

Manchester, May 20, 1792.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

I Read with pleasure your Prospectus, and cannot help expressing how much that sensation has been increased by a perusal of the three Numbers already published of your valuable Miscellany.

I am one of those, who lament that Britons—that my fellow-citizens, should be in the deplorable, the abject case of admiring and praising, *on trust*, that Constitution, which, as it is their best inheritance, they ought the best to understand.

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The object of this Letter does not impose on me the task of enquiring into all the causes of our almost unaccountable neglect of a study so essential to the permanency of a free Constitution, namely, the political science of the nation to which we belong; or, in other words, the fundamental principles of that Social Compact. A variety of reasons, indeed, for such inattention crowd on my imagination; but I feel it only necessary, at this moment, to mention three, which refer more immediately to the great majority of my countrymen, for whose benefit your publication is particularly intended; and in whose service I enlist.

The Constitution of this country is as mixed as its language and laws; and, like them, may be more excellent on that account: but, at the same time, be likewise more complex, irregular, and indefinable. It is found in the book of Statutes, the comments of our great lawyers, and the immortal labours of our great political philosophers, and above all, perhaps in the "*Leges non* "*Scriptæ*"—the unwritten laws, the immemorial customs and usages of the land. Now the great majority of us cannot gather the constitutional laws of the realm and collect them in this wide field, because we have not been sufficiently in the habits of such modes of abstruse reasoning. Nor indeed would our *leisure* suffice, were that *ability* not wanting. Nor have we very often, alas! *the means* of procuring even a sight of those expensive volumes.

If it be then an indubitable truth, that MILLIONS of Britons are in this predicament, what do they not owe to a Society of learned men, who unite for the only purpose of removing such obstacles as intervene between the people and their best and dearest privileges? To teach them

them not only what are their *rights*, but their *duties* alſo; to animate them to a faithful diſcharge of what they owe to *poſterity*, as well as to themſelves—that they are only *tenants for life* in the great eſtate of LIBERTY, and could not juſtly, if they would, alienate or vitiate the inheriance: but are bound, by every tie of Reaſon and Juſtice, as well as by the *Spirit of the Conſtitution* itſelf, to hand it down unimpaired and uncorrupted to their ſucceſſors—thus diſpelling that baneful cloud of ignorance; that beſt ally of deſpotiſm, which has been inſenſibly obſcuring the bright Sun of Liberty. "Inſtruct, and "you will elevate; teach them that they are *men*, they "will act as men."

Another reaſon why the moment peculiarly requires ſuch a publication, is, to prepare and guard men's minds againſt *falſe impreſſions*. Republican principles have gone abroad; and it behoves every true friend of the Conſtitution to ſtand forward in its defence, before the public mind has been too much heated by this malign influence, and to counteract it by diſſeminating the true principles of our glorious Conſtitution—a Conſtitution admired in embryo by the great Orator of Rome, and in exiſtence by the no leſs immortal Lycurgus of France. Cicero indeed almoſt doubted the poſſibility of its being ever reduced to practice. Tacitus treated it as a theoretical chimera; and the penetrating Monteſquieu preſaged its downfal, unleſs ſtrictly watched and guarded by the people, and timely Reforms introduced. It is yours, then, Gentlemen, the momentous taſk! Inſtructing to guard us againſt principles ſubverſive of the Conſtitution; to teach us the real extent of thoſe rights, the true nature of thoſe laws, and were it poſſible, to tell us the full value of thoſe ineſtimable privileges, which our anceſtors purchaſed

purchaſed with their lives and ſealed with their blood—thereby animating us to a lawful preſervation of them.

Let me not be miſunderſtood reſpecting the evil tendency above noticed, of Republican principles. They apply perfectly to *one branch* of our Conſtitution; but it is our buſineſs to preſerve the *whole* in its priſtine purity, and to refute principles which elevate this or the other branch, at the expence of the *whole*. It is the chief excellence of our boaſted Conſtitution, that the three eſtates of the realm are mutually dependent on each other, and it is their juſt equipoiſe which can alone preſerve an equilibrium in the great machine of Society, and keep the wheels of Government in proper motion. Monarchy, Ariſtocracy and Democracy, are the three maſſy pillars which ſupport this beautiful edifice—deſtroy *either*, and the whole ſuperſtructure falls to ruin. To recal each to its true and primitive dignity, I take for granted, is the leading motive of your preſent labours; and I unite with thouſands, I doubt not millions, in moſt cordially wiſhing you ſucceſs. Yet you will be oppoſed; and would your enemies come fairly forward, and, throwing off the maſk, honeſtly avow their true principles, they would acknowledge that their objections ultimately center in this poſition, "that it is dangerous to diſſeminate know-"ledge!" In the world at large they will have, at leaſt at preſent, a great majority: all the Bulls and Thunders of the Vatican ſhall run in uniſon with them, and all the Deſpots on earth, with their mercenary or enſlaved armies, join them in the cruſade againſt Liberty. For the honour of my country, I however truſt, there is not one man in the nation, claiming the name of Briton, who would enter the liſts in ſupport of this monſtrous abortive caliban of Superſtition. Divine right to oppreſs, paſſive

paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, will never, I hope, meet another venal advocate in this happy iſland.

Let not our enemies recur to the hacknied common-place of INNOVATION, nor accuſe us as the authors of *Sedition*. We are not deſerving of their calumnies; No, my countrymen, our happy Conſtitution poſſeſſes in itſelf a native energy adequate to the reform of every corruption, as long as it ſhall be guarded by the people. There needs, as yet, thank God, no appeals to the ſword; the immortal ſhields of Reaſon and Philoſophy ſhall protect us from every malicious attack; and Truth and Juſtice are the only weapons we will draw againſt our enemies. It is for the very purpoſe of avoiding the dreadful ſcenes of anarchy, confuſion and ruin, which a certain degree of corruption ever has, and ever muſt introduce into a free State, that we call on our fellow-citizens, calmly, ſoberly, and with diſcretion, to examine for themſelves, in order to judge peaceably and orderly, when a temperate Reform may be neceſſary. That ſome, nay conſiderable Reform is already wanting, will, with your permiſſion, claim in a future number, the attention of

BRITANNICUS.

May 9, 1792.

ON THE

ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

IN order to trace the Engliſh Conſtitution from its firſt, original ſource, we have ſhewn in the preceding Numbers, from the authority of hiſtory and the moſt celebrated writers of antiquity, the manner of Government which prevailed among the Britons, or *Aborigines*, of this iſland; the mutations which took place in conſequence of their being ſubdued by the Romans; the departure of that warlike and accompliſhed people; and the ſubſequent invitation of the Britons to the Saxons, whom they called in to aid them againſt the fierce incurſions and attacks of the Picts and Scots. And we have judged it moſt proper to be thus particular, in demonſtrating how, and by what means, the Saxons firſt got footing in this iſland, and afterwards ſubjugated the Britons, or nearly extirpated them, in order to remove every doubt from the minds of ſuch of our readers as may not have had the advantage of making themſelves acquainted with the hiſtory of this country; more eſpecially, as the Saxons were the people who laid the foundation of that Conſtitution which has ſo long been the pride and boaſt of this country, and the envy and admiration of ſurrounding nations; till the two late mighty and aſtoniſhing Revolutions in America and France, have attracted the eyes of all Europe, to contemplate and view ſo great an expanſion of that Liberty, which, a few years ago, exiſted

exiſted almoſt ſolely within the confines of this little iſland and its dependancies.

Be it now our taſk to trace more particularly our Conſtitution from the firſt eſtabliſhment of it by the Saxons, previous to which we beg leave to offer to the attention of our readers, ſome remarks upon Government, adapted to the ſubject.

The motives for which mankind aſſociate together, being for the protection of their perſons and property from violence, it is a matter worthy of obſervation, that they have often miſtaken their end, and have frequently fallen into ſlavery and miſery, by the very means they have taken to preſerve themſelves happy and free. This perhaps, may in ſome meaſure, ariſe from ſome latent cauſe in the nature of Government itſelf, which in all ſocieties, neceſſarily implies a power to be veſted ſomewhere; and the difficulty ſeems to be in placing that power in ſuch a manner, that it may not be ſubject to abuſe, and counteract the end for which it was eſtabliſhed.

If the firſt principle of Government be erroneous, there is nothing but error that can proceed from it. And if the firſt principle of Government be even founded upon truth, yet ſuch is the inſatiable thirſt of power in moſt men, that they will ſacrifice even heaven and earth to wreſt it from its foundation; to eſtabliſh a power in themſelves, to tyrannize over the perſons and property of others. Thus, what we call the civilized ſtate of man, has long been reduced to a far more miſerable condition than the ſavage.

Thoſe communities of men, that have laid down the paternal authority as the firſt principle of Government,

that is, that the head of the oldeſt branch of the trib ſhould govern the tribe, have founded themſelves upo the principles of ſlavery; and have accordingly in a fe generations, fallen under the deſpotic rule of one man as we find many of the Eaſtern nations have done fro the moſt early period of hiſtory. They had either n idea of any mode of Government, by which individual might exerciſe their natural rights as men, or they to tally diſregarded it.

The free ſtates in Greece were the firſt in ancien hiſtory, that had any regard to the natural rights o mankind. Theſe founded their firſt principles of Go vernment upon truth, by placing the ſupreme power o the ſtate in laws made by the mutual conſent of the peo ple; who likewiſe elected officers to adminiſter thoſe laws, for a limited time only. The Romans were the next body of men that figured in the world upon this principle, and indeed they received their information from the Greeks, whom they copied in moſt of their principles of law and government.

But the Northern nations that over-ran Europe at the diſſolution of the Roman empire, introduced a model of government for the preſervation of the common rights of mankind, as far ſuperior to the Greek and Roman commonwealths, as theſe ſurpaſſed the government of the Medes and Perſians. It was to ſome branches of Northern tribes, diſtinguiſhed as we have remarked be fore by the name of Saxons, that the Engliſh are indebted for their Conſtitution. And whoever conſiders the prin ciples upon which the elective power in our Conſtitution is conducted, will obſerve the vaſt ſuperiority it has over the ſtates of Greece and Rome, where the elective power was confined within the walls of their reſpective capitals.

Whatever

Whatever therefore, the love of natural liberty among the Romans might be, or their desire of promoting it, they seem to have had no conception of any model of government, where the elective power of individuals could diffuse itself through the whole body of a nation, containing four millions of men, living perhaps a thousand miles distant from the seat of government; and yet be so conducted as to unite in one point of action, parts so numerous and remote, and form a legislative authority, commodiously fit for action, without any anarchy or confusion, in which every man who had so far distinguished himself as to become a housekeeper, and as such, liable to pay his shot and bear his lot, might give his consent to every law, that was made for his obedience.

Whoever had the honour of being the first inventors of this mode of government, it is very evident that the natural rights of mankind were their guide, and truth and justice their ends in all their establishments. They considered every man alike as he came from the hands of his Maker, man as man, simply and detached from any foreign advantages one might accidentally have over another; such as riches, which make the greatest outward difference: but riches with them, constitutionally considered, gave no power or authority, or any right to power and authority over the poorest person in the state. Every man under that institution was preserved in his natural and equal rights, whether he were rich or poor.

It is the nature of society, that mankind must give up something of their natural liberty, to obtain the advantages of an united strength. For as every man cannot act for himself in large communities, he must delegate his power in trust to some other person to act for him.

him. And therefore a government formed upon the principles of a delegated power, is the utmoſt ſtretch of liberty which the nature of ſociety can admit of. Where this power is delegated by as many as can conveniently act without confuſion, or a large majority of the people, it will be fully effectual to all; for though a man place himſelf, or be placed under ſuch circumſtances as to render it impoſſible for him to exerciſe his right of election in the community to which he belongs, yet he may always receive the full benefit of a government founded upon the principles of election, as much as if he were an elector, ſo long as he is bound by no other law than thoſe are who do exerciſe the power of election, becauſe they muſt of neceſſity take care of his intereſt, at the ſame time they take care of their own.

All Government muſt in its own nature be confined to time and place. And where men are ſo circumſtanced, that they cannot fall in with time and place, they muſt receive the benefit of the Conſtitution from thoſe who can. Were it otherwiſe, a Society formed upon the common rights of mankind, could never advance beyond a certain limited point; or form any advantageous plans, by the extenſion of their territory, for the mutual benefit of the whole community; a circumſtance which would counteract the very end of Society itſelf. But our Conſtitution by admitting ſuch a number of Electors, to exerciſe their mutual rights of Election gives it a ſuperiority to all others; and affords a plentiful ſecurity to every man, let him be placed where and in what condition ſoever he may. Thus our Saxon forefathers have founded their Government, upon the common rights of mankind. They made the Elective power of the people, the firſt principle of our Conſtitution, and delegated that power to ſuch men as they had

moſt

most reason to confide in. However, they were curiously cautious in this respect, knowing well the degenerating principles of mankind; that power makes a vast difference in the temper and behaviour of men, and often converts a good man in private life, to a tyrant in office. For this reason, they never gave up their natural liberty, or delegated their power of making laws to any man, for a longer time than one year.

The object upon which our elective power acts, is remarkably different from that of the Romans. Theirs was directed to operate in the election of their chief officers, and particularly the consuls; or those who were vested with the executive authority, whom they changed annually. But the Senate, where the principal power of their state was lodged, was a more fixed body of men, and not subject to the elective power of the people.

Our Saxon forefathers almost reversed this principle; for they made their Wittenagemot, or Parliament, where their principal power was lodged, annually moveable, and entirely subject to the elective power of the people; and gave a more fixed state to the executive authority. This last, they confined within a certain sphere of action, prescribed by the laws, so that it could not operate to the injury of any individual either in his person or property; and was controulable in all acts of state by the elective power which the people vested annually in their Wittenagemot or Parliament.

The annual exercise of elective power under the Saxon Government, was the quintessence, the life and soul of their Constitution; and the basis of the whole fabric of their Government, from the internal police of

the minuteft part of the Country, to the adminiftration of the Government of the whole kingdom. This Saxon Inftitution formed a perfect model of the Government, where the natural rights of mankind were preferved, in their full exercife, pure and perfect, as far as the nature of Society will admit of.

It would be fomething furprizing to find the people of England continually difputing, about the principles and powers vefted in the conftituent parts of their Government; did we not know that at this day, it confifts of a mixture of the old, firft eftablifhment; and the new, or that which took place at (and fince) what is commonly called the conqueft by William the I. Thefe two forms of Government, the firft founded upon the principles of liberty, and the latter upon the principles of flavery, being fo diametrically oppofite, it is no wonder that they are continually at war one with the other. For the firft is grounded upon the natural rights of mankind, in the conftant annual exercife of their elective power, and the latter upon the defpotic rule of one man. Hence our difputants drawing their arguments from two principles widely different, it is no wonder they fhould differ in their conclufions.

Our Saxon forefathers eftablifhed their Government in Britain, before the tranfactions of mankind were recorded in writing; at leaft among the Northern nations. They therefore handed down to pofterity, the principles of their Government, by the actual exercife of their rights; which became the ancient ufage, and cuftom of the people, and the law of the land. And hence it came to pafs that when this ancient cuftom and ufage ceafed to act, the cuftom too often ceafed with it. We may add to this, that fince the conqueft, our arbitrary kings,

kngs, and men of arbitrary principles, have endeavoured to deſtroy the few remaining records, and hiſtorical facts, that might keep in remembrance a form of Government, ſo kind, friendly, and hoſpitable to the human ſpecies. It is owing to theſe reaſons, we have ſuch a ſcarcity of hiſtorical evidence, concerning the principles and manner of conducting the firſt eſtabliſhment of our mode of Government in this kingdom.

However, notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, and the time that hath elapſed, there are four ſources, from whence we may draw this intelligence. Firſt, from the great remains of it we have in our Government, now in uſe; ſecondly, from the ſeveral Saxon eſtabliſhments that are ſtill in being, but of no uſe, with reſpect to the end of their firſt eſtabliſhments; thirdly, from the glimmering lights of ancient hiſtory; and, laſtly, from the known alterations that have taken place, at, and ſince the conqueſt There are alſo many cuſtoms, forms, principles, and doctrines, that have been handed down to us by tradition; which will ſerve as ſo many landmarks, to guide our ſteps to the fountain of this ancient ſtructure, which is only buried under the rubbiſh collected by time, and new eſtabliſhments. Whatever is of Saxon eſtabliſhment is truly conſtitutional; but whatever is Norman, is heterogeneous to it, and partakes of a tyrannical ſpirit.

From theſe ſources it is, that we would endeavour to draw the outlines of this ancient model of government, eſtabliſhed in this kingdom by our Saxon forefathers, where it continued to grow and flouriſh for ſix hundred years, till it was overwhelmed and deſtroyed by William the Firſt, commonly called the Conqueror,

and

and lay buried under a load of tyranny for one hundred and forty-ſeven years, when it again aroſe like a Phœnix out of its own aſhes, in the reign of Henry the Third, by the aſſiſtance of many concurrent cauſes; but principally by the bravery of the Engliſh people, under the conduct and intrepidity of our ancient and immortal Barons, who reſtored it in part once more to this Iſle. And though much impaired, maimed and disfigured, it hath ſtood the admiration of many ages, and ſtill remains the moſt noble and ancient monument of Gothic antiquity.

(To be continued.)

ON THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

HAVING juſt met with the firſt number of your periodical production, and having experienced a very pleaſing ſatisfaction in the peruſal, I take the liberty of offering my ſmall mite of aſſiſtance to the noble and generous deſign. I ſincerely hope that it may be the means of ſpreading the principles of Liberty, correcting the abuſes which may have crept into our excellent Conſtitution, and of teaching the world how to guard and ſecure their deareſt intereſts. What particularly pleaſed and intereſted me in the peruſal of your proſpectus was, finding that you profeſſed to ſteer a middle courſe between the political parties that are now engaging the attention

attention of Europe. That you intend to keep off the apparently beautiful, but really dangerous shore of democracy on the one hand, and the rugged rocks of despotism on the other. That you would teach Britons not to traverse the world in search of a *new form* of Government, but that you would have them understand, value, and guard their *own*. Were our Constitution purified from abuses, guarded from encroachments, and watched over, as what was most valuable to us as men and and citizens, we should have no occasion for the interference (which, by the way, I can hardly help considering rather impertinent) of an American Republican, We should feel ourselves not only a free, but a secure people, I cannot help wishing the real friends of Liberty would adopt the following maxims, as truths that the Constitution of Great Britain is better calculated to secure the happiness of the people, than any republican form whatever, that we have nothing to do but to look at home, and to studiously watch the conduct of those, who are likely to encroach on our rights, and legally, and constitutionally to resist their endeavours. That because nobility in France, has been oppressive, and a curse to the people, and therefore abolished, that nobility here ought not to undergo the same fate, where the same objections against it do not exist. Certainly we ought not to argue that because Monarchy when absolute is tyranny, that when limitted by two Houses of Parliament, it is equally so. I know Republicans will advert to the power of the Crown, and its apparent influence in the country over the decision of both Houses; but let the Constitution be repaired, let the inroads of time be corrected, and let our House of Commons become the *faithful representation* of the People, the Monarch will then

then be only the inſtrument of good, and the hereditary ſucceſſion, annexed to the Monarchy, will be the means of preventing thoſe internal commotions ſo frequent in Democratical countries.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your very humble Servant,

M. B.*

Birmingham, April 17, 1792.

* The writer of this very excellent letter has our full approbation and concurrence. We want no Revolution in this country; 'tis only the *reformation* of thoſe abuſes which time, or the intrigues of deſigning men have introduced, that is wanted; more eſpecially in the particular our Correſpondent has mentioned, reſpecting our unequal Repreſentation. We flatter ourſelves, too, that M. B. ſpeaks the ſentiments of thoſe Conſtitutional Societies which are eſtabliſhed in various parts of the kingdom. Although they have been ſo much reprobated, we ſtill think their deſigns are legal and pacific, being no other than to procure a fair and equal Repreſentation. On this account, we cannot help regretting the ſevere cenſures which are paſſed upon theſe ſocieties; and particularly, that any gentleman who took an active part in the ſame buſineſs in 1782, 1783 and 1784, ſhould think it next to treaſonable, in the year 1792. When we reflect on the different ſituations ſome of thoſe gentlemen were in at the former periods, and contraſt them with the various departments they now occupy, we allow they may ſay,

Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.
The times are changed, and ſo are our ſentiments.

The Editors.

TO

EXTRACT

from a

TREATISE ON POLITIC POWER,

Written by Dr. John Poynet, Biſhop of Wincheſter, in 1556, baniſhed by Queen Mary.

At this time particularly recommended to public Attention.

AND becauſe public matters of a realm, that concern all and every man's life, wife and children, lands, goods and whatſoever, cannot be treated on by all men, but all muſt put their truſt in a few; men ought to be wiſe and circumſpect whom they truſt; for there be too many that paſs not what become of their neighbours ſo they may proſper themſelves; what become of the whole realm ſo their own families may ſtand ſtill. He that maketh ſuit to be a deputy from a multitude, ſeemeth to ſue for his own vain glory or profit. Thoſe that ſend letters not to chooſe this man, have in their heads more then the univerſal wealth of all. He that bringeth letters to be preferred, meaneth not the benefit of them he would ſerve. He that giveth money, and maketh great feaſts, thinketh ſome other fetch than the ſervice of his neighbours. He that refuſeth or releaſeth his ordinary wages, looketh for ſome greater or extraordinary reward. He that is always or oft at Princes' platters, or in practiſers' palaces, cannot long continue the Peoples' Proctor.

To

TO CIVIS.

WE hope this Correſpondent will excuſe our not inſerting h favour in this Number, as we propoſed. We aſſure him, the omiſ ſion does not proceed from inclination, but entirely from want o room—owing to an unexpected redundance of previous matter fron the preceding Number; and we did not wiſh to mutilate ſo good letter, by cutting the thread of it into two. We beg he will no ſuppoſe, that we are actuated by any dread of the perſon to whon it is addreſſed. We have too high a value for the ineſtimable bleſſing attendant on the Liberty of the Preſs, to ſtifle or keep from the pub lic eye, the ſentiments of an individual on *public* men, and *publi* meaſures, in which the intereſts and happineſs of every member o the community are ſo intimately connected and involved. We hav repeatedly declared, in our addreſſes to Correſpondents, that we abo minate the *libeller*, the writer of *ſedition*, or of any other matter whicl the *laws of our country* have ſignified to be wrong; and we have ac cordingly, rejected every thing which had a tendency that way, tha has from time to time been ſent to us. We, at the ſame time, declare that we ſhall never fail to gratify our readers with every kind of po litical and conſtitutional information, which is *proper* and *legal*; and that the effuſions of genuine patriotiſm, when delivered in a ſober and moderate ſtrain, and properly adapted to the ſubject treated of, ſhall always find admiſſion into the PATRIOT.——We venerate our glorious Conſtitution—we reſpect the Laws, and will ever be among the firſt and warmeſt in our defence of both. We acknowledge no power of control, but that which is veſted in the law of the land. To that, we ſhall ever bow ſubmiſſive; and it ſhall be our uniform ſtudy and endeavour not, even by accident, to offend againſt it. All *aſſumed* powers we ſhall deem unworthy our notice. Engaged in the cauſe of the Public, we will never betray their rights, or be acceſſaries thereto. We will ſupport and defend the rights, franchiſes and privileges of Britons, as long as we can; and if the fatal mo ment ſhould ever arrive, in which any other power than the *Law* ſhall be allowed to impoſe ſilence on the ſubject—we ſhall then ſub mit to that debaſement, which nothing but the *general will* can ever effect—and to that we eſteem ourſelves bound to ſuccumb, ſo long as we enrol ourſelves in the liſt of citizens in ſuch a community.

The Editors.

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday, June 26.

ON THE

ENGLISH CONSTITUTION,

Under the Heptarchy.

THE firſt principle of a Government that is founded upon the natural rights of mankind, is the principle of Annual Election. Liberty and Election, in this caſe, are ſynonimous terms; for where there is no election, there can be no liberty. And therefore, the preſervation of this elective power, in its full extent, is the preſervation of liberty in its full extent; and where that is reſtrained, in any degree, liberty is reſtrained juſt in proportion; and where that is deſtroyed, by any power in a ſtate, whether military or civil, Liberty is alſo deſtroyed by that power, whether it be lodged in the hands of one man, one hundred, or one thouſand.

We have ſaid that there is a natural difficulty in placing mankind in ſuch a ſituation that they might delegate their power to others, without confuſion or inconvenience to themſelves. It is in this point that we are ſo much indebted to our Saxon forefathers for their plan of government, by which the people of England are ſo ſituated as to be able to elect or delegate their power with the greateſt facility, and to a degree beyond the conception of all nations before them.

It is reported by hiſtorians, that our Saxon forefathers had no kings in their own country, but lived in tribes or ſmall communities, governed by laws of their own making, and magiſtrates of their own electing; and further, that a number of theſe communities were united together for their mutual defence and protection. There were, as we have before ſhewn, ſeven tribes of Saxons, that arrived in Britain about the ſame time, under ſo many different leaders; but as they had all the ſame intentions, ſo far as to eſtabliſh the ſame form of government, we ſhall conſider them in this reſpect indiſcriminately.

They firſt divided the land into ſmall parts, and then divided the inhabitants upon that land, and made them a diſtinct and ſeparate people from any other. This diviſion they called a *Tithing*. Here they eſtabliſhed a government, which was no doubt, the ſame as that under which they lived in their mother-country; and, with as little doubt, we may ſay, it is the ſame which is uſed, in our corporations at this day, as will hereafter more fully appear. They had two ſorts of tithings, one called a Town-tithing, and the other a Rural-tithing. Theſe were governed upon the ſame principles, only thus diſtinguiſhed, as one is expreſſive of

of a town, having ſuch a number of inhabitants as to make a tithing of itſelf; and the other of a tithing ſituated in the rural part of a kingdom. Thus they went on as they conquered the country, to divide the land, till they had cut out the whole iſland into tithings, and eſtabliſhed the ſame form of government in each.

In this manner they provided for the internal police of the whole country, which they veſted in the inhabitants of the reſpective tithings, who annually elected the magiſtrates that were to adminiſter juſtice to them, agreeable to the laws and cuſtoms they had brought with them from their mother country; a circumſtance which was much facilitated by their finding the government of the Britons, whom they conquered, pretty nearly the ſame in its leading principles with their own. And this internal police was ſo excellent in its nature, that it hath had the encomiums of moſt authors of our hiſtory, who obſerve, that in the reign of Alfred, it was in ſo great perfection, that if a golden bracelet had been expoſed upon the high road, no man but the owner durſt have touched it.

The principal officer of a tithing was veſted with the executive authority of the tithing. They had likewiſe legiſlative authority in every tithing, which made laws and regulations for the government of the tithings. Beſides theſe, they had a court of law, whoſe juriſdiction was confined within the ſame limits; all which were created by the elective power of the people, who were reſident inhabitants of the tithings, and the right of election was placed in every man that paid his ſhot, and bore his lot. From hence we may eaſily perceive that, under the eſtabliſhment of theſe tithings, by reaſon of their ſmallneſs, the natural rights of mankind might well be

preſerved

preserved in the fullest extent, as they could delegate their power by election, without any confusion or inconvenience to the inhabitants.

Having advanced thus far, we would make one observation, which is, that all elective power in the people at large, after it had established the executive and legislative authority in the tithing, for one year, and duly vested the officers in their respective departments, then stopped and proceeded no further than the tithings. But the principal officer of each tithing (whom for distinction's sake we shall call Mayor) had afterwards the whole care of the interests of the people of the tithing vested in himself alone, in every matter that respected their connexion with the higher orders of the state: for these tithings were the root from whence all authority in the higher orders of the state sprung.

The first connection the tithings had with one another, was to form an establishment for the military defence of the country; for this end a number of these tithings were united together, so far as related to their military concerns. This union necessarily created a larger division of land, equal to the number of tithings that were thus united, and this they called a Wapentake, or Weapontake. Here likewise they established a court of council, and a court of law, which last was called a Wapontake-court. In the court of council, the Chief Magistrates of every tithing assembled to elect the officers of the militia, in which every individual tithing was concerned. The court of law was to enforce these regulations within that jurisdiction.

Let us now consider the third and last division which they made in land. This was composed of a certain number

number of Wapontakes united together, which they called a shire; or one complete share, or part, into which they divided the land. This division completed their system of internal police; by uniting all the tithings, within the shire, into one body, subject to such laws and regulations as should be made in their shiregemots, or shire-parliaments, for the benefit and good government of the shire.

The members that composed the shiregemot, were still the chief officers of the tithings; who always represented the tithings in every thing, in which they were concerned. It was in this shiregemot, where the great officers of the shire were elected to their office; who consequently were elected, by the immediate representatives of the people, but not by the people at large. This seems to satisfy what historians observe, that the great officers of the shires were elected by their Peers. What we understand by this is, that they were elected by men who were members of the Wittena-gemot, or Parliament, and consequently Peers, or equals, at that day, to any men in England. There were many titles that seem to have belonged to their superior orders of men, but they were only titles of office, and not personal titles of honour; and we shall hereafter have occasion to observe, that when the office by which they held their titles was abolished, from that time the title vanished with it.

As this division comprehended many tithings, and many people, so it had the greatest court of council in England, except the High Court of Parliament, and the chief officer was vested with as high a jurisdiction in the shire, as the king in the kingdom: he was vested with the executive authority, and was Commander in Chief of all the militia; in short he was the same in the shire, as the king

was

was in the kingdom. They had likewiſe a court of law called the Shire Court, to which every man might appeal who thought himſelf injured by the inferior courts in the ſhire. Theſe diviſions of the land are what we call the ſkeleton of the conſtitution, which was animated and put in motion by all theſe eſtabliſhments.

We may conſider each ſhire as a complete government, furniſhed with both a civil and a military power within its own juriſdiction. The expence attending each government of a ſhire was merely local, and confined to the ſhire, which was ſupported by taxes charged upon the people by the Shiregemot, with the aſſiſtance of certain lands appropriated to that purpoſe; which was a clear and diſtinct thing from a national expence, and never brought to the national account at all. And indeed, it is the ſame at this day, though conducted in a different manner; for the internal government of this kingdom is no expence to the ſtate, and is founded upon this equitable principle, that whatever expence concerns only a part, ought to be paid by that part only; but what concerns the whole community, ought to be paid by the whole community.

We have already ſhewn* that ſeven tribes of theſe Saxons arrived in Britain nearly about the ſame time, or rather immediately following each other. The leaders of theſe tribes after they had conquered a ſmall part of the country, upon which they ſettled their immediate followers, then took upon themſelves the title of king, and named the land they conquered a kingdom. Each of theſe kingdoms we have before obſerved contained a certain number of ſhires, and theſe were ſeverally formed and regulated as we have ſtated above.

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* Vide No. IV, p. 119, 120.

Let us now ſee by what mode of union theſe ſhires became united together into a kingdom; and it will be found, we apprehend, that they purſued the ſame principles which they had uſed in every other eſtabliſhment, that is to ſay, wherever a combined intereſt was concerned, and the people at large were affected by it, the immediate deputies of the people, who were always the chief officers of the tithings for the time being, met together to attend to the reſpective intereſts of their conſtituents; and a majority of voices always bound the whole, and determined for any meaſure that was ſuppoſed to operate for the good of the whole combined body. This meeting of the deputies of the people was called, as we have before ſhewn, the Wittenagemot, or an aſſembly of the wiſe and prudent men of the nation, which compoſed their national council and legiſlative authority.

Let us ſuppoſe, for inſtance, that one of theſe ſmall kingdoms was compoſed of five ſhires, then a deputy from every tithing within the five ſhires meeting together, would compoſe the conſtituent parts of the parliament of the little kingdom to which they belonged. This agrees with what St. Amand ſays, in his Eſſay on the Legiſlative Authority of England, that the Judges, or chief officers of the tithings, repreſented the tithings in the Saxon Wittenagemot or Parliament.

We know very well what town tithings or boroughs are, becauſe they are now in uſe in ſome reſpects, for the ſame purpoſe as formerly; but we are not ſo well acquainted with the dimenſions of the rural tithings, according to their ancient eſtabliſhment. But it is very probable that the diviſion in the land, which we now call the High Conſtable's diviſion, was the bounds of the ancient

cient rural tithings; and what makes this the more probable is, that the High Conſtable in his diviſion is a man of a very high authority, even at this day, and as ancient a peace officer as any in the kingdom. However, be that as it will, from what has been ſaid we may conclude, that the conſtituent part of the legiſlative authority, during the heptarchy, conſiſted of two bodies of men, which were both elective, and reſpectively repreſented the inhabitants of the towns, and the inhabitants of the rural parts of the kingdom.

But as a conſiderable alteration was made in this reſpect, at the union of the ſeven kingdoms into one by Egbert, the grandfather of Alfred the great, which laſt prince, like another Theodoſius, new modelled the conſtitution then in being, it will be proper in this place to remark the conſtituent parts of the parliaments and the rights of election of the people, during the Heptarchy.

Firſt, the repreſentatives of the town tithings, or boroughs, were always their chief magiſtrates, for the time being, by virtue of their office, to which they were annually elected by every man that was a reſident inhabitant, and that paid his ſhot and bore his lot.

Secondly, the repreſentatives of the rural tithings were likewiſe their chief magiſtrates for the time being, by virtue of their office; to which they were annually elected, by every man that was a reſident inhabitant of a rural tithing and that paid his ſhot, and bore his lot.

Hence it is evident that the people never delegated their power to their members of Parliament, for a longer time than one year. Becauſe the powers veſted in

in them muſt of courſe expire with their office; they being mayors or chief magiſtrates, in their reſpective diviſions. And before ſuch a member was out of his office, as a Mayor, he was obliged by law *(ex officio)* to aſſemble the people of the town, for the election of officers to ſerve for the enſuing year; the principal of whom was their Mayor elect, who conſequently was their Member elect. And for the ſame reaſon, it was not in the power of the KING, to continue the ſame Parliament longer than one year. Thus we ſee that the Conſtitution hath doubly armed itſelf againſt long parliaments, by confining the power of the Members, within the duty of an annual office.

(To be continued.)

ON THE INFLUENCE OF THE CROWN.

Extract from a Letter to his Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, by Richard, Lord Biſhop of Landaff.

"WITH reſpect to the influence of the Crown, I have conſidered it in the following manner:

"In the embarraſſing ſituations of private life, we all acknowledge the propriety and feel the utility of conſulting, not humble and pliant dependants, but ſenſible and independent friends, when our own underſtandings are diſtracted by doubts, heated by reſentment, inſtigated by ambition,

ambition, depreſſed by deſpair, or deranged and diſtempered by the violence of any affliction, the advice of an honeſt, independent and diſpaſſionate friend, is of the greateſt uſe; it may often, at the moment of its being given, be very unpalatable, but it is always ſalutary, and we ſeldom fail to repent the not having taken it. It is the misfortune of men in elevated ſituations, that they ſeldom meet with friends who will ſpeak plainly to them, or attempt to ſtop their career of folly and extravagance; the fear of offending cramps the diſpoſition of adviſing; many a great eſtate has been fooliſhly diſſipated--many a fair character undone, by the timid forbearance, the intereſted acquieſcence of expecting dependents, which might have been preſerved entire and unſullied, by the firm remonſtrance of an honeſt friend. This obſervation is certainly as applicable to the concerns of public as of private life; the advice of an independent parliament is as ſerviceable to the Crown as that of an independent friend is to an individual. We know by whom it was ſaid, *Where no Council is, the people fall*; *but in the multitude of counſellors there is ſafety*; and we know too that the wiſe king who ſaid it would have ſaid no ſuch thing had he ſuſpected that an external influence, rather than an internal conviction, would have rendered his multitude of counſellors all of the ſame kind as *

For my own part, and I verily believe I am far from being ſingular in my notions, I take this opportunity of publickly declaring to your Grace, what I have a thouſand times before declared to my friends in private, that I never entertained the moſt diſtant deſire of ſeeing either the democratical, or the ariſtocratical ſcale of the nation, outweigh the monarchical; not one jot of the

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egal prerogative did I ever wish to see abolished; not one tittle of the king's influence in the state to be destroyed, except so far as it was extended over the deliberations of the hereditary counsellors of the crown, or the parliamentary representatives of the people. I own I have wished, and I own (with a heart as loyal as the loyalest) that I shall continue to wish, that an influence of this kind may be diminished; because I firmly believe that its diminution will, eventually, tend to the conservation of the genuine constitution of our country; to the honour of his Majesty's government; to the stability of the Hanover succession; and to the promotion of the public good. Had the influence here spoken of been less predominant of late years, had the measures of the Cabinet been canvassed by the wisdom, and tempered by the moderation of men exercising their free powers of deliberation for the common weal, the brightest jewel of his Majesty's crown had not now been tarnished; the strongest limb of the British empire had not now been rudely severed from its parent stock.

"I make not this remark with a view of criminating any set of ministers (for the best may be mistaken in their judgments, and errors which are past should be forgotten, buried in the zeal of all parties, to rectify the mischiefs they have occasioned) but simply to shew by a recent example, that the influence of the crown, when exerted by the *Cabinet* over the *public* counsellors of the king, is a circumstance so far from being to be wished by his true friends, that it is as dangerous to the real interests and honour of the Crown itself, as it is odious to the people and destructive of public liberty; it may contribute to keep a prime Minister in his place, contrary to the sense of the wisest and best part of the community; it

it may contribute to keep the King himself unacquainted with the people's wishes, but it cannot do the King or the State any service. To maintain the contrary, is to satyrize his Majesty's Government; it is to insinuate that his views and interests are so disjoined from those of his people, that they cannot be effectuated by the uninfluenced concurrence of honest men.

"It is far beneath the character of a great and an upright Monarch, to be suspected of a desire to carry any plans of Government into execution in opposition to the sentiments of a free and enlightened parliament; and the Minister who should be base enough to advise him to adopt such an arbitrary system of Government, or should supply the corrupted means of carrying it on, would deserve the execration of every man of integrity, and would, probably, sooner or later, meet with the deserved detestation of the Prince himself. It is of such men as these, (there is no impropriety I hope in borrowing truth from Tragedy, since Chrysostom is said to have slept with even an Aristophanes under his pillow) it is of such men as these the poet speaks:

> It is the curse of Kings to be attended
> By slaves that take their humour for a warrant;
> And who, to be endeared to a King,
> Make it no conscience to destroy his HONOUR.

In a word, if there be any measure more likely than another to preserve pure and unblemished the honour o the Crown; to secure its most valuable rights; to pro cure for it warm, bold, determined friends, who, in th hour of danger, would support it at the hazard of thei lives, against foreign or domestic insult—I verily believ it to be, the establishing, as much as possible, the ind

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pendency of the ſeveral Members of *both* Houſes of Parliament.

[The above Extract deſerves to be printed in letters of gold, for the many very beautiful ſentiments it contains of deep political knowledge, genuine patriotiſm, and reaſoning founded on the immoveable baſis of cool, diſpaſſionate and impartial deliberation, guided and directed by the moſt unclouded, penetrating and brilliant intellect. It is an highly uſeful and inſtructive leſſon both to the King and the individual; and cannot fail, like the electric fire, of ſtriking both the heart and the head with the moſt impreſſive conviction; except in thoſe deplorable caſes, where both are rendered callous or repulſive, by the deſtructive prejudices reſulting from that baſe and contaminating influence it ſo feelingly deſcribes and laments, and at the ſame time ſo pointedly and forcibly holds forth, as deſerving the univerſal reprobation and abhorrence of all good men, and true lovers of their own, and their country's freedom.—*The Editors.*]

FRENCH DECLARATION OF RIGHTS,

BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

The DECLARATION OF RIGHTS which has been agreed to by the National Aſſembly of FRANCE, and ſanctioned by the King, and which forms the baſis of the new Conſtitution of FRANCE, having been frequently abuſed, vilified, and miſrepreſented in many of the public Prints, we here inſert the following Tranſlation of it, which we think holds out to the world an inſtruction on the ſubject of Civil Government of the very firſt conſequence.

THE Repreſentatives of the people of FRANCE formed into a National Aſſembly, conſidering that ignorance,

rance, neglect, or contempt of human rights, are the ſole cauſes of public misfortunes and corruptions of governments, have reſolved to ſet forth, in a ſolemn declaration, theſe natural, impreſcriptible, and unalienable rights: that this declaration being conſtantly preſent to the minds of the body ſocial, they may be ever kept attentive to their rights and their duties: that the acts of the legiſlative and executive powers of government being capable of being every moment compared with the end of political inſtitutions, may be more reſpected: and alſo that the future claims of the citizens, being directed by ſimple and inconteſtible principles, may always tend to the maintenance of the Conſtitution, and the general happineſs.

For theſe reaſons the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY doth recognize and declare, in the preſence of the Supreme Being, and with the hope of his bleſſing and favour, the following *ſacred* Rights of Men and of Citizens.

1. Men were born and always continue free and equal in reſpect of their rights. Civil diſtinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility.

2. The end of all political aſſociations, is the preſervation of the natural and impreſcriptible Rights of Man; and theſe rights are, Liberty, Security, and Reſiſtance of Oppreſſion.

3. The nation is eſſentially the ſource of all ſovereignty; nor can any individual, or any body of men, be entitled to any authority which is not expreſſly derived from it.

4. Political Liberty, conſiſts in the power of doing whatever does not injure another. The exerciſe of the natural

natural rights of every man, has no other limits than thoſe which are neceſſary to ſecure to every other man the free exerciſe of the ſame rights; and theſe limits are determinable only by the law.

5. The law ought to prohibit only actions hurtful to ſociety. What is not prohibited by the law ſhould not be hindered; nor ſhould any one be compelled to that which the law does not require.

6. The law is an expreſſion of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either perſonally or by their repreſentatives, in its formation. It ſhould be the ſame to all, whether it protects or puniſhes; and all being equal in its ſight, are equally eligible to all honours, places and employment, according to their different abilities—without any other diſtinction than that created by their virtues and talents.

7. No man ſhould be accuſed, arreſted, or held in confinement, except in caſes determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has preſcribed. All who promote, ſolicit, execute, or cauſe to be executed arbitrary orders, ought to be puniſhed; and every citizen called upon, or apprehended by virtue of the law, ought immediately to obey, and renders himſelf culpable by reſiſtance.

8. The law ought to impoſe no other penalties than ſuch as are abſolutely and evidently neceſſary; and no one ought to be puniſhed, but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence, and legally applied.

9. Every man being preſumed innocent till he has been convicted, whenever his detention becomes indiſ-

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penſible, all rigour to him, more than is neceſſary to ſecure his perſon, ought to be provided againſt by the law.

10. No man ought to be moleſted on account of his opinions, not even on account of his religious opinions, provided his avowal of them does not diſturb the public order eſtabliſhed by the law.*

11. The unreſtrained communication of thoughts and opinions, being one of the moſt precious rights of man, every citizen may ſpeak, write, and publiſh freely, provided he is reſponſible for the abuſe of this liberty in caſes determined by the law.†

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* Intolerance of religion, and reſtraints on the diſcuſſion of ſpeculative points, have been ſome of the chief cauſes of the ſlow progreſs of human improvement, and the miſeries of the world. We could therefore have wiſhed to ſee in ſuch an inſtruction to the world as this declaration contains, an article ſtrongly reprobating theſe evils. This tenth article does not, we think, ſufficiently anſwer this purpoſe. For it is obvious that in Turkey, writing againſt Mahomet; in Spain, againſt the Inquiſition; and in every country, againſt its eſtabliſhed doctrines, is a diſturbance of public order eſtabliſhed by law; and therefore according to this article puniſhable.

If the people of this country had not been permitted to write againſt the *Star Chamber*, and thereby to poſſeſs the minds of the public with its abominable, and deſtructive tendency, would it ſo ſoon have been aboliſhed?—*The Editors.*

† The eleventh article is worthy of the very reſpectable propoſer of it, but in ſome degree liable to the ſame objection as the tenth. Laws may be unjuſt, and determine the faireſt diſcuſſions of ſpeculative points and the beſt publications, to be abuſes of Liberty. At Rome, a few years ago, the publication of one of the greateſt productions of human genius was deemed an abuſe of Liberty, and prohibited, becauſe it aſſerted the motion of the earth. Even in England,

12. A public force being neceſſary to give ſecurity to the rights of men and of citizens, that force is inſtituted for the benefit of the community, and not for the particular benefit of the perſons with whom it is entruſted.

13. A common contribution being neceſſary for the ſupport of a public force, and for defraying the other expences of Government, it ought to be divided equally among the members of the community, according to their abilities.

14. Every citizen has a right, either by himſelf or his repreſentative, to a free voice in determining the neceſſity of public contributions, the appropriation of them, their amount, mode of aſſeſſment, and duration.

England, at this day, its laws determine every thing written or ſpoken againſt the doctrine of the Trinity, to be puniſhable by fines and impriſonment.

We ſubmit to the public conſideration, whether in this inſtance the following would not be better.

"That every man has a right to profeſs and practiſe, without "moleſtation, or the loſs of any civil privilege, that mode of religious "faith and worſhip which he thinks moſt acceptable to his maker; "and alſo to diſcuſs freely by ſpeaking, writing and publiſhing all "ſpeculative points, provided he does not by any *overt* act or *direct* "invaſion of the rights of others, break the peace, or attempt to in-"jure any one in his perſon, property, or good name."

The Tenth Article, on which we have remarked, was probably a compromiſe between oppoſite ſentiments of the National Aſſembly of FRANCE, and may we hope in ſome future time, be re-conſidered. *Mr. Rabaud de St. Etienne*, a proteſtant clergyman, and a Member of the Aſſembly, delivered a ſpeech againſt it full of eloquence, and of the juſteſt ſentiments.

15. Every community has a right to demand of all its agents an account of their conduct.

16. Every community, in which a separation of powers, and a security of rights, is not provided for, wants a Constitution.

17. The right to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of evident public necessity, legally ascertained, and on condition of a previous just indemnity.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

The very judicious remarks of your correspondent *Civis*, on the absurdity and evil consequences of mixing Politics with Religion, have brought to my mind the following Reflections of the candid and pious Bishop Burnet on this subject: by giving them a place in your valuable Miscellany, you will oblige your constant reader,

RUSTICUS.

R——d, near Worksop.

"POLITICS and party, eat out among us not only study and learning, but what is infinitely more valuable, a true sense of religion, with a sincere zeal in advancing that for which the Son of God both lived and died, and to which those who are received into holy orders have vowed to dedicate their lives and labours. Clamours

mours of scandal in any of the clergy are not very frequent; but a remiss, unthinking course of life, with little or no application to study, and the bare performing of that, which, if not done, would draw censures when complained of, without ever pursuing the duties of the pastoral care in any suitable degree, is but too common, as well as too evident.

But if there is too visible a coldness among us, in that which requires our greatest heat and zeal, there is a great deal of flaming heat about matters in which more gentleness and a milder temper would both look better, and more effectually compass that which is designed by it—I mean as to the Dissenters. Bitter railings, or a rough behaviour cannot make many converts. To study the grounds of their separation thoroughly, to answer them calmly, and to treat them with all gentleness, expressing no uneasiness at the liberty granted them by law, is a method that will never fail of succeeding to a great degree. Other methods do confirm their prejudices, and heighten their aversion to those who treat them as enemies, on design to ruin them, and not as friends on design to gain them.

God be thanked, we are delivered from a remnant of Popery that stuck too long to us,—I mean persecution for conscience sake; for the breaches on a man's liberty or goods, are as really a persecution, as that which strikes at his person. If we judge of this matter by our Saviour's rule, of *doing to others as we would have others do to us*,—if we would but honestly ask ourselves, how we would have those of another religion deal with us, if we were living in countries where we must depart from the legal establishment if we resolved to follow the dictates of our con-

consciences, the question would soon be decided. Our zeal in point of conformity seems too strong; while we seem to be in a state of * indolence and insensibility as to other important matters. The breach between us and the Dissenters is very *artfully* widened, and a new scene opened for jealousy and animosity, which has been managed with such art and success, that bodies of men owning the same religion, and the same government, are yet as much alienated from one another, if not more, than if their differences were ever so great and visible. †

* If it be out of a principle of charity and love to men's souls, that they deprive them of their estates, starve and torment them in noisome prisons, and in the end take away their lives. I say if all this be done to make men christians, why then do they suffer *whoredom, fraud, malice, and such like enormities*, to abound so much among their own people? These, and such like things are certainly more contrary to the glory of God, to the purity of the Church, and to the salvation of souls, than any conscientious dissent from ecclesiastical decision, or separation from public worship whilst accompanied with innocency of life! Why then does this burning zeal for the glory of God and the Church, pass by those moral vices and wickednesses without any chastisement, which are acknowledged by all men to be diametrically opposite to the profession of christianity; and lend all its nerves either to the introducing of ceremonies, or to the establishment of opinions, which for the most part are about new and intricate matters that exceed the capacity of ordinary understandings?

Locke on Toleration.

† The good Bishop wrote this about the time when *Sacheveral* and his brethren of high Church, were using every artifice to create disputes and jealousies among the Dissenters, on account of their attachment to civil and religious liberty, and with a view (as it afterwards appeared) to bring in the Pretender. Another attempt of the like kind was made in the year 1745, but it failed, and the Dissenters escaped: after which the spirit of bigotry, subdued during the remainder of the reign of that excellent Prince Geo. II. unless indeed we

I will say nothing that may justly provoke any; but since I am ranked among those called *low* church men, I will open all that I know is particular to them. They are cordially zealous for the church, as established by law: but yet they think no human constitution is so perfect, as not to be mended, and that the Church would be more secure and more unexceptionable if the administration of its discipline were put into other hands, and into a better method. They lay the foundation of all that they believe concerning the Christian religion in the Scriptures; these and these only are the measure and standard of their faith. They are far from condemning private judgment in matters of religion, since this strikes at the root of the reformation, which could never have been compassed, if private men had not a *right* to judge for themselves. On the contrary, they think every man is bound to judge for himself, which indeed he ought to do, in the fear of God, and with all humility and caution.

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we except a few feeble efforts to keep it up by the high party in their 30th of January sermons. But upon the Dissenters applying for a repeal of the Test Act, this spirit has revived again in full vigour, and is now spreading its malignant influence throughout the kingdom. The harsh treatment of Dissenters (says a spirited writer) is so averse to all honest policy as may induce the suspicion that their civil character, their well informed, and well tempered loyalty, their jealousy of power, their adherence to the principles of the Revolution, and inflexible opposition to all evil ministers, constitute their most unpardonable crime. It is an ill omen, and which ought to alarm every friend to law and liberty, when a British administration becomes hostile to Dissenters. Those periods of our history, which have been favourable to Dissenters, have been the most favourable to freedom, and are those which a Briton glories to review; while disgraceful have been those, and dangerous to a Briton's rights in which the Dissenters have been suspected, harrassed and persecuted.

As to matters of temporal concern, they think that all the obedience and submission which is settled by our laws to the persons of our Princes, ought to be paid them for conscience sake. But if a misguided Prince shall take on him to dissolve our Constitution, and to subject the laws to his pleasure, they think that if God offers a remedy, it is to be received with all thankfulness. For these reasons they rejoiced in the Revolution, and continue faithful and true to the settlement then made, and to the subsequent settlements. They think there is a full power in the legislature to settle the Crown and to secure the Nation.* They know of no unalterable indefeasible right but what is founded on the law.

Upon the whole, as our disunion not only weakens us, but diverts us from that which ought to be our chief concern, to the unhappy consequences that follow formed parties; so if we will not take warning from our Saviour's words, that *a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand*, we have reason to apprehend that such a breach, even without the advantages an enemy may make of it, will be fatal; while as the Apostle says, *by our devouring one another, we may come to be consumed one of another.*"

FOR

* There is a remarkable coincidence between the political sentiments of this great man, and those of the late amiable *Price*. Their fate was also similar; for the good Bishop was as grossly abused and misrepresented by the high church and tory writers of his day, as *Price* has been by a more modern author of the same illiberal fraternity. "Bishop B. (*says Archdeacon Blackburn*) was never a favourite with that part of the clergy who stile themselves orthodox. "He was apt to speak his mind freely concerning such things in the "Church as he thought wanted Reformation. His Pastoral Care "(a work so called) created an offence which was never to be forgiven."

FOR THE PATRIOT.

TO MR. ——.

SIR,

IT may perhaps be deemed presumption for an unknown individual thus publickly to call your attention; still greater presumption to suppose that his sentiments can at all influence your political conduct. To men surrounded as you are by the sycophants of power, the voice of remonstrance is ever disagreeable; but when it issues from the mouth of one who lays no *exclusive* claim to your attention, it is particularly so. I am as nature made me, simply a man; no glittering bauble ornaments my breast, no sounding title sanctifies my name. As an Englishman alone, as a member of that body whose purse defrays the extravagance, and whose blood flows in the defence of Government, I claim the right of addressing you; and though my endeavours be destitute of all success, still shall I boast the grateful reflection of having performed a duty.

I esteem it, Sir, the duty of every honest citizen to watch, with anxious care, the conduct of his governors; to be mindful that the appointed protectors, do not become the undisturbed invaders of his liberty. He has too much at stake to be indifferent. One iniquitous ef-

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fort might deprive him of thoſe rights upon which depend his freedom and his happineſs. Thus, in arraigning at the bar of the public, one who has deſerted his truſt, he obeys the dictates of his nature, whoſe ſtrongeſt paſſion is a love of happineſs. In doing this, too, he acts the part of a benevolent being; for as oppreſſion is moſtly general, in aſſerting his own rights, he pleads the cauſe of his fellow-men. Such are my motives for addreſſing you.

Your late oppoſition to a propoſed reform in Parliament has aſtoniſhed the nation. With indignation has it beheld a meaſure ſo evidently neceſſary, ſo univerſally deſired, and ſo replete with good, by you diſcountenanced and condemned. Your oppoſition ill became the ſon of an illuſtrious ſenator, who, whether in or out of power, could plead alike the generous cauſe of truth. Juſtice, not *intereſt*, was the idol of his ſoul. Thus did his eloquence never ceaſe to attack that ſtretch of power by which our parliament became ſeptennial. He viewed it as the tomb of Engliſh Liberty, and ſought by early reformation, to ſtop the gaping ſepulchre His efforts were defeated. The completion of the glorious work begun by him, remained for you. It was expected from you. An anxious people fondly hoped, the virtues of the father would be inherited by the ſon; that a meaſure ſanctioned with the approbation of a parent, and of ſo wiſe a legiſlator, you would with eagerneſs and pride ſupport. How great their error! Still leſs did your oppoſition become a conſiſtent character. There was a time when you could perceive the groſs corruption of our parliament, the inequality of our repreſentation—you could recommend reform, and plead with energy its neceſſity. Time has not yet obliterated from our memo-

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ries the exertions of your youth. They claimed, they obtained eſteem. A remembrance of them now, however, ſerves but to blacken more your preſent conduct.—How great, how baneful are the effects of power! How treacherous is its nature! At the ſame moment that it ſmiles upon its votaries, it poiſons every noble avenue of the ſoul. It ſupplants the virtues of the *man*, by infuſing the vices of the *creature*. At its ſhrine, the clamorous tongue of patriotiſm becomes for ever ſilent; or if not ſilent, becomes the vile ſupporter of corruption. Diſtinguiſhed in office, you are inſenſible to thoſe abuſes you have before deemed ſo flagrant; if they ſtill exiſt, you regard them no longer as formidable. I deplore your fate, Sir! That your faculties ſhould, by your exaltation, ſuffer a decreaſe, is truly a painful conſideration. It is poſſible that intereſt may have tended to leſſen their acuteneſs. The ſame revolution has not, however, taken place in the public mind. The people ſtill loudly call for reform; nor has your apoſtacy a little tended to increaſe their ardour. I ſhall not preſume to point out its propriety—you know it well. That our repreſentation is groſſly unequal and unjuſt, contrary to nature, and deſtructive of the rights of Engliſhmen, you will not, you cannot deny. Yet do you oppoſe reform! But the arguments by which you ſupport your oppoſition, are ſuch as will neither ſatisfy the people, nor exculpate you from the ſerious charge of tergiverſation.—The time and mode of propoſing it, you call improper. "The *time*, inaſmuch as we at preſent enjoy *tranquillity*, "and *that* tranquillity might be endangered, by attempt-"ing it." The veriеſt child in politics would ridicule an objection ſo abſurd. Is then the moment, when a prey to anarchy and confuſion, torn by civil diviſions, or ſtruggling with the horrors of a war, moſt calculated for reform? Can the public eye, with the greateſt efficacy

ſearch into abuſes, when its attention is arreſted by ſtill greater danger from abroad? *No* time can be *improper* to reform injuſtice; but, of all others, peace ſhould be preferred. It will then be moſt deſired, moſt eaſy, and if effected, moſt complete. Such is our ſituation, and on this we placed, with confidence, our warmeſt hopes of ſucceſs; but—ſuch is the deceit of men in power!—if reform be propoſed in a moment of alarm, they bid us wait for peace: if then propoſed, we are told that peace may be endangered.* Numerous are the circumſtances which conſpire to render the preſent period favourable to our deſign. It is not ſimply a time of peace; it is too an æra of reformation. Man *will* be free. Tyrants and Deſpots tremble on their thrones—their exit is faſt approaching. A ſpirit of Liberty pervades the human race—nor can the arts of courtiers ſtop its courſe. With greater eaſe might they affix boundaries to the ſea. We cannot, without emotion, behold this regeneration of our fellow-men. We know *we* have abuſes, and ſpurn at the idea, that a nation once *moſt* free, ſhould ſoon become *leaſt* ſo. Indifference would be unworthy of Britons. A wiſe phyſician will, by a ſpeedy remedy, ſeek to cure a wound, which, if neglected, may ſoon become deſperate. But all times it appears are equally improper to reform that which it is each Stateſman's intereſt to perpetuate. Such were not your feelings when you firſt ſat in parliament—what, ſince that period, has occurred to authorize ſo great a change of ſentiment? I know but one circumſtance. You were then a ſimple member of the Houſe of Commons—you are now high in office. With your ſtation, it has appeared convenient to change your principles. You ſhould, however, remember, that the diſpoſitions of the people ſtill remain the ſame. They perceive,

* See a Note on this head Number 5. p. 162—*The Editors.*

perceive, that if a reformation was then neceſſary, its neceſſity is now become much greater. The influence of the C—— has ſince that time been gradually increaſing, and will ſoon, it is feared, if not diminiſhed, abſorb the mangled influence of every other power. Our P—— is become more venal, our taxes more heavy; the doctrine of *confidence* was not then echoed from every corner of the Houſe, nor could Miniſters, with impunity, expend *millions* to play the bully, and then refuſe an explanation of their conduct. In ſhort, our evils were not then ſo great, nor did they aſſume ſo ſerious an aſpect.

The *mode* adopted by the propoſers you alſo condemn. Publicly to avow their opinions, and invite the people to the *Standard of Reaſon*, is in your idea dangerous. Here again I cannot, without ſtifling my emotions, but exclaim, How great is the caprice of the intereſted! Every mode of concerting a reform, is to them equally improper. To plan it in *private*, is to be guilty of *plots* and *conſpiracies*; to recommend it in *public*, draws down the charge of *open rebellion*. But wherein conſiſts the danger you ſo much dread? If our parliament be a fair and equal repreſentation of the people, all contrary aſſertions will be received as falſehoods, and the advancers of them ſoon fall into oblivion and contempt. If, on the contrary, its inequality and inſufficiency be notorious, how can it be too publicly made known? Who, but the intereſted, would oppoſe its publicity, or dread its effects? When we behold ſo much fear manifeſted at the diſcovery of the truth, we cannot but ſuſpect it is not the *patriot*, but the *ſtateſman* that is alarmed. The declaration of truth, can only be oppoſed by thoſe whoſe intereſt it is to ſupport its oppoſite.

It is innocent, it is laudable to inſtruct the people. Inactivity and ſecrecy are equally inconſiſtent with the duty of Repreſentatives. Appointed *by*, and acting *for* the people, it is their duty to enlighten the minds of their conſtituents; to protect their liberties; to inform them of thoſe abuſes which corrode their happineſs, and to ſeek their conſent for a reformation, when it evidently appears to them to be highly neceſſary. How diſagreeable ſoever the truth may be, it *is* one, which no ſophiſtry can deny, that the people, and *they alone*, are the ſource of all *legitimate authority*. Their *will* ſhould be the guide of legiſlators; and how can that *will* be made known, but by a public appeal unto them. That their minds ſhould be for ever doomed to wander in the dark regions of ignorance, is now the ſolitary wiſh of Deſpots and their creatures.——Far be the thought, that ſo inhuman, ſo deteſtable a wiſh, ſhould be found in the breaſt of a Britiſh Senator!

Not content with a ſimple oppoſition to a parliamentary reform, to that you add inſult. When you inform us, "that in this country, you do not believe there is "one exiſting grievance felt at this hour; on the con- "trary, that, at this moment, we actually enjoy as much "happineſs as we ever can, or any rational man can wiſh "for"—you muſt ſuppoſe us either deſtitute of ſenſibility, or void of underſtanding. Does, then, the burden of a debt amounting to 260 millions, conſtitute the eſſence of national proſperity? Can the *poor*, from their ſmall pittance, contribute to defray the intereſt of this *enormous* ſum, and not feel the loſs? Have we not exciſe laws, by authority of which, a man ſhall enter even in the dead of night our dwellings, ſearch our property, and pry into our concerns? Have we not teſt laws, which impiouſly diſpute the wiſdom of God, in having made the *minds* of men

men as various as their *features*; which ſtigmatize and forbid thouſands to ſerve their country, becauſe they obey the dictates of that heavenly monitor, Conſcience? What, too, is ſlavery, but that ſtate in which a man is governed, without his *own conſent?* All thoſe, then, who are by law incapable of aſſiſting at elections, give not their conſent to Government, and are thus but ſlaves. No eloquence, however glowing—no ſophiſtry, however ingenious, can perſuade us theſe are not GRIEVANCES; or that, whilſt they exiſt, "our happineſs is incapable "of an increaſe."

To ſuppoſe that the number of thoſe who wiſh for a reform is ſmall, or their power inconſiderable, is to indulge a vain and dangerous deluſion. Time will ſoon convince you, that both are more conſiderable than you are inclined or willing to believe. Equally vain would be the expectation, that the oppoſition they receive from *courtiers*, would diſcourage them in a juſt demand. They well know, that intereſt, not conviction, guides the ſentiments of thoſe pliant and ſervile gentry.

By attending, without ceſſation, to the troubled ſtate of France, and exaggerating thoſe *evils* which are *inſeparable* from a great revolution, the venal tribe can but alarm the timid few, whoſe aſſiſtance is not neceſſary, and whoſe oppoſition is not dreaded. The ſteady *patriot* perceives the aim of theſe alluſions, and ſmiles at the folly and weakneſs of thoſe who make them. In the bold aſſertion of his rights, he remains alike unmoved by the artful inſinuations of the courtier, the wild ſuggeſtions of the raſh, or the cowardly apprehenſions of the mere worldly minded man.——Great, however, as may be your abhorrence of the principles, and much as you may execrate the conduct of the French, they preſent impor-

tant leſſons, not unworthy of attention. From the fate of their oppreſſors, may Governors learn, that they are not invincible; from the exertions of the oppreſſed, that they are not to be inſulted with impunity, and that they can break their chains on their oppreſſors' heads. From hence, too, may they learn, how ill judged is that infatuated temerity, which, by refuſing the juſt demands of a people, will not avert, by a *timely*, a *moderate*, and *neceſſary* REFORMATION, the danger inſeparable from a REVOLUTION.*

CIVIS.

* We have taken the liberty—which we reſerved to ourſelves—of making ſome ſlight alterations in a few paſſages of the above ſenſible and ſpirited letter.—*The Editors.*

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

IF in returning to diſtant ages, we recount the evils which have from time to time preyed upon human happineſs, we find none more eminently fatal than war. In the dark liſt of the agents of miſery, it holds the moſt conſpicuous place. To ſooth its rigor, or if poſſible to annihilate its power, muſt be the prime wiſh of every lover of mankind. It ſhould be the point from which the politician's eye ſhould never veer, and the philanthropiſt in his labours for human happineſs, ſhould never loſe it from view.

Unhappily

Unhappily for mankind, such is the formation of nearly every European government, as to preclude these generous feelings from the breasts of ministers and kings.* Their interest points to war as the support of their power; the public eye arrested by its grand movement, they hope will not turn towards home. It is curious to mark the various pretences, by which nations have been excited to contention. How often has the lust of ambition,

* Montesquieu, in book 13. chap. 17. observes thus, "a new "distemper has spread itself over EUROPE; it has infested our Prin- "ces, and induces them to keep up an exorbitant number of troops. "It has re-doublings, and of necessity becomes contagious. For as "soon as one Prince augments what he calls his *troops*, the rest of "course do the same, so that nothing is gained thereby but the public "ruin. Each Monarch keeps as many armies on foot as if his peo- "ple were in danger of being exterminated; and they give the name of "peace to this general effort of *all against all*. Thus EUROPE is ruined "to that degree, that were private people to be in the same situation "as the three most opulent powers of this part of the world, they "would not have necessary subsistence. We are poor with the riches "and commerce of the whole universe; soon, by thus augmenting "our troops, we shall have nothing but soldiers, and be reduced "to the very same situation as the *Tartars*.

"Great Princes, not satisfied with hiring or buying troops of petty "states, make it their business on all sides to pay subsidies for allian- "ces, that is, almost generally to *throw away their money*.

"The consequence of such a situation is, the *perpetual augmentation* "*of taxes*; and the mischief which prevents all future remedy, is, "that they reckon no more upon their revenues, but to go to war "with their whole capital. It is not an unusual thing to see Govern- "ments mortgage their funds *even in time of peace*, and to employ "what they call *extraordinary means* to ruin themselves; means *so* "extraordinary indeed, that such are hardly thought on by *the most* "*extravagant young spendthrift*"—Does not this clearly shew "that "war is the Pharoah table of Governments, and nations the dupes "of the game?"

bition, the extenſion of trade, the ſubjugation of colonies, deluged countries with blood? But by theſe ſounds, the national ear has been too often dulled to be excited by them longer; miniſters have therefore changed the theme, but the ſubſtance yet remains. The Balance of Power is now the watch word of war; it is for its preſervation that armies are led out to mutual deſtruction.

Whether we examine into the juſtice or expediency of this ſyſtem, we ſhall find it alike improper. The nations of Europe are only bound to each other by the ſlender ties of morality; they have never ſanctioned any ſupreme coercive power. No ſtandard has been ever fixed for their conduct, or tribunal eſtabliſhed before which the refractory ſhould be arraigned. Though civilized themſelves, towards each other, they are in a ſtate of nature. By what right then do we interfere in the concerns of other nations, and delineate the extent of their territories, by the deciſions of our pleaſure? Such a conduct is unwarranted; it is as unjuſt as to interfere in the concerns of each other's families, or limit the extenſion of each other's trade. To act ſuch a part, is to infringe the ſacred rights of the individual; to act the bully, and incur a juſt contempt.

This ſyſtem of politics is as unwiſe as it is unjuſt. Before a nation engages in any enterprize, it ſhould weigh in equal hands, the good which it aims at, and the evils which in its attainment it may incur. To graſp at good which is only to be attained through difficulties which overbalance its excellence, is folly. Yet this is moſt notoriouſly the caſe with the ſyſtem I ſpeak of. The Balance of Power abſtractedly conſidered, is a deſideratum in politics: but its good effects are far from that

ſupremacy

supremacy of excellence which would compensate the ruin of our finance, and the loss of our citizens. By plunging a nation into war, it entails upon it a long succession of its miseries; and at such a price, would a wise people attempt the purchase?

To the above reasoning it is commonly objected, that were not the balance of power preserved, the liberties of Europe would soon be absorbed in the vortex of some ambitious Potentate. But this is an ideal evil; the nation that would have the wisdom to keep itself in peace would have the courage to defend itself in war; and should some modern Xerxes assail its freedom, a second Marathon would check his temerity, and its revivified heroes scourge him from its plains.

This most important subject is very earnestly recommended to the consideration of his countrymen, by

Their devoted fellow citizen,

BRUTUS.

A Review of the Prosperity of England.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

I Cannot but observe with pleasure the flourishing state of our country, and the superiority that distinguishes

guiſhes it above the reſt of the world; but my ſatisfaction is abated, and changed to anxiety, when I recollect the cauſes of this ſuperiority. I behold Liberty eſtabliſhed in the new world, although in due perfection, yet in infant States, whoſe time is employed in agriculture. But in theſe infant States, where population is ſo rapidly increaſing, the Government is juſt, and the taxes ſo eaſy, the inhabitants will doubtleſs, in a ſhort time, turn their attention to manufactures; in which, with the numerous advantages they poſſeſs over us, they will, no doubt, ſoon excel us, and when the demand for our manufactures ceaſes in America, it will be a ſevere blow to our profperity.—But, perhaps, the principal reaſon for our preſent flouriſhing ſtate, is the ſtruggles for Liberty that have lately taken place in the old world. Millions of our fellow-creatures there, have long groaned under the yoke of tyranny; but we have lately beheld a large and populous nation burſt its ſhackles aſunder, and leave not ſo much as a ſhade of their having ever exiſted. We now behold this nation ſtruggling with the Deſpots of Europe, who are leagued againſt its liberty. Thus engaged in a war, and under the diſadvantages that muſt certainly attend ſo complete a change of things, her manufactures are neglected, and her commerce at a ſtand; but this will not always be the caſe. France may be overpowered, but will not be conquered; unleſs the whole race of her citizens is exterminated. They have once taſted the ſweets of genuine Liberty—they will no more bend their necks to the galling yoke of Deſpotiſm. France has always been a formidable rival to our trade, when ſhackled by the moſt oppreſſive adminiſtration; what will ſhe be when governed by laws founded on the only true baſis of government—the Rights of the People? Inſtead of conſuming part of *our* manufactures, ſhe will

ſupply

supply *herself*, and with the superior advantages attached to her soil, her population, and the smallness of her national debt, compared with ours, will rival us in all foreign markets. England burthened with heavy taxes, sinking under the load of an already immense, and still increasing debt, governed by an unequal and corrupt representation of the people, must of course fall from its summit of glory, unless the expences of Government are diminished, and the body of the people permitted to have a just and equal representation in parliament.

But we are told, our prosperity depends on having "a "just confidence in the wisdom and integrity of admini- "stration." The wisdom of Parliament was once the boast of this nation, and it is a melancholy reflection that any one should have cause to call it in question; but who can put confidence in a body of men who adopt the plans*† of the minister, instead of the sense of the people, whose representatives they ought to be. The little regard and attention they pay to the voice and will of their constituents, is beyond a doubt the foundation of all the grievances that pervade the other departments of the state. On a reform of this body, O Britons, depends your

* Russian Armament.

† These plans are conducted on principles as simple as can be well imagined. His Majesty's prime minister comes down to the House of Commons, with measures previously concerted in the Cabinet; he proposes his bills, and the House exclaims, 'What a prodigy of wisdom!' He makes his motion, and that is carried by a great majority, as virtuous as *unbought*. A similar farce is carried on in the House of Lords, and the will of the Cabinet is proclaimed as the will of the People, who, perhaps, all the while are lifting their voice against the measure, and execrating its author and his supporters.—*The Editors.*

your freedom. Let us lay aſide all animoſities and unite in this great cauſe. It is the intereſt of the tools of power, to make diviſions amongſt us, and perſuade us, we have a ſufficient degree of liberty; but let us examine for ourſelves, and ſee what this our boaſted ſuperiority over other nations is founded upon. If you will but candidly examine the ſyſtem, by which our money is laviſhed on worthleſs objects; on the ſupporters of expenſive Armaments, unconſtitutional Exciſe Laws, oppreſſive Game Laws, Tythes, &c. and to corrupt your Repreſentatives—you will find that the means which you furniſh, by the ſweat of your brows, towards the preſervation of your property, and the good order of ſociety, are turned againſt yourſelves; you will (except you are deaf to conviction) join hand and heart with the friends of Freedom, in their endeavours to effect a Reform ſo truly laudable, and ſo much wanted. A Reform, on which the continuance—perhaps the exiſtence—of your preſent proſperity depends.

A PEASANT.

Manchester, May 28, 1792.

THE

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday, July 10.

ON PROPERTY.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

I Sincerely congratulate the country at large on so great an acquisition to the public, as your truly valuable publication. I can see from the few numbers already in circulation, that it must be productive of the most beneficial consequences; as through its means, the intrinsic and inestimable contents of volumes, which to purchase would cost thousands, will be conveyed to the public eye, within the compass of a price light and trifling, so much so indeed, as to be within the reach of every labourer and mechanic, who chooses to inform his mind, in preference to wasting his time and lavishing his money at an alehouse.

The ſtate of ignorance, which in your addreſs to the public you ſo feelingly deplore as the lot of the bulk of the people in this nation, is alas! but too fatally true; and all things conſidered, it is not much to be wondered at. To the diſgrace of the ruling powers, no *public ſyſtem* of education has ever been attended to in this country. The partial mode which has been adopted, is only within the reach and power of the opulent part of the community, and is univerſally acknowledged, ſo far as it goes, to be the worſt ſyſtem in Europe. The ſons of our nobility and principal gentry are generally ſent abroad to finiſh and complete their ſtudies, and our *Princes of the Blood*, even to begin them. Well, indeed, may ſuch men as Mr. Burke ſtile the *people* by the degrading appellation of the *ſwiniſh multitude!!!*

The obligation therefore which the Britiſh people are under to you for your truly patriotic and philanthropic endeavours to enlighten the public mind, in thoſe eſſential points which affect their neareſt and deareſt intereſts, is more than they can ever repay. Your reward muſt be from above, and I have no doubt but God *will* reward you with bleſſings for ſo praiſe-worthy an attempt. Sorry am I to ſay that *man*, intereſted and treacherous *man*, is doing but too much to counteract your good intentions. You have a hoſt of enemies who leave no ſtone unturned to fruſtrate your labours, and to render them ineffectual. The clergy, a body powerful as it is numerous, may be ſaid almoſt univerſally to be your foes, and to uſe their utmoſt and moſt active efforts to impede the progreſs of your work. Accuſtomed as a *body* from the beginning of the world to keep mankind in ignorance, in every country, and in every climate, they view with the jaundiced eye of diabolical jealouſy,

jealousy, every publication which may produce a diffusion of knowledge, and they depreciate it accordingly *

I speak from facts on this *occasion*, and should not have seen the Patriot perhaps for some months to come, had it not been for the very means used to prevent it. I live in a retired part of the country, where we never see a London paper, and in our provincial one, it is not advertised. A neighbour of mine who corresponds with one of these sacerdotal despots at the distance of nearly forty miles, received an account of it comprized in terms of such bitter reproach as excited our curiosity to read it; and it is but justice to acknowledge that to read is only to admire. We shall both continue to take it so long as it is published, and this very circumstance of *opposition* has determined me to become your correspondent, in order to exhort you not to suffer any present impediments, to make you cool in your efforts; for you may rest assured your virtuous endeavours will in the end be crowned with every success you can possibly wish for. I myself, and my neighbour also, have recommended it wherever we are acquainted, and I have no doubt but every well-wisher to it will do the same. Persevere, therefore,

* We are sorry that any of our countrymen, but especially "men "of learning and character," should be so prejudiced against our work as this writer intimates. We cannot suppose that these prejudices are the result of a careful and candid perusal of it; but are more probably the effects of groundless suspicion, or adopted from the opinion and authority of others. Conscious however of the rectitude of our views, of our attachment to the constitution, and of our zeal for its improvement, in a legal, pacific manner, so that any of its remaining imperfections may be done away, we shall pursue the course we first set out in, resolving to be neither the abettors of faction, nor the dupes of interested pensioners.

The Editor.

therefore, Gentlemen, in what you have so worthily, and so well begun. You evince yourselves the true and stedfast friends of millions of your countrymen, and in all events you have the following comfortable reflection ever present to your minds—

"Recte facti, fecisse merces est; officii fructus ipsum officium est."
Seneca.

"The reward of a thing well done, is to have done it; the fruit of a good office is the office itself."

I have been much delighted with the whole of the Patriot, but particularly so with your sketch of the *Origin of Government*, introductory as you say to the history of the *British Constitution*; and thongh I am convinced of the propriety of your giving merely an outline of the matter in that stage of your work, I must own I felt sorry to part so suddenly with so interesting a subject. As we have a right to suppose that all mankind may be equally interested with ourselves in whatever is in itself laudable, I beg leave to recommend to your readers the following essay on *Property*, from the immortal Locke; and in order that they may read it to the greatest advantage, and with more pleasure also, I advise them first to re-peruse the Essay on the Origin of Government, No. I. p. 23 to 29.

HISTORICUS,

"Whether we consider natural *reason*, (says Locke) "which tell us that men, being once born, have a right to "their preservation, and consequently to meat and drink, "and such other things as nature affords for subsistence: or "*revelation*, which gives us an account of those grants "God made of the world to *Adam*, and to *Noah*, and his "sons,

" ſons, it is very clear, that GOD as king *David* ſays, " Pſalm 115, v. 16, *has given the earth to the children of* " *men*, given it to mankind in common. But this being " ſuppoſed, it ſeems to ſome a very great difficulty, " how any one ſhould ever come to have a *property* in " any thing: I will not content myſelf to anſwer, that " if it be difficult to make out *property*, upon a ſuppoſi- " tion that God gave the world to *Adam*, and his poſte- " rity in common, it is impoſſible that any man, but " one univerſal monarch, ſhould have any *property* upon " a ſuppoſition, that God gave the world to *Adam*, and " his heirs in ſucceſſion, excluſive of all the reſt of his " poſterity. But I ſhall endeavour to ſhew how men " might come to have a *property* in ſeveral parts of that " which god gave to mankind in common, and that " without any expreſs compact of all the commoners.

" God, who hath given the world to men in com- " mon, hath alſo given them reaſon to make uſe of it " to the beſt advantage of life, and convenience. The " earth, and all that is therein, is given to men for " the ſupport and comfort of their being. And tho' " all the fruits it naturally produces, and beaſts it feeds, " belong to mankind in common, as they are produced " by the ſpontaneous hand of nature; and no body has " originally a private dominion, excluſive of the reſt of " mankind, in any of them as they are thus in their na- " tural ſtate: yet being given for the uſe of men, there " muſt of neceſſity be *a means to appropriate* them " ſome way or other, before they can be of any uſe, or " at all beneficial to any particular men. The fruit or " veniſon which nouriſhes the wild *Indian*, who knows " no incloſure, and is ſtill a tenant in common, muſt be " his, and ſo his, i. e. a part of him, that another can

" no longer have any right to it, before it can do him " any good for the support of his life.

" Though the earth, and all inferior creatures be " common to all men, yet every man has a *property* in " his own *person*: this, nobody has any right to but " himself. The *labour* of his body, and the *work* of his " hands, we may say are properly his. Whatsoever " then he removes out of the state that nature hath pro- " vided, and left it in, he hath mixed his *labour* with, " and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby " makes it his *property*. It being by him removed from " the common state nature hath placed it in, it hath by " this *labour* something annexed to it, that excludes the " common right of other men: for this *labour* being the " unquestionable property of the labourer, no man but " he can have a right to what that *labour* is once joined " to, at least where there is enough, and as good, left " in common for others.

" He that is nourished by the acorns he picked up " under an oak, or the apples he gathered from the trees " in the wood, has certainly appropriated them to himself, " nobody can deny but the nourishment is his. Ask then, " when did they begin to be his? When he digested? " or when he eat? or when he boiled? or when he " brought them home? or when he picked them up?— " And it is plain, if the first gathering made them not his, " nothing else could. *That labour* put a distinction be- " tween them and common: *that* added something to " them more than nature, the common mother of all, " had done; and so they became his private right. And " will any one say, he had no right to those acorns or " apples, he thus appropriated, because he had not the " consent of all mankind to make them his? Was it a

" robbery

" robbery thus to assume to himself, what belonged to " all men in common? If such a consent as that was " necessary, man had starved, notwithstanding the plenty " God had given him. We see in *commons*, which re- " main so by *compact*, that it is the taking of any part of " what is common, and removing it out of the state na- " ture leaves it in, which *begins the property*; without " which the common is of no use. And the taking of " this or that part, does not depend on the express con- " sent of all the commoners. Thus the grass my horse " has bit; the turfs my servant has cut; and the ore I " have digged in any place, where I have a right to " them in common with others, become my *property*, " without the assignation or consent of any body. The " *labour* that was mine, removing them out of that com- " mon state they were in, hath *fixed* my *property* in " them.

" By making an explicit consent of every commoner " necessary, to any one's appropriating to himself any " part of what is given in common, children or servants " could not cut the meat, which their father or master had " provided for them in common, without assigning to " every one his peculiar part. Though the water run- " ning in the fountain be every one's, yet who can doubt " but that in the pitcher is his only who drew it? His " *labour* hath taken it out of the hands of nature where " it was common, and belonged equally to all her chil- " dren, and *hath* thereby *appropriated* it to himself.

" Thus the law of reason makes the deer the pro- " perty of *that Indian*, who hath killed it; it is allowed " to be his goods, who hath bestowed his labour upon it, " though before it was the common right of every one. " And amongst those who are counted the civilized part " of

"of mankind, who have made and multiplied positive "laws to determine *property*, this original law of nature, "for the *beginning of property*, in what was before com- "mon still takes place: and by virtue thereof, what fish "any one catches in the ocean, that great and still re- "maining common of mankind; or what ambergrease "any one takes up here, is by the labour that removes it "out of that common state nature hath left it in, *made* "his *property* who takes that pains about it. And even "amongst us, the hare that any one is hunting is thought "his who pursues her during the chace: for being a "beast that is still looked upon as common,* and no "man's

* When our author wrote, it is evident those abominable bastard slips (as Blackstone says) of Feudal or Norman despotism, the forest-laws, viz. our present *game laws*, were not known in this country, which, as the same learned judge observes, are now arrived to, and wantoning in their highest vigour: both founded upon the same unreasonable notions of permanent property in wild creatures; and both productive of the same tyranny to the commons: but with this difference, that the forest-laws established only one mighty hunter throughout the land; the *game-laws* have raised a little Nimrod in every Manor. In America I never saw a beggar in travelling from one end of the Continent to the other. I have seen numberless instances of widowed women left with seven or eight children, the mother and all of which were supported by what she could earn by washing, and the eldest boy, about twelve years of age, could make by *fishing* and the use of his gun (even before school hours began). The rivers abound with the greatest variety of excellent fish, and the woods and fields with all kinds of game, both which, as Mr. Locke observes, are *common* to all; and the *labour* used in killing and taking them, makes them the exclusive property of the party who gives it. And in a few hours a boy of the above age, will take as many fish or fowls, as will not only serve the whole family for the day, but procure him five, six, or sometimes seven shillings by selling them in the neighbouring towns and gentlemen's families, who can employ their negroes and servants more beneficially than in that way,

" man's private poſſeſſion, whoever has employed ſo
" much *labour* about any thing of that kind, as to find
" and purſue her, has thereby removed her from the
" ſtate of nature, wherein ſhe was common, and hath
" *begun a property.*

" It will perhaps be objected to this, that if gathering
" the acorns, or other fruits of the earth, &c. makes a
" right to them, then any one may *engroſs* as much as he
" will. To which I anſwer, not ſo. The ſame law of
" nature that does by this means give us property, does
" alſo *bound* that *property* too. *God has given us all*
" *things richly.* 1. Tim. 12. is the voice of reaſon con-
" firmed by inſpiration. But how far has he given it us?
" *To enjoy.* As much as any one can make uſe of to any
" advantage of life before it ſpoils, ſo much he may by
" his labour fix a property in: whatever is beyond this,
" is more than his ſhare and belongs to others. Nothing
" was made by God for man to ſpoil or deſtroy. And
" thus, conſidering the plenty of natural proviſions there
" was a long time in the world, and the few ſpenders;
" and to how ſmall a part of that proviſion the induſtry
" of one man could extend itſelf, and engroſs it to the
" prejudice

way, and yet who are conſtantly wanting ſuch things at their tables. In England the *qualifications* for killing game, as they are called, or more properly the *exemptions* from the penalties inflicted by the ſtatute law, are 1ſt, the having a freehold of 100l. *per ann.*—there being fifty times the property required to enable a man to kill a partridge, as to vote for a Knight of the ſhire.—O ſhame! ſhame!—or a leaſehold for 99 Years of 150l. per annum. To unqualified perſons tranſgreſſing the laws by killing game, keeping engines for that purpoſe, or even having game in their cuſtody, there are various penalties aſſigned, corporeal and pecuniary, by different ſtatutes; on any of which, but only one at a time, the juſtices may convict in a ſummary way, *without trial by jury*, and in moſt of them proſecutions may be carried on at the aſſizes.—4 Blackſtone 175. *Hiſtorian.*

" prejudice of others; especially keeping within the " bounds set by reason, of what might serve for his *use*; " there could be then little room for quarrels or contentions about property so established."

" But the *chief matter of property* being now not the " fruits of the earth, and the beasts that subsist on it, but " the *earth itself*; as that which takes in and carries with " it all the rest; I think it is plain that *property* in that " too is acquired as the former. *As much land* as a man " tills, plants, improves, cultivates, and can use the pro- " duct of, so much is his *property*. He by his labours " does, as it were, enclose it for the common. Nor " will it invalidate his right, to say every body else has " an equal title to it; and therefore he cannot appropri- " ate, he cannot enclose, without the consent of all his " fellow-commoners, all mankind. God, when he gave " the world to all mankind, commanded man also to la- " bour, and the penury of his condition required it of " him. God and his reason commanded him to subdue " the earth, that is, improve it for the benefit of life, " and therein lay out something upon it that was his " own, his labour. He that in obedience to this com- " mand of God subdued, tilled and sowed any part of it, " thereby annexed to it something that was his *property*, " which another had no title to, nor could without in- " jury take from him.

" Nor was this *appropriation* of any parcel of *land*, " by improving it, any prejudice to any other man, " since there was still enough and as good left; and " more than the yet unprovided could use. So that, in " effect, there was never the less left for others because " of his enclosure for himself, for he that leaves as much

" as

" as another can make uſe of, does as good as take no-
" thing at all. Nobody could think himſelf injured by
" the drinking of another man, though he took a good
" draught, who had a whole river of the ſame water
" left him to quench his thirſt: and the caſe of land
" and water where there is enough of both, is perfectly
" the ſame."

(To be continued.)

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

THE numbers I have ſeen of your valuable publication, convince me that you have well ſtudied the effects which are likely to be produced by the French revolution on this country, and that you are deſirous of opening the eyes of our countrymen, and directing their views in ſuch a manner, that they may perceive, before it is to late, what meaſures this nation ought to purſue, to ſecure itſelf againſt thoſe inevitable conſequences which muſt reſult from the eſtabliſhment of a free conſtitution among our neighbours.

I am not politician enough to enter upon the ſubject very deeply, but I can tell the impreſſion which any event as it ariſes to my obſervation has upon myſelf, and I think it is a duty incumbent on every man to ſpeak his ſentiments on public matters, where he thinks they may chance to be uſeful.

It

It ſeems to me, that at the preſent moment we ſuffer ourſelves to be too much blinded by our exiſting proſperity, and that we do not therefore ſufficiently attend to the cauſes of it. Every thing is fooliſhly attributed to *miniſters*, who have certainly the leaſt right of any to our praiſes; for in almoſt every inſtance "they have "done thoſe things which they ought not to have done." We ſeem to forget that the infancy of America in manufactures, and the unſettled ſituation of France for the laſt four years, are grand cauſes, whoſe effects will not only every year grow leſs and leſs, but ere long will operate againſt us, in a proportion which intelligent and thinking men are looking forward to with dread and diſmay.

The circumſtance of Dr. Prieſtley's ſon being lately naturalized in France, ſeems very trivial in itſelf, and certainly is ſo; but it ſtrikes me that the following ſpeech of M. Francois, to the national aſſembly on that occaſion, (and which I beg leave to recommend to a place in your patriotic repoſitory) clearly points out many evils exiſting in this country, which if not redreſſed, and ſoon too, may prove moſt ſeriouſly injurious to us.

Perſecution is in itſelf one of the moſt abominable monſters that is known to the mind of man; and, when to a diſpoſition of this kind, too fatally evinced in the caſe of the Birmingham ſufferers laſt ſummer, is added that inſecurity of property, and uncertainty and danger, of even life itſelf, for a mere difference in opinion on ſpeculative points, which thoſe events too ſhamefully proved; have we not ſerious cauſe to dread, that the example of Mr. Prieſtley may be followed by hundreds of our beſt

of

of our beſt manufacturers, who from the immenſe weight and daily accumulation of taxes will ſoon I fear have additional motives to impel them to ſeek that aſylum which is now ſo near, and which the above able orator, ſo emphatically, and ſo beautifully holds out to them. Perſecution and oppreſſion once drained France of her beſt manufacturers and artiſans, and enriched England by their ingenuity and their labours; the ſame cauſes may operate the other way equally as advantageous to them, and as deſtructive to our intereſts. I ſincerely rejoice in the freedom of the French, but I love my country, and her intereſts are ever neareſt and deareſt to my Heart. It appears to me that nothing but a ſpeedy *reform* can prevent us from as rapidly declining, as we have greatly and glorioufly attained the ſummit we are now at; may we take heed in time is my fervent wiſh; may we recollect as we ought, paſt events, and be able ſtill to congratulate ourſelves with the following maxim,

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum
Happy are they whom other men's harms make wary.

ALBANICUS.

On Friday the 8th of June, Mr. Prieſtley, the ſon of Dr. Prieſtley, was introduced to the bar of the National Aſſembly of France, where he pronounced the following addreſs:—

"William Prieſtley is eager to pay the juſt tribute "of his reſpects to the firſt magiſtrates of a people, who "have rendered themſelves famous not only in England, "but in all nations who ſet a value on liberty, on energy "and virtue. 'Go' ſaid his father to him, 'go and live

"among this brave and hoſpitable people; learn from "them to deteſt tyranny, and to love liberty."

"William Prieſtley is therefore come into the coun- "try of Frenchmen, he propoſes to fix his reſidence "there; and he deſires to enjoy the rights of a French "citizen, a title which he prefers an hundred times to "that of the king of an arbitrary ſtate; if he ſhall be- "come a member of a ſovereign people, who will honour "him by their adoption, he ſhall always have preſent "to his memory and heart, in the exerciſe of his duties "as a citizen and a ſoldier, the public ſpirit of the na- "tion, the energy of its magiſtrates, and the leſſons of "his father."

To this addreſs the Preſident returned the following anſwer:

"All freemen are brothers, and certainly it is not "without pride that France will adopt the ſon of Dr. "Prieſtley. The Aſſembly invites you to the honour of "the ſitting."

The ſhort addreſs of Mr. Prieſtley was received with the moſt enthuſiaſtic applauſe.

M. Francois.—"Dr. Prieſtley, on ſending his ſon to "France, confided to my care the precious depoſit. I "cannot better fulfil the confidence, than by recom- "mending the ſon of a great man to the repreſentatives "of a great people. It is not for Dr. Prieſtley that I "ſpeak;—genius has no need of apology; but for the "French people, who feel the duty of manifeſting to "him their gratitude. Some few words, pronounced "from this roſtrum, beſides that they will be a juſt ho-

"mage

" mage rendered to a celebrated man, ought naturally " to precede and explain the decree, of which I mean " to ſubmit the outline to your deliberation.

" Who is the man ſo barbarous, as not to know Dr. " Prieſtley by his works and his reputation? He belongs, " his genius and by his labours, to the learned world— " to the Friends of Liberty, by the eloquent writings " that he has publiſhed for the noble cauſe—to all good " men, by his virtues;—but he belongs, above all, to " the French Revolution, by all that he has done—by " all that he has ſuffered for it. He was one of the firſt " men in England who raiſed his voice in its defence, " and to make known its true principles. But it never " was with impunity that a man dedicated his life to the " emancipation of a people, and the happineſs of his " ſpecies. More than 40 volumes, by which he had en- " larged the ſphere of human intelligence, eſtabliſhed " the principles of the preſent morality, inſpired a gene- " rous hatred againſt the tyrants of ſociety, and againſt " the vices which are the tyrants of the ſoul, juſtly en- " titled him to the honour of being deteſted by all thoſe " who had founded their enjoyments or their power " upon the ignorance, the corruption, and the blindneſs " of mankind. Scarcely had he declared himſelf the " defender and the apoſtle of our conſtitution, than there " ſprang forth againſt him the knight-errant of the Eng- " liſh literature, who, in the vapouring paroxyſms of " an imagination filled with paladines and prodigies, " raiſed a monument (as brilliant as it was diſgraceful) " to French chivalry, and to the ſervitude of man. This " extravagant rhetorician called the popular vengeance " on the head of Dr. Prieſtley, and he prepared his pre- " ſcription by his writings, as once an infamous writer

" prepared

" prepared by his comedies the puniſhment of Socrates. " But the names of Socrates and of Prieſtley will live ho- " nourably in the memories of mankind, while thoſe of " Ariſtophanes and of this writer, in proportion as they " traverſe future generations, will be loaded with the " opprobrium and execrations of all good men.

" Dr. Prieſtley was to preſide at one of thoſe feaſts " which were held in every county in England, in ho- " nour of the French Revolution. It entered into the " plan of its adverſaries to oppoſe this feaſt, and to " ſpread terror among all the friends of the French Re- " volution. They calumniated Dr. Prieſtley as they " calumniate ourſelves, by ſaying, that he wiſhed to " operate a grand overthrow of the eſtabliſhed govern- " ment. To render him odious, a hand-bill was poſted " in his name, by which they were to cry for the ſub- " verſion of the throne, and the deſtruction of the par- " liament. They accuſed him of imaginary crimes, to " have occaſion to commit, the night after, crimes too " real. Oh, ſhame to Birmingham ſedition!—Oh, the " eternal infamy of the oppreſſors! Can I paint to you " the outrages done to humanity—to virtue, in this ill- " fated night! Figure to yourſelves this illuſtrious man, " forced to fly with his family—to wander all night with- " out aſylum, and without guide;—he, whoſe whole " life had been the continual effuſion of a tender nature; " in whom it was a natural inſtinct to ſpread benefits " and knowledge—actually proſcribed—purſued by aſ- " ſaſſins, and ſeeing from afar the flames devouring his " houſe—the ſanctuary of peaceable virtue—the pre- " cious depot of human intelligence, that no ſenſible " man could approach but with reſpect! Such was the " ſerenity of his pure conſcience, that he was unwilling

" to

" to quit his houſe—that he could not permit himſelf to " believe that he had one enemy upon earth, and they " were obliged to force him away from the incendiaries, " as he thought that his merely preſenting himſelf would " calm their fury. His ſon, whom you ſee, ſtill of a " tender age, remained alone among them. He reſcued " manuſcripts from the flames; and implored them, " with tears, to ſpare the monuments of his father's " glory: but their miſſion was, above all things, to burn " his works; for that which, of all things, vice dreads " the moſt, is the writings of virtue.—Theſe banditti " were unknown at Birmingham and in the county of " Warwick. I dare even aſſure you that they were not " Engliſhmen, and that they were probably the de- " ſcendants of thoſe barbarians, who many ages ago " poured from their foreſts in the North, with their axes " in their hands, and entered a city celebrated by its ge- " nius and its arts, to overthrow its temples, break " down the ſtatues of its gods, and mutilate the concep- " tions of its greateſt maſters.

" The Cabinet of St. James's purſued and puniſhed a " few of theſe malefactors. Inadequate indemnity has " been given to Dr. Prieſtley; but who is it that can " render him back his manuſcripts, the fruit of ſo much " toil and watching? Who can render to the world the " lights and advantages that would have reſulted from " the experiments made by a hand ſo adroit in a cabinet, " one of the richeſt in the world? Theſe experiments " by which he knows, with ſo much ſagacity, to put " Nature to interrogatories, to force her to avow her " ſecrets, and to imitate her in her moſt aſtoniſhing phe- " nomena! Who knows that there would not have re- " ſulted from theſe experiments, a diſcovery by which " he would once more have burſt the narrow limits of

" our knowledge; he, who by diſcovering the different " weight of airs, prepared the imagination of Frenchmen " for that brilliant invention which has enlarged the do- " minion of man!

" If the *Sorbonne*, that hideous daughter of dark- " neſs, had burnt the cabinet of Paſcal, of Torricelli, " how much muſt the ſciences have ſuffered even to this " day? If *Seguier*, that eternal perſecutor of genius, " had ſtifled its voice in the flames; if inſtead of burning " the printed works of Jean-Jaques, he had burnt the " manuſcripts, who knows if the firſt people of the " earth had not ſtill languiſhed in ſlavery?—The autho- " rity of the magiſtrates of a people has for its limits the " empire which they inhabit; but a man of genius is " the magiſtrate of the univerſe! This magiſtracy exer- " ciſes its power without axes or ſtripes, but all who " underſtand, and all who think, obey him! and his " authority knows no bounds but thoſe of the world!

" Sometimes we have ſeen genius proſtitute itſelf to " kings, or to factions, and preſent that mixture of " grandeur and baſeneſs, which forces the mind to ad- " mire him even whom the heart deteſts. But England " and America will tell you that Dr. Prieſtley has always " lived far apart from all intrigues and from all ambi- " tion; that frequently he has fled from men that he " might love them the more, and ſerve them the more, " and that in his own manners he recals the time, pure " from all the vices with which corruption has ſince ſul- " lied it, when learning was not an inſtrument in the " hands of ambition, and when they knew but one and " the ſame word to expreſs knowledge and wiſdom. A " numerous youth actually preſs around him, and re- " ceive his leſſons at the college of Hackney, where I " formerly

" formerly have heard the voice of Dr. Price celebrate " the charms of virtue, and, the new *Fenelon*, made it " loved by its eloquence, as much as he commanded its " practice by his example.

" Let us give thanks to the deſtiny that brings and " fixes in France the ſon of Dr. Prieſtley, and let us " ſeize with eagerneſs this occaſion to convert into a " grand act of national gratitude, thoſe honours that " the citizens and ſocieties of the kingdom have ad- " dreſſed to this celebrated martyr of the French Revo- " lution. Verſailles was in former times the aſylum of " kings, vanquiſhed by their rivals, or expelled by their " people. May the National Aſſembly be to-day, may " it be for ever, the aſylum of perſecuted virtue. The " welcome given to the ſon of Dr. Prieſtley will do more " honour to France, than the reception which it for- " merly gave to the rebel and catholic poſterity of the " houſe of Stuart, who drew out a long and miſerable " exiſtence at our court, and languiſhed in the deſpair " of not being able to ſacrifice their people to their " church.

" May the honourable decree by which you are " about to adopt the ſon of Dr Prieſtley pour ſome con- " ſolation into the breaſt of an unfortunate father, who " follows with ſolicitude the ſteps of his ſon through the " movements of a great people, who for three years " have given to the world the ſpectacle of their virtue, " and who arm themſelves with the weapons by which " they were formerly enſlaved, to defend themſelves " againſt tyrants, who may tire out their patience, but " who can never ſubdue their courage—into the breaſt " of a virtuous mother, who, ſeparated from her ſon, " can taſte no repoſe—for what anxiety and what ſorrow

" are

" are comparable to the anxiety and ſorrow of a mother!
" May this decree conciliate to us all the good will of
" the repreſentatives of the Engliſh people, who are
" about to ſupport in parliament the cauſe of Dr. Prieſt-
" ley, and of this people themſelves, with whom ſo ma-
" ny ſentiments of common intereſt unite us, and with
" whom we partake; above all, the lively indignation
" which they feel againſt the authors of the ſedition at
" Birmingham! May it in fine prove to Europe, that if
" on one hand, France is forced to vomit forth from her
" territory, the fanatics and traitors who agitate and be-
" tray her, on the other ſhe opens her arms to virtuous
" men who do her honour, and ſhe enriches herſelf by
" thus replacing the vices by the virtues."

ON THE

FATAL EFFECTS OF DISCORD AND DIVISIONS,

AN ESSAY.

" An Houſe, or a Kingdom divided againſt itſelf, is brought to
" deſolation." *Jeſus Chriſt.*

IT muſt be matter of grief to every benevolent mind to look round the world and obſerve how mankind ſtand diſtinguiſhed and divided from each other: to obſerve a race of beings, made for ſociety, and capable of performing reciprocal offices of kindneſs and friendſhip,

yet

yet ſo far deviating from the benevolent intentions of their Creator, as to gather themſelves into particular hoſtile *clans*, in order to oppoſe, perſecute and deſtroy each other.

Such is the diſorder of mankind, that in this reſpect they become worſe than the brutes themſelves: inſomuch that the various evil diſpoſitions and vices of men do repreſent under one ſpecies, all the various bad propenſities of the ſeveral ſpecies of the inferior creation. Reaſon, that nobleſt gift of heaven, is loſt! at leaſt it appears ſo; or given up in exchange for ſome brutal qualities, ſuch as the cunning of the fox, or the cruelty of the wolf.

Here and there one, like *Iſhmael*, ſets up as it were for a vaſt ſpecies alone. *His hand is againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt him.* He becomes a deſpot and a tyrant. Others aſſociate together, not ſo much for mutual ſecurity, as to drive away, or deſtroy all that are not of their own ſociety, though perhaps more innocent and more uſeful than themſelves. So that whenever ſeparations, or enmities, are obſervable among the brute creation of *different ſpecies*, the ſame may be found among men, who are all of the *ſame ſpecies*. This is a melancholy proof of the degeneracy of human nature; and at the ſame time affords too much reaſon to fear that the diſorder is almoſt paſt a remedy. However as it is certainly the wiſh of the humane, benevolent mind, that this dreadful diſorder ſhould at leaſt in part be removed, ſo it is as certainly their duty to attempt it. If they ſucceed, though but in a ſmall degree, they will have abundant reaſon to rejoice; if they fail, they will have the conſolation to reflect that they have not buried their talent in the earth.

It

It is certain that in many inſtances *differences* are unavoidable; and when men differ, they may, and, ſometimes they ſhould debate matters. But then the diſpute ought to be managed fairly, and ſo as the difference may not create diſcord, nor be followed with uncharitableneſs and diviſion. The debate ſhould never grow ſo warm as to enflame the paſſions, leſt anger ſhould by degrees ſettle into malice and deliberate hatred, and at length carry the diſputants to wars and mutual deſtruction.

How often has it happened in the world, that even a difference in ſome ſpeculative point, eſpecially of a religious nature, has produced thoſe conteſts by which men have been irreconcileably divided; whereas, could they have allowed themſelves to differ, no injury could have ariſen either to themſelves, or to the cauſe for which they were ſo earneſtly concerned! The difficulties acknowledged to be in ſome points, and the fury with which they are purſued by ſome who either deny or doubt them, is aſtoniſhing! If church communion, or ſalvation, depended upon a contentious diſpoſition, or a metaphyſical head, rather than a meek temper and an honeſt heart, it could not be more! Such is the ridiculous eagerneſs of theſe angry people, that they will ſcarcely let a perſon heſitate a little, or enquire; nay ſcarcely propoſe a queſtion to them; or if he do raiſe an objection, though with the greateſt mildneſs and modeſty, they immediately ſtigmatize him for a heretic. Surely ſuch perſons underſtand the meaning of St. Paul, when he ſays *hold faſt*; *contend earneſtly*, &c. to be, that men muſt ſhut their eyes as cloſe as poſſible, or ſee only through certain eſtabliſhed ſpectacles!

The

The pretence of bringing mankind to an unity of opinion in matters of faith, and of uniformity in ceremonies and outward worſhip, has torn the Chriſtian world into ten thouſand pieces, and been the chief engine of cruelty, hatred and diviſion.* What tragedies has this ſenſeleſs project occaſioned even within the pale of the Church; and how often has it changed the miniſters of the Goſpel of Peace, into incendiaries and the abettors of war and deſolation? The Divine Author of our holy religion has laid down a moſt amiable rule to diſtinguiſh his genuine followers;—"*By this ſhall all* "*men know that ye are my diſciples, even if ye have Love* "*one towards another.*" But alas! how little is this rule obſerved by thoſe who call themſelves Chriſtians; nay rather, how generally is it degraded and neglected! He has alſo directed his people to "*call no man maſter,*" in a religious ſenſe; becauſe *He alone is Maſter.* Yet a number of men have aſſumed to themſelves, the power of his Apoſtles, declared themſelves to be their immediate and uninterrupted ſucceſſors, and that by virtue of this

* The love of power, authority, and worldly dominion, has made ſome abuſe the ſacred name of the Church of God, to ſerve purpoſes of tyranny, ambition, and cruelty. Others through a mean, peeviſh, and uncharitable ſpirit, fond of impoſing upon their brethren particular modes and notions, and blending doctrines and ceremonies of mere human authority, as of the ſame importance with the eſſential laws of our Saviour's kingdom, have profanely and ſacrilegiouſly made uſe of the ſame venerable name of the Church of God, to cover their worldly deſigns and intereſts of particular parties, factions, and bodies of men; and this, in the proper and higheſt ſenſe of the word, is an inſtance of the ſin of SCHISM. But the religion of Chriſt, conſiſts not in union of opinion in the bond of *ignorance*, nor unity of practice in the bond of *hypocriſy*, but the union of the ſpirit—the unity of a chriſtian and charitable ſpirit, in the bond of PEACE. *Dr. Samuel Clark.*

this ſucceſſion they have an indiſputable right to lord it, and be maſters over the faith and conſciences of their flocks. Some of them are daring enough to pretend that both the manſions of bliſs, and the flames of vengeance in a future ſtate, are to be aſſigned to every man according to their directions; and others think themſelves empowered at leaſt to determine who ſhall be in repute, and who ſhall lie under infamy and diſgrace, who ſhall be dignified, and who ſhall be deſpiſed in the preſent life—and this with little, if any regard to the moral character, or public deportment of the party concerned; but rather, according as he agrees to, or diſſents from, what they chuſe to fix upon as the ſtandard of orthodoxy.

If from theſe cauſes of hatred and diviſion, ariſing from various ſentiments in matters of religion, our attention is turned to diviſions of a civil and political nature, their number will be great, and the pernicious conſequences of them equally apparent.

Mankind combine themſelves into a form of government, to ſecure themſelves againſt common dangers, and to promote their common felicity. Union has ever been eſteemed a proof of wiſdom, as well as a means of power. But diviſion deſtroys the original of civil government, and renders it almoſt, if not altogether uſeleſs. "Where envying and ſtrife is (ſays St. Paul) "there is confuſion, and every evil work:" and when anger and revenge have full poſſeſſion of the mind, they will appear in overt acts, ſo as to diſturb, if not deſtroy the public tranquillity. There are various cauſes which occaſion diſcord and diviſion among thoſe who live in the ſame country, ſpeak the ſame language, and are governed

ed by the ſame laws: but the moſt prevailing cauſe of theſe evil diſpoſitions and that which is moſt reproachful and unreaſonable to continue from age to age, is *ſuſpicion* and jealouſy.* Men ſtudiouſly put wrong meanings upon the expreſſions, and wrong deſigns upon the actions of each other; and though each party denies the conſequences which the other would make neceſſary, yet they will not be induced to believe each other, or to give up the debate between them. By a ſort of inverted logic, the truth of the *concluſion* is not to be determined by the reaſon or truth of the *premiſes*, but the truth of the *premiſes* by the conveniency or advantage of the *concluſion*. Sometimes too, very ſmall differences, and theſe only of a ſpeculative nature, ſhall be ſo improved, or rather perverted, by a ſuſpicious, jealous temper, as to be attended with all manner of miſchief. This produces angry words, and dreadful charges of things or deſigns, perhaps never ſo much as thought of by the party accuſed, yet aſſerted by the oppoſite ſide with all the confidence of demonſtration; this too againſt whole bodies of men with whom the accuſer can have no ſort of intercourſe, and of whoſe ſentiments it is highly probable he has not the leaſt knowledge. Yet ſuch is the jealouſy, ſuch is the evil propenſity of human nature, that wherever theſe ſurmiſes, theſe malicious inſinua-

* The people in the villages in France are firmly perſuaded that one of the principal duties of parents of the Proteſtant Communion, is *to cut the throats of their children* when they ſuſpect them of having an inclination to go over to the Catholic religion.—What contributes greatly to keep up this ſpirit of intolerance, and the hatred of one party of citizens againſt the other, is the miſchievous cuſtom of *perpetuating animoſities by monuments and feſtivals.* Such is the annual proceſſion at *Thoulouſe*, in which God is ſolemnly praiſed for the murder of four thouſand perſons. *Voltaire on Toleration.*

tions are begun, they fpread with amazing rapidity, and proceed till all confidence is deftroyed, and the mind becomes filled with the moft frightful apprehenfions. This too is fo fpreading and infectious an evil, that the fufpicions of one, fhall prefently feize an hundred, and then they ftrengthen each other in thefe falfe, uncharitable conceptions. In vain do moderate, honeft men, attempt to foften the impetuofity of the contending parties, or perfuade them to hear and underftand each other. If like Mofes, they fay, "Sirs, ye are brethren, why do "ye wrong one towards another?" the anfwer will be from both, but always from the more powerful party, "Who made you rulers, or judges over us?"

Such, then, are the fatal confequences of difcord and diviſion. Oh Britain, land of my nativity, may thy fons fee the awful criſis now at hand! May they equally avoid the mifchiefs arifing from popular frenzy on the one hand, and the no lefs dangerous, though more fecret and inſidious artifices of intereſted demagogues, on the other. May they remember, that they are members of the fame fociety, governed by the fame laws, and above all, that they profefs themfelves the difciples of that Maſter, who is emphatically ſtiled the PRINCE OF PEACE.

Hull, June 4, 1792. MERCATOR.

ON THE

ENGLISH CONSTITUTION,

UNDER THE MONARCHY OF ALFRED THE GREAT.

WE have already remarked that a number of the Saxon tribes, while in their own country, were united

ted together for their mutual protection and defence. In like manner was the Saxon Heptarchy connected; and their mode of union, became part of the Constitution, when the seven kingdoms united one king. The matter was simply this; one of the seven kings, was always chosen Generalissimo over the whole body; and they appointed him a standing council, of a certain number of deputies, from each state, without whose advice and concurrence, it is probable he could not act.

However, we do not mean to make any observation, upon the powers vested in that standing council; but only to point out that body of men, as the origin of our House of Lords. Those deputies, who composed this great standing council, were appointed to their trust, by the joint consent of the King and Parliament, of the little kingdom from whence they were sent. And when Alfred the great, united the seven kingdoms into one, he, undoubtedly, with the approbation of the people, incorporated this great council as a separate branch of the Witenagemot, or Parliament; so that they still continued to be the King's great council, and a branch of the legislative authority; which they are at this day. In confirmation of which, it is observable that the consent of the Parliament, continued necessary, for creating a Baron of the Realm, about as low down as Henry the VII; which is the only title, by which any man can obtain his seat in our House of Lords, and not as Duke, Marquis, Earl, Viscount, &c.

From whence it appears, that the same authority, that is, the consent of the King and Parliament, continued as necessary for the creation of a Lord of Parliament, as for creating one of the great council to the Generalissimo, of our Saxon kings, during the Heptarchy. And

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in all probability it will some time or other, be a doubt, whether the King's patent alone will be self sufficient, to create a Baron of the Realm, without the consent of Parliament—agreeably to the original institution, and confirmed by the customs and and usage of so many ages.

The Saxons had no sooner made a conquest of England from the Britons, than they began to quarrel among themselves which of the seven kingdoms should be the greatest. This contest was carried on with various success, for a number of years, till at last they became happily and finally united into one, under Alfred the Great; a Prince of the most exalted merit, that ever graced the English throne from that day to this.

He was a great warrior, an able statesman, and a person of great learning; he knew and loved the Constitution of his country; and above all, was an honest man, and a great friend to mankind. It was a singular providence to this kingdom, that the new modelling of the Government, should fall under the management of so great a genius; that was able to reconcile such a variety of interests, as must be affected by the necessary changes, which took place upon that occasion.

It is needless to mention that, after the union of the seven kingdoms, a reduction of members to serve in Parliament, became absolutely necessary. Because it was then impracticable, by reason of their numbers for the same members to attend, in one parliament, that used to attend in seven, without such anarchy and confusion, as must counteract the very end of their meeting.

Nature herself has confined, or limitted, the number of men in all societies met together to inform, and be informed,

informed, by argument and debate, within the natural powers of hearing and ſpeech. So that the queſtion, in this caſe, muſt have been, how to reduce the repreſentatives of the people in Parliament, to be a convenient number, to tranſact the buſineſs of a nation; and at the ſame time, to preſerve the elective power of the people unhurt? a queſtion of no ſmall difficulty to determine, conſidering the various intereſts that were affected by it.

Let us now proceed to the formation of one Parliament which was now to be eſtabliſhed in the room of ſeven, for the ſervice of the whole united kingdom.

They excluded from this Parliament all the repreſentatives of the rural tithings, as being a body of men the moſt numerous of any, conſidered collectively, and yet elected by the feweſt people in proportion; which muſt be very evident, ſince the rural part of the kingdom, muſt of courſe be more thinly inhabited than the towns. Beſides, the town tithings, or boroughs, where a great number of inhabitants are collected together, upon a ſmall compaſs of ground, were, undoubtedly, the moſt conveniently ſituated, for the commodious exerciſe of the elective power of the people. And the towns being few, in compariſon to the rural tithings, and at the ſame time diſperſed over the whole country, were the beſt adapted to receive the regulations, they intended to make, in their plan of forming the conſtituent parts of the new Parliament.

In ſatisfaction for aboliſhing the repreſentatives of the rural tithings, they ſubſtituted two new bodies of men. The firſt, as hath been hinted before, were the members of the great council of the nation, which attended the Ge-

neraliſſimo under the Heptarchy; who were upon this occaſion, incorporated as a diſtinct branch of the Parliament under the monarchy. And whatever their power might be as the King's great council, they were now incorporated as a diſtinct branch of our Parliament; as a body of great freeholders exerciſing their legiſlative power in perſon; and for that reaſon have ſince, by way of eminence, been ſtiled Barons of the Realm. It is upon this ground, that our Houſe of Commons are of opinion that a Lord of Parliament hath no right to interfere in matters of elections.

Though the Barons of the realm carried into parliament the greateſt concern for the intereſt of the rural part of the kingdom, of which, perhaps, they were the greateſt proprietors; yet, not being elective, they were not ſuch a body of men as the Conſtitution, and the ſafety of the inhabitants of the rural tithings required. And therefore, they conſtituted ſhire-elections, for two members to repreſent the ſhire in parliament, and thoſe repreſentatives were the origin of our knights of the ſhire.

The Barons of the realm and the Knights of the ſhires, we conſider as two bodies of men that were ſubſtituted at the eſtabliſhment of the Monarchy, under Alfred the Great, in the place of thoſe repreſentatives that uſed to ſerve under the Heptarchy, for the rural tithings. The alteration that was made with reſpect to the towns, or boroughs, was ſimply this: that all boroughs that uſed to ſend one member to the little parliament to which they belonged under the Heptarchy, ſhould for the future ſend two to the great parliament of England.

Thus

Thus the seven kingdoms of the Heptarchy became finally united under one king, or chief magistrate, and one parliament; by which means, the members were properly reduced to a convenient number, to hear and to be heard; to inform, and to be informed, by argument and debate; which is no small difficulty in a government founded upon the common rights of mankind, where the elective power of the people is diffused thro' a whole kingdom like that of England.

We will now conclude this part of our subject, by enumerating the constituent parts of the parliament, as it was thus new modelled, under the inspection of Alfred the Great:

First, it consisted of the Barons of the realm, created by the mutual consent of the king and parliament.

Secondly, of Knights of the Shires, elected by the rural inhabitants of the shires, paying their shot, and bearing their lot.

Thirdly, of the Burgesses, who represented the people of the towns, and were elected by every resident inhabitant that paid his shot, and bore his lot.

We have thus endeavoured to give the history of the mode of government introduced into this kingdom by our Saxon forefathers, from their first landing in England, to the union of the seven kingdoms into one, when the Constitution of this country became finally established, as a great nation. And whoever attentively considers the matter will see, that our Saxon forefathers had only one mode of government, which they made use of on all occasions, both to govern a town, a city, a wapon-

take,

take, a ſhire, or a kingdom; and that the power veſted in our Saxon kings was circumſcribed by the ſame rule, was of the ſame genius, ſpirit, and temper, as that veſted in the chief magiſtrate of a city. The only difference between them was in the circle, and duration of their authority; the care of one being annual, and confined within the walls of his city; and the care of the other being for life, and extended over the whole kingdom.

There were three things eſſentially neceſſary to form a Saxon government, which they applied to every caſe where a combined intereſt was concerned; and theſe were, a court of council, a court of law, and a chief magiſtrate. A court of council to conſider what was for the benefit of the whole ſociety; and to make laws, orders, and regulations for the good government of the people within that juriſdiction. A court of law to enforce due obedience to the acts, and orders of the court of council. One chief magiſtrate, who was veſted with the executive authority to adminiſter the conſtitution to the people; and whoſe duty it was to take care that every man, within his juriſdiction, paid a due obedience to the law.

In this manner every Borough was furniſhed with a council, a court of law, and a chief magiſtrate. Every weapontake and rural tithing had the ſame. Every ſhire had likewiſe a court of council, called the ſhiregemot, and a court of law called the ſhire court, and a chief magiſtrate. The ſame eſtabliſhment held good in the adminiſtration of the government of the whole kingdom: for the court of council was the high court of parliament; the king's court was the court of law; and the king himſelf was the chief magiſtrate.

As

As it was impoſſible for the chief magiſtrate in great towns, to execute the buſineſs without encroaching too much upon his time, and hindering his attendance upon the higher orders of the ſtate, where his preſence was more particularly neceſſary; they elected a number of men whoſe buſineſs it was to aſſiſt the chief magiſtrate in the execution of his duty at home. The principal of theſe were what we now call the aldermen of a town; and there were beſides many other inferior officers.

The firſt duty that the chief magiſtrates of the tithings, had out of their own diviſion, was to attend at the weapontake meeting; where they formed the weapontake court of council. Their ſecond duty was, to attend at the ſhire-gemots; where they again formed the court of council. And laſtly, they attended in the wittena-gemot; where they formed the common council in the high court of parliament.

It is very evident from hiſtory, and I think it is generally agreed, that our Saxon Kings after their eſtabliſhment in England, enjoyed the crown during their natural lives; and that at their death their ſucceſſor was elected to his office by the parliament. However, they generally gave the preference to ſome one of the ſame family; who was capable of executing his office in perſon. For our Saxon forefathers had no principle in the mode of government, by which power or office could be obtained peaceably by any other means than by receiving it from ſome body of men, who had a right to give it.

Were an old Saxon to riſe out of his grave, and be told that there was an hereditary right to power, in kings; and that England was ſometimes governed by a child, he would be greatly ſurprized, and tell you it was

was the oddeſt conception that ever entered the mind of man. And yet, as things are now ſituated, wiſe men are of opinion that chance in this caſe is better than chooſing.

This Saxon model of government, when reduced to its firſt principles, has a ſtrong reſemblance to the natural ſtate of things, under which mankind were found to live, at the diſcovery of the new world by Columbus. And we make no doubt but that our American tribes, of native Indians, would naturally fall into our way of government, upon the Saxon principles, with a very little inſtruction.

However, be that as it may, it was a government founded upon the principles of univerſal benevolence. And though we would not be thought to talk like conſtitutional enthuſiaſts, yet we are of opinion, that if ever God Almighty did concern himſelf about forming a government, for mankind to live happily under, it was that which was eſtabliſhed in England, by our Saxon forefathers; under which they continued to live free and happy, for ſix hundred years, before the Norman conqueſt; when for a time it was totally loſt or little regarded.

If we were to ſelect the attributes of good government, we ſhould find them to conſiſt in wiſdom and juſtice. And if we could divide thoſe virtues, from all bad qualities in men, and place ſuch men, and ſuch only, to rule over us, we ſhould eſtabliſh an heaven upon earth. The power of election, which our conſtitution hath diffuſed through the whole nation, will always produce this happy effect, when it is left to operate upon its general principles. For by dividing the country into ſmall

parts,

parts, as our tithings were, the character of every man that was fit to bear an office, was well known amongſt his neighbours; and therefore, when the choice of an officer to preſide over them was their object of election, the concurrent ſentiments of an uninfluenced majority of a multitude of people, would naturally fall upon thoſe men only, who were moſt eminent for their wiſdom and juſtice.

Thus our Saxon forefathers bade the faireſt of any men, to obtain a government formed upon the principles of wiſdom; and their high ſenſe upon this matter, is moſt emphatically expreſſed, by the name they gave to their parliament; which, as hath been ſaid, they called THE WITTENA-GEMOT, or Aſſembly of wiſe and prudent men.

(To be continued.)

EXTRACTS

From Lord Bolingbroke's Dedication to Sir Robert Walpole; prefixed to his Diſſertation on Parties.

"LET the illuſtrious and royal houſe that hath 'been called to the government of theſe kingdoms, 'govern them till time ſhall be no more; but let the 'ſpirit, as well as the letter of the conſtitution they are 'entruſted to preſerve, be, as it ought to be, the ſole "rule

" rule of their government, and the sole support of their
" power: and whatever happens in the course of human
" contingencies, whatever be the fate of particular per-
" sons, of houses, or families, LET THE LIBERTIES OF
" GREAT-BRITAIN BE IMMORTAL.

" They will be so, if that constitution whose genuine
" effects they be, be maintained in purity and vigour.
" A perpetual attention to this great point is therefore
" the interest and duty of every man in Britain; and
" there is scarce any man who may not contribute to the
" advancement of it in some degree. The old may in-
" form the young, and the young may animate the old.
" Even they who are most retired from the scene of busi-
" ness, may be useful in this cause, to those who are in
" it; to those who are heated by the action, distracted
" by the cares, or dissipated by the pleasures of the world.
" I say they may be useful; and I add, that they ought
" to be so to the utmost that their situation allows. Go-
" vernment is the business of those who are appointed
" to controul them;—BUT THE BRITISH CONSTITU-
" TION IS THE BUSINESS OF EVERY BRITON."

THE

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday, July 24

ON THE

ENGLISH CONSTITUTION,

UNDER THE REIGN OF ALFRED THE GREAT.

(Continued from page 287)

IN our laſt chapter on this ſubject, we traced the origin of the Houſe of Lords, and the completion of our Parliament into its preſent form, as a conſequence reſulting from the union of the ſeven kingdoms, which formed the Heptarchy, into a Monarchy or one Kingdom, under the immortal Alfred. We have alſo ſhewn that every Borough was furniſhed with a court of council, a court of law, and a chief magiſtrate. The wars with the Danes had cauſed ſuch diſorders and licentiouſneſs in the kingdom, that vagabonds and vagarants abounded who committed all manner of crimes with impunity. As they had no ſettled abode, upon committing any offence,

they shifted their quarters, and went where it was difficult to discover them.

Alfred was desirous to put a stop to so great a mischief. He revived the division of England into shires or counties, the counties into hundreds, and the hundreds into tithings, and fixed their number, and the limits of each. This being done, all the inhabitants of the kingdom were obliged to belong to some tithing; whoever did not were looked upon as vagabonds, and as such denied the protection of the law. Every householder was to answer for his wife, his children under fifteen years of age, and his domestics. If any one by his way of living fell into suspicion, he was obliged to give security for his good behaviour. In case he could find none, the tithing threw him into prison, to prevent their being liable to the penalty he should incur by any offence,* Thus the householders being responsible for their families, the tithing for the householders, the hundreds for the tithings, and the counties for the hundreds, every one was watchful over their neighbour's actions. If a stranger, guilty of any crime, made his escape, information was taken of the house where he lodged, and if he had been there three days, the master of the family was condemned to pay his fine. But in case he had not staid so long as three days, the householder was acquitted, upon making oath that he was not privy to his crime. Alfred made a collection also of the best laws he could find.

* In China, the police resembles that of King Alfred. Communities are answerable for offences committed within their respective authorities; and when gross crimes are committed, the magistrates of the district in which they happened are severely punished and incapacitated, and the whole community degraded. Mod. Univ. Hist. 8. 153. 172.

find. He inſerted ſome of the judicial laws of the Old Teſtament, and ſeveral of thoſe formerly enacted by INA king of Weſſex, and OFFA king of Mercia, in their reſpective kingdoms. And likewiſe Ethelbert king of Kent, who was the firſt that reduced the Saxon laws into writing. To theſe he added many of his own, adapted to the particular circumſtances of his people.

Such were their ideas of freedom, that one of its fundamental principles was *liberty of perſon*. So tender were the Saxons of impriſoning any perſon (except for a crime) that even their bond-men ſuffered very ſeldom this puniſhment—*vinculis coercere rarum eſt*. Inſtead of diſtreſſing the unfortunate debtor by confinement, the creditor took poſſeſſion of his goods, or lands, according to the valuation of the ſheriff. But if theſe were not ſufficient to diſcharge the claim, the arms of the inſolvent were ſeized as the laſt reſort. They deferred this until every other means of payment failed, for when a Saxon was thus deprived of his arms, he was reputed a ruined man, and was obliged to depend on the charity of his friends for ſubſiſtence. Thus, the unfortunate who has every claim to relief, and ſhould rather have the protection than the puniſhment of law, was not torn from a deſtitute family, and immured in a priſon. No gaol entailed infamy on the wretched, or robbed him of that liberty by which he could ſubſiſt himſelf and family—if not recover, by œconomy and induſtry, the loſſes he had ſuſtained.

Wiſe, juſt and humane in their laws, priſons were only erected for the guilty. They diſtinguiſhed between crimes and misfortunes. Inſtead of confining an innocent man among felons, who taint his morals, prompt him to vice, and lead him to commit every ſpecies of lawleſs

lawless depredation, they preserved his liberty without injustice to his creditor.

No person, with justice, can claim more for a debt than the property possessed. If there be no property, imprisonment cannot be a proper retribution. Confinement is only deserved by those whose actions, when at liberty, have been feloniously destructive of civil society. A prison may gratify the vengeance of some resentful creditors; but it can never be a just discharge of a debt. Although laws may relax their vigour, set the insolvent free, and rescue him from the further prosecution of the merciless plaintiff, yet a gaol can never be an equitable payment: according to every principle of natural justice, no person has a right to punish another without he can prove a wilful injury; and, as being insolvent, can be no wilful injury against the creditor, the unfortunate debtor should not be punished with imprisonment. Sensible of these truths, the Saxons never sent their subjects to goal for debt, where necessity and example too frequently render the most industrious and ingenious members of society the most destructive violators of peace and property.

So tenacious were the Saxons of their personal liberty, that even their kings were its best guardians. Unlike the monarchs of modern date, who have even caused their judges to deem truth a libel, and annex a criminal sense to words never written, in order to imprison the writer of an insignificant paragraph; the kings of those days were too magnanimous even to punish with loss of liberty offences of real magnitude, and against themselves. To the immortal honour of *Alfred*, it is recorded, that he committed one of his judges for imprisoning a man who had thus offended royalty. Among

the

the laws of this excellent king is the following paſſage: —"*Qui immerentem paganum vinculis conſtrinxerit decem "ſolidis, noxam ſarcito.*"—*Whoever ſhall conſtrain undeſervedly, his vaſſal or bondman, with impriſonment, ſhall repay the damage with ten ſhillings.** Inſtead of rendering every perſon liable to impriſonment for not being able to ſecure themſelves from misfortune, and conſequently, inſolvency, our Saxon anceſtors guarded againſt the impriſonment of even one of their vaſſals. As a human being, and a member of ſociety, they compaſſionately and juſtly would not ſuffer ſuch to be impriſoned as had not forfeited their liberty by any crime againſt their fellow creatures. To immure an innocent perſon from the means of labour or induſtry, the Saxons wiſely conſidered, was not only a cruel encroachment on the rights of the individual, but a real injury to the whole community, which thus loſes the advantage every ſtate or ſociety derives from the honeſt employment of its members.† Thus the liberal principles of the Saxon government, like their liberality of manners, afforded national benefit, while it protected the ſubject.

To the free principles of the Saxon government, we are equally indebted for the ſhare and influence the peo-

* A conſiderable ſum in theſe times.

† In the preſent day there are at leaſt twenty thouſand of our fellow ſubjects confined in the different gaols of the kngdom, groaning under the laſh of perſecution and bondage, and devoted to lingering deſtruction. Taking the inhabitants of the kingdom only to amount to ſix millions, the number confined is the *three hundredth part*. The loſs ſuſtained by the nation by the inaction and ſupport of her impriſoned debtors, on the low eſtimate of one ſhilling a day each, amounts to the ſum of 300,000l. annually; beſides which hundreds of our beſt and moſt ingenious artificers and manufacturers are loſt to this country, and the nation deprived of their induſtry and ingenuity. *The Editors.*

ple ſo juſtly claim in the judicatory power. The trial by jury, although preſumed by ſome, with no little light of reaſon, to have been a Britiſh cuſtom, is acknowledged by all to have been completely aſcertained and eſtabliſhed by Alfred. It was even found in the laws of his predeceſſor Ethelred, who lived 300 years before the Conqueſt. In his laws it was enacted, that in every hundred there ſhould be a court, in which twelve ancient freemen, with the lord of the hundred, were ſworn not to condemn the innocent, or acquit the guilty, in whatever cauſes were in their reſpective hundreds ſubmitted to their deciſion. So ſtrictly was this unrivalled privilege preſerved, that Alfred put one of his judges to death, for paſſing ſentence in conſequence of a verdict corruptly obtained upon the votes of the jurors, three of the twelve giving their negative. If the number was ſo ſacred, how much to be revered is the conſtitution of the Jury! This exemplary patriotic king executed another of his judges, for ſentencing with death an *ignoramus* returned by the jury; and a third ſhared the ſame fate for condemning a man upon an inqueſt taken *ex officio*, when the delinquent had not put himſelf upon trial.*

There

* Alfred was ſenſible it would be in vain to oblige his ſubjects to an exact obſervance of the laws, if care were not taken that the magiſtrates ſhould give them a good example. Hiſtory takes notice of his executing four and forty Judges within the ſpace of one year, for not doing juſtice.†

† *He uſed to re-examine the cauſes tried in his abſence, and in caſe he found any injuſtice done out of favour or intereſt, he puniſhed the judges ſeverely; if they pleaded ignorance, he ſharply reprimanded them, and aſked how they durſt preſume to take a commiſſion to determine about life and property, when they knew themſelves ſo wretchedly unqualified! and ordered them either to know better or quit their poſt. Thus the Earls and great men rather than be turned out of their office with diſgrace, applied themſelves to ſtudy. See Mirror of Juſtice. c. 20. and Matm lib. 2. p. 25.*

There was likewise a similar law made in the reign of Ethelred, when the Britons and Saxons began to lose their mutual animosities, and to interchange reciprocal and affectionate services. This law enacted that twelve men of understanding, &c. composed of six English and six Welsh might be chosen, to administer justice to both parties.

In these times of simplicity, freedom, and impartial justice, if a crime extended only to shameful punishment, as the pillory, whipping, &c. the penance might be reduced to a fine in proportion to the nature of the fault, and the character of the person against whom it was committed; but even the assessment was not left to the arbitrary discretion of the judge or justice, it was levied in the presence of the head of the court, by the twelve who formed the jury of Frilingi, or freemen.

Until the above period, we have only instances of the accused being tried by a jury of freemen. But the glorious privilege of every subject being tried *per pares*, or his equals, was a subsequent benefit which arose from an abuse of the former principle. The Saxons, who encreased in dignity and consequence, left the performance of this service to their inferiors, &c. these lost their ancient right, from the judges and sheriffs not thinking them sufficiently elevated in rank to be company for them in their judicial vocations. This added to the growing pride and insolence of the Danes, who affected to despise so rural a judicature, as well as the fellowship of what they considered the Saxon freemen, had almost entirely lost this invaluable privilege to the country. But the wise king Alfred, whose mind no sooner penetrated into an abuse, than it perceived a remedy, not only restored the practise of juries, but improved the principle, so as

to

to render it the pride of Britain, and the envy of every other country. To prevent the lives and liberties of his inferior fubjects being expofed to the partial dictates and decifions of haughty fuperiority, and higher ranks from being convicted by the prejudiced refentments of the lower clafs, he, with the advice of his Wittenagemot, eftablifhed the law of every perfon being tried by his equals.

This fundamental principle of juftice, which forms one of the three pillars fupporting the fabric of our conftitution, was received even with awe and reverence by the tyrannous duke, who, either by art or force, endeavoured to fubvert every other liberty.

This inveterate enemy to freedom and poffeffion, fubmitted to have the following caufe determined by this eftablifhed law of the land. William having given his brother-in-law, Odo, a large territory in Kent, with the earldom of the county; and he, taking advantage of the king being difpleafed with the arch-bifhop of Canterbury, poffeffed himfelf of fome of the lands of that fee. Landfrank fucceeding the arch-bifhop, and being informed of this infringement, petitioned the king for juftice, *fecundum legem terræ*, according to the law of the land. The king accordingly fummoned a county court, where after a debate of three days, in the prefence of lords, bifhops, &c. judgment was given for the arch-bifhop, upon the votes of the freemen. This trial being decided upon the firft principles of juries, proves that William rather chofe to give the advantage in favour of the people, than violate that facred law, which he might have done on there not being twelve peers or equals; their being at that time no conftituent Houfe of Peers where the earl could have been tried.

From

From this view of the British and Saxon governments, we find that system of legislature and judiciary privilege, which forms a constitution, as Sir William Temple observes, "That has been celebrated as the "truest and justest temper that has been ever found out "between dominion and liberty! and it seems to be a "strain of what Heraclitus said was the only skill or "knowledge of any value in politics, which was the secret "of governing ALL by ALL." Miscellanies pt. 2. 255.

This is the Constitution which Mr. Batley thus elegantly says, "is allowed by all who have studied it, to "be constructed on a plan the most excellent; and though "this beautiful edifice is certainly much impaired by time, "there are, I trust, no dilapidations that may not be re-"stored, without altering its constitution; a work so de-"servedly applauded we ought to retouch with all the de-"licacy and precaution a judicious artist would employ to "renovate a painting that was at once the rival of nature."

Having thus traced the original right we have to be consulted in the formation of our laws, and the protection of our persons and properties by a jury, from their arbitrary execution; we must next, though reluctantly, turn our view from this fair fabric of freedom, to scenes of the darkest despotism,—scenes which the free-born mind will contemplate with *horror*, till we come to the period when, at Runnymede, we shall see it at the point of the sword, and once more, rise like a Phœnix out of its own ashes.

ON THE

ABUSE OF WORDS,

AN ESSAY.

IT is an obſervation of a great moral philoſopher, that "there are perſons who take ſo little care to lay aſide "words, which in their primary notation have ſcarce any "clear and diſtinct ideas annexed to them, that by an "unpardonable negligence they familiarly uſe words "which the propriety of language has fixed to very im-"portant ideas *without any meaning at all*;" or as it might have been added, with a meaning very foreign to their juſt acceptation. Nothing has introduced greater confuſion or diſcord into the world than ſuch a wretched abuſe and perverſion of words. Thus of late the word REPUBLICAN has become a term of reproach, for thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves from the thoughtleſs or vulgar herd, by an honeſt attachment to the civil and religious rights of man; and is now applied indiſcriminately to all who wiſh for an equal repreſentation of the people In like manner the harſh epithets of DEIST, or INFIDEL is beſtowed upon thoſe who venture to read the works of Doctor Prieſtley, or who after an impartial examination of holy writ, have deviated from the common ſtandard of orthodoxy. But perhaps, nothing

thing has brought more quarrels and uncharitableness into society than the abuse of the words CHURCH and RELIGION; and, on this account, it may not be altogether useless to attempt an explanation of these perverted words, so as to restore them to their original meaning

Religion, then, is the duty which man owes to his Creator, and consists in an acquiescence and obedience to his most holy laws. It is summarily and beautifully explained by our blessed Saviour, when he says, *thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind: this is the first and great commandment, and the second is like unto it, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets—there is none other commandments greater than these.* This then is the religion of Jesus Christ; a religion intended to make man happy in himself, happy with his fellow-creatures, and happy with his God. But how strangely has this word been perverted, and made to signify almost every thing contrary to its original meaning. Absurd rites, vain ceremonies, antic dresses, sanctity of buildings, priestly power and dominion—in short, things the most distant to those in which true religion consists, have been complimented with its venerable name. Thus we find, that a blind injurious zeal, which tramples upon the immutable obligations of equity and humanity; that reason, persecution, and murder, have been consecrated as acts of religion well pleasing to God, and men have been taught to believe that all shall without doubt perish everlastingly who do not understand one incomprehensible mystery.

The Saviour of the world says, "by this shall men know that ye are my disciples if ye have love one to another;"

another;" and again, "This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I have loved you!" But one would ſuppoſe that many of his profeſſed diſciples had *reverſed* this precept, and imagined, that they could not give a more unequivocal proof of their obedience to him, than by introducing rancour and oppreſſion; diſſolving the tendereſt friendſhips; and extinguiſhing the common feelings of humanity out of their hearts—like the famous pirate mentioned by *Brandt* in his hiſtory of the reformation, who ſtiled himſelf *God's friend, but the enemy of all mankind.*

If from this ſtrange, this wicked perverſion of the meaning of the word *Religion*, our attention is directed to the word *Church*, we ſhall find that it has not fared better, nor been more properly applied; but on the contrary has been equally miſunderſtood, and equally abuſed in ſupport of tyranny and perſecution.

According to the new teſtament the word *Church*, ſignifies a congregation or body of chriſtians, either reſiding together in ſome particular place, or as a collective body throughout the world. It ſignifies, and ſhould have been tranſlated *Congregation*. Accordingly the 19th article of the Church of England declares "the viſible church of Chriſt is a *congregation of faithful men.** But how ſtrangely is this word perverted, and what different ideas are generally aſſociated to it! The greater part of mankind

* This is a very good and ſcriptural definition of a church; but it ſeems to be ſtill more clearly defined by the great Mr. *Locke*. "A "church (ſays this incomparable writer) I take to be a voluntary ſociety of men, joining themſelves together of their own accord, in order to the public worſhiping of God, in ſuch manner as they judge acceptable to him, and effectual to the ſalvation of their ſouls."
Locke's Letters on Toleration.

mankind seem to consider it as no more than a building of a particular form,* rendered holy by the prayers and consecration of a priest. Others seem to think it means the clergy alone, in opposition to the laity; or synods and convocations assembled to make creeds and canons for the government of the people at large. If we attend to the scripture account of it, there is not a word which has a more clear and determinate meaning; and yet by the artifices of priests, this little monosyllable has occasioned more confusion, bloodshed and mischief in the christian world than any other in our language.—*The authority of the Church*, is the cover under which corrupt ecclesiastics have introduced all the great abuses of the discipline, and doctrine of the christian religion; *the rights of the church*, they have constantly opposed to the rights of the Laity, and as far as it was in their power subverted them. The consequence of which is that if the christian church was what ecclesiastics made it, or was that christianity, which they have imposed on the implicit belief of their credulous followers, christianity might continue to be the religion of the indolent, thoughtless, vicious part of mankind, but could have little credit, or interest among those who were sober, considerate and virtuous.

After having thus made a few remarks upon the perversion or misapplication of the words *Religion* and *Church*, the transition is easy to that of *Churchmen*, by

C c which

* Establishment, a complex and equivocal term, which some are unable, and others too indolent, or too artful to analyse. The herd of our conformists take it to mean the stones and timber of a cathedral; and to speak the truth, they who use the word in another sense, and ascribe the overthrow of the establishment to an alteration of subscription to the 39 articles, are very little wiser, or else not half so honest. *Archdeacon Blackburn.*

which is here meant those only who call themselves so because their parents did it before them, or because it is the common or fashionable profession of the country in which they happen to be born.* To such alone the following remarks were applied, and to *serious christians* of the Church of England or of any other Church.—These chance, accidental, pretended churchmen above described, may be divided into several kinds. 1st, There is the simple pretended churchman. who believes the Lord of heaven and earth "dwelleth in temples made with hands;" and that he can be worshipped in spirit and in truth, only in these temples pronounced holy by men; and by a particular order of men deriving their authority by an uninterrupted succession from the Apostles. 2dly, There is the morose, uncharitable, pretended churchman, who says to those of different sentiments, "stand by, for I am holier than thou," and is an advocate for Test-laws Fines and Persecutions.† 3dly, There is the incendiary pretended churchman, who when he hears

* This is a very common saying not only among the vulgar, but even among those from whom more propriety might be expected. Mr. Locke, however, justly observes, that "no man is *born* a member of any Church; otherwise the religion of Parents would descend unto children, by the same right of inheritance as their temporal estates, and every one would hold his faith by the same tenure he holds his lands—than which nothing can be more absurd."

Locke, u. s.

† Persecution is so harsh and so infamous a word that few will defend it. But under the milder name of penal laws and civil incapacities they maintain the *thing* by pleading the glory of God and the good of mankind. If however persecution is contrary to the light of nature, and to the Christian Revelation, it must be great impiety to pretend to consecrate it to the divine glory. A man might on the same principle plunder, or even murder his neighbour for the glory of God.

Doddridge.

hears of liberty of conscience, of reforming abuses, or restraining ecclesiastical encroachments, sounds the alarm that *the church is in danger*; which alarm, when communicated, by the proper commissioned officers to the passive multitude, soon renders them turbulent, and breaks out in RIOTS. Lastly, there is the *jovial* pretended churchman, who makes use of the church's, name to *fill a bumper*, and celebrate the rites of Bacchus, during which he is agitated by convulsions, and rages, swears and fights for the church. His standing toast is *Church and King*, which by the way shews that his bumpers have affected his memory, because as the king is the supreme head of the church, his name should be mentioned first, otherwise it is in effect placing the body above the head, or into the frequent posture of Bacchanalians—*the head where the heels should be.*

It is easy to foresee that the freedom of these remarks, will expose the writer to the censure of the parties who feel themselves described, and that however they may disagree in other matters they will unite in reprobating his sentiments. The Royalist will condemn him, as worse than a Republican if worse can be; while the various classes of nominal churchmen will with one accord pronounce him an incorrigible heretic, who if he escapes the inquisition, or the faggot in this world, will, without doubt, perish everlastingly in the next.—From the verdict of such partial, interested jurymen, the writer, however, boldly appeals to truth and reason, the handmaids of that heavenly religion which he adores; or to those serious christians, and conscientious members of the church, who act according to their profession.*

HOADLY.

* Theological disputes never are, or can be any thing more than disputes about words. If these disputes have frequently occasioned great

BOROUGH REPRESENTATION.

BEDFORD TOWN.

Original Repreſentation. THIS town ſent Burgeſſes to Parliament at the firſt ſummons of the 23d of Edward I. It had then a Mayor belonging to it.

Corporation. Conſiſts of a Mayor, Recorder, Deputy Recorder, two Bailiffs, thirteen Common Councilmen, an uncertain number of Aldermen; becauſe whoever has been a Mayor here, is always after reputed an Alderman. But theſe are however, limited to twelve. The Mayor and Bailiffs are choſen annually, out of the freemen. The returning officers are the Mayor and Bailiffs. The charter they now act by was granted A. D. 1664, by Charles II.

Right

great commotions on the earth, it is becauſe Princes, ſaid M. Chalotais, ſeduced by ſome theologians,† have taken a part in theſe quarrels. Let governments deſpiſe their diſputes; and the theologians, after railing and reciprocally accuſing each other of hereſy, &c. will grow tired of talking without underſtanding each other, and without being underſtood. The fear of ridicule will make them ſilent.

† *Perhaps it has happened, at leaſt as frequently, from the knavery of princes, who by encouraging one party againſt the other, have weakened them both, and conſequently increaſed their own ſtrength.* The Editors.

Right of Election—is nominally veſted in the Burgeſſes, Freemen, and inhabitants being houſeholders, and not receiving alms. The Mayor and two Bailiffs are the returning officers.

Number of Voters, which were according to Willis, about 1000, are now encreaſed to 1400.*

Patron, the Duke of Bedford.

ABINGDON, BERKS.

Original Repreſentation. This Borough as a town of great trade ſent once, (II. Edward 3.) upon a peremptory ſummons to the Council or National Aſſembly; and received its charter November 24, 1557, from Philip and Mary, who them imprivileged them to ſend one Burgeſs to Parliament.

Corporation conſiſts of a Mayor, two Bailiffs, nine Aldermen and 16 Aſſiſtants. The Mayor and Bailiffs are the returning officers: and the Electors, according to national right and juſtice, are the inhabitants paying Scot and Lot: and not receiving alms or any charity.

Number of Voters, 600.

READING.

Original Repreſentation.—This town has ſent to Parliament ever ſince 23d Edward 1.

* This number being too numerous to be influenced by that corruption which would rank it among rotten boroughs, the candour of hiſtory obliges us to rank it among the many that are under the controul of Ariſtocracy.

Right of Election—is in the inhabitants, paying Scot and Lot; and the returning officer is the Mayor.

Number of Voters—is above 600.

WALLINGFORD.

Political Character. Although this Borough is not under the immediate influence of any Nobleman or opulent Commoner, the highest bidder is always chosen. No other influence is known to prevail there, except that of the Nabob Sir Francis Sykes. Corruption is brought there to such a system, that a legal discovery is not likely to be made, unless by a difference among the interested parties. *(See the reports of the Constitutional Society.)*

Ancient Representation. This Borough has sent, like Reading, Members to Parliament ever since 23d Edward I. It was called a city when William the Conqueror came here after the defeat of Harold, to receive the submission of Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, and other great men.

Corporation—was chartered by James I. and consists of a Mayor, Recorder, six Aldermen, and eighteen Burgesses or Assistants, who possess the rents and profits of the manor, fairs, and markets, by virtue of a lease from the crown. The Mayor and six Aldermen are the justices of the peace within the Borough.

Right of Election—is in the corporation and inhabitants paying Scot and Lot, and receiving no alms. (December 15, 1709) The Mayor is the returning officer.

Number of Voters—140.

NEW

NEW WINDSOR.

Political character. The intereſt in this Borough which preponderated in the conteſt between Keppel and Powney, in 1780, is not to be named here or in any other place. All that part of the town which is in Berks, is not within the limits of the Borough. The corporation is in the intereſt of the Earl of Beaulieu, their High Steward; but they forget not upon any occaſion that a very Great Perſonage does them the honour of reſiding among them.

The nature of the prevailing influence may be ſeen as long ſince as March 2, 1737, when the Speaker was ordered to iſſue his warrant to the clerk of the crown for electing a new member for this Borough in the room of the Right Honourable Vere Beauclerk (commonly called Lord Vere Beauclerk), who ſince his election for the ſaid Borough, accepted the office of one of the commiſſioners for executing the office of High Admiral of Great Britain.

Original Repreſentation. Began to return members to Parliament by a charter 30th Edward I. and continued to ſend till 14th Edward 3. when it intermitted ſending till 25th Henry 6. ſince this time it has regularly been repreſented.

Right of Election—has been variouſly determined.

Number of Voters—280. The Mayor is the returning officer.

The Patron of this Borough cannot with propriety be mentioned, leſt we might incur the rebuke of Royalty.

ON THE

FINANCES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

IT has been one of the greateſt misfortunes to this country, that the great body of the people inhabiting it, have been ever too ready to take matters *upon truſt*, without enquiring to inform themſelves of their truth and reality. Hence we every day hear men talking of the excellence of our *conſtitution*, without a ſhadow of idea what the word, when uſed in a political ſenſe, ſignifies; and from the ſame cauſes, hundreds are daily liable to be induced to ſign addreſſes to the executive power, thanking it for acts which ought, perhaps, to have drawn on it the ſevereſt reprobation of the public.

As to our finances they are enveloped in ſuch impenetrable myſtery, and obſcurity, and hidden from our obſervation, in ſuch deep receſſes of darkneſs, that not one in a thouſand has the leaſt ſhadow of knowledge in them:—notwithſtanding which, the *dictum* of the *miniſter*, if delivered with a tolerable ſhare of effrontery, is always eagerly ſwallowed; and the people ſeem ever happy in an opportunity, of hiding the extent of their ignorance in the unlimited meaſure of their credulity.

With

With a national debt ſtaring us in the face, amounting to the enormous ſum of two hundred and ſixty millions, *actually known and acknowledged to*; beſides what we know has not yet been brought to account, we are *unbluſhingly* told, "that we are the happieſt people "on earth, and that we have not an exiſting grievance;" and venal and hireling wretches are daily employed to perſuade us of the truth of theſe immaculate aſſertions; to blind the people with "a ſhew of liberty and happineſs which yet they ne'er muſt taſte of." Even the barefaced boaſts of "Who wants me," are eagerly ſwallowed by the multitude; and the deſtruction of Tippoo Sultan is looked upon as the golden harveſt, from which this country is to draw ſuch immenſe reſources, as ſhall eaſe us of all our burdens.

Vain, fooliſh, and deluſive ideas! which like the deſtructive fallacy of the Philoſopher's Stone, lead us on in a ruinous career, graſping hourly at a ſhadow, and every moment loſing a ſubſtance. While each gull is feaſting with avidity on the ideal ſpoils of the eaſt, he he is altogether blind, and inſenſible, to the immenſity of the ſum which this ruinous war is accumulating on our heads; which muſt be paid in the end by the people; and which, if *Tippoo can by any means protract two years more*, will inevitably and totally ruin the nation. When we reflect that the eſtimate of the expences of carrying on this war, is on a moderate calculation, ſuppoſed to amount to five millions ſterling per month; the moſt ignorant may, if they pleaſe, amuſe themſelves with ſomething like a certainty of the burthen we are likely to have the happineſs of being ſaddled with; and may conſole themſelves in the delightful dotage of deluſion, for the bitter diſappointment they will one day be ſub-

ject

ject to, from trusting to the profligate promises of an impudent and unprincipled tool of power.

As I have no doubt but your valuable Repository of political and philosophical information will very soon be in universal circulation; and as I conceive it of the very first importance to the interests of the public, that every deception attempted to be passed upon the people, in matters of such magnitude and consequence as the finances of the country, should be made as apparent as possible, I request you will oblige me with the insertion of the following extract from a pamphlet lately published, entitled, '*A Review of Dr. Price's Writings on the Subject of the Finances of this kingdom*,' &c. by William Morgan, Esq. F. R. S. I beg leave also to remind your readers, that the Treasury Pamphlet to which he alludes, was puffed off, and industriously circulated through the whole kingdom, in the course of the last winter.

" I cannot conclude these Observations without tak-
" ing Notice of a Pamphlet lately published under the
" Sanction of the treasury, and entitled, '*A Brief Exami-*
" *nation into the Increase of the Revenue, Commerce and*
" *Navigation of Great Britain.*' According to the dif-
" ferent Statements in this Work, in may be inferred
" that the progress which has been made in redeeming
" the national debt, has been so rapid, that about Six
" Millions of it have been already extinguished. If the
" Spanish Arma ment, the Anticipation of the Sinking
" Fund, the Arrears due from the East-India Company,
" and every other Article of Expence and extraordinary
" receipt, excepting the Navy Debt and Tontine be ex-
" cluded, all this may possibly be true: or in other
" words, if the whole money that is paid be considered

as

" as so much *saved*, and the whole that is borrowed to " effect this payment be not considered as a *debt*, it may " perhaps be allowed that the finances of the nation " are in an improving state, and that the Minister hath " discovered a more expeditious method of discharging " the public debts than by the operations of compound " interest. But this is not the ordinary mode of ba- " lancing accounts. and however well it may be calcu- " lated to answer a *particular purpose*, it must appear to " those who have no wish to be deceived, sufficiently " absurd and preposterous, without the assistance of " argument to refute it. The obvious design of this work, " is to impress the public with an idea of their great " Obligations to the Ministry for the wisdom of those " Measures, which have conducted the nation to its " present state of prosperity; and in order to enhance " this obligation, the Year 1783 is selected for the " contrast, when a War which had nearly destroyed " the resources and credit of the kingdom had just been " terminated.

" I believe there are few instances in Ministers of " State have any claim to the gratitude of a country, for promoting its trade and manufactures, but that on the contrary they often deserve its severest reprehen- sion for checking their progress, and often runing them altogether. If therefore the commerce of this kingdom has increased of late, it has been by the gradual operation of a peace of nine years, and the industrious spirit of the people; not from any encou- agement it has received from the present administration *Their* claims to gratitude are indeed peculiarly impro- per, and they ought to blush in assuming to themselves the least merit on this occasion. For by the impos-

tion

"tion of vexatious taxes,* by the extenſion of the "exciſe,† and by three ſucceſſive armaments, our "commerce has been materially obſtructed; and con- "ſequently the high degree of proſperity to which it is "ſaid to have now arrived, has been attained not only "without the aſſiſtance of the miniſtry, but even by "ſurmounting the impediments which the operations of "government have oppoſed to its progreſs."

I eſteem myſelf and the nation alſo, highly indebted to Mr. Morgan for his ſenſible and accurate obſervations; and to ſhew that he has not accuſed miniſters of aſſuming the praiſe of our proſperous ſituation, whatever it may be, unjuſtly or without cauſe, permit me to preſent the public with ſome of thoſe truly modeſt paragraphs, the adulatory periods of which, were deſigned to gratify the *humility*, and encourage the *chaſte unſmirched modeſty* of one of them.

"Mr. Dundas's ſervices as Miniſter of India, have "not only contributed much to the preſervation of our "territory there, but likewiſe to render it worth preſerv- "ing. The affairs of the company are now even after "a long and expenſive war, in a very flouriſhing ſitua- "tion. What they were in 1784, every body can tell."

The World, Wedneſday March 28, 1792.

Yes, every body can tell that the *long and expenſive war* above alluded to, has been commenced above *one year*. In 1784, it is as well known they were exhauſted, and rendered almoſt deſperate, by the drains occaſioned by a ten years war; which in point of expence, extravagance, and abandoned prodigality, out-did every thing

* Glove-tax, Hat-tax, Shop-tax, &c.

† On Wine, Tobacco, *Cotton Manufactory*, &c.

thing of the kind, that had ever been heard of in the annals of any hiſtory, ſince the beginning of the world. But we are told by the ſame *immaculate authority*, and by way of comfort and conſolation, I ſuppoſe, that

"Since the year 1784, the debts of the Eaſt India "company have been diminiſhed no leſs than *four mil-* "*lions*. There can be little doubt therefore, but that "under the ſame auſpicious management, they will be "brought to that ſtate, when a conſiderable ſurplus "will be derived from thence, applicable to the pro- "greſſive reduction of the national debt."

There are, as the elegant Rouſſeau ſays, "ſome "equivocal words in this ſentence which require an ex- "planation," the word *progreſſive*, for inſtance, is ſomewhat of a ſuſpicious hue.—We have heard of *retrograde progreſſion*, and much I fear, it is of that kind only, that this miniſter's adulators will have to boaſt, with regard to our India affairs. Though it be admitted that the abilities of this gentleman are truly ſplendid; and the advantages reſulting from a peace of ſeveral years continuance, ſomewhat conſiderable, but far inferior, to be ſure, in compariſon of *his ſervices*; yet the combined good effects of both amount only to a ſaving of *four millions*, in eight years. The expence of the preſent war has been calculated at five millions a month; but ſuppoſe for the ſake of argument, we take it only at a fifth of that ſum, and allow that it will be terminated in a year and a half from its commencement, there will be eighteen millions expended in that ſhort period, which will exceed the boaſted ſavings of eight years, in the trifling ſum of only fourteen millions; ſo that, to bring us even to the dreadful predicament in which Mr. Dundas found us in the year 1784, it will require the further exertions

and abilities of him and his colleagues, during twenty-eight ſucceſſive years of peace, and uninterrupted proſperity, equal to the laſt eight years; and at that time, thoſe who are living may look out for a progreſſive reduction of the national debt, which will then in all probability be ſuch a *mountain* that it will appear to have been the accumulation of a race of giants, inſtead of ſuch puny whipſters as Mr Dundas, Mr Pitt, Lord Sydney, and the reſt of the pigmy tribe of modern Miniſters and Financiers. Happy, happy, happy nation! ! ! !

So much for the *progreſſive reduction* of the national debt, by the modeſt and truth telling Panegyriſts of "Wha "wants me," in the World of Wedneſday, March 28, 1792. Let us now ſee what the ſame "practitioners in "the art of puffing" have done in the ſame way, for their munificent patron and "heaven born" miniſter, Mr. ——. In the ſame tranſcendent vehicle of honeſt information of Tueſday, April 17, 1792, we had the happineſs of being told, that,

"The laſt five or ſix years have been the moſt event-"ful and intereſting of any in Europe. The complex-"ion of the times is yet perturbed, but as the miniſter "has twice within a very ſhort period, averted from "this country the evils of war, there can be no doubt "but he will, by the ſame *maſterly policy* continue his "peaceful courſe, notwithſtanding the tempeſts which "agitate the political horizon."

It muſt be confeſſed the Gentleman alluded to in the above paragraph, during the period laſt mentioned, has frequently been wrath, and aſſumed the appearance of a Comet that portended *war*; but the various Satellites around him, have ſo drained him of his fiery particles,

that,

that, "notwithſtanding the tempeſts that agitate the po-"litical horizon," he has been compelled to ſteer "his "peaceful courſe," and is now ſafely lodged in the political zodiac, near "Aries." He is ſeen ſometimes to put his head, in a threatening poſture towards the ſide of India; and, now and then, to give a ſullen, lowering look towards the continent of Europe; but he appears to be ſtationary and fixed at preſent; the red and bloody circle, which lately ſurrounded him, is changed to a deep black; which aſtronomers ſay, ſignifies, that he has put himſelf and all around him in mourning; but this is a fooliſh idea; the whole of his warlike preparations did not coſt the nation above five or ſix millions,—at this time of day a mere trifle! Nothing, when compared to the ſatisfaction received, in ſeeing her fleets, once the terror of the world, lying peaceably and quietly at Spithead, for ſix months, and triumphant over all Europe.—Our merchant ſhips ſtripped of their crews and unable to proceed on their reſpective voyages;—our brave and honeſt tars, made the ſubjects of wantonly trampling the ſacred dictates of Magna Charta under foot, from the beſt of all poſſible cauſes, *ex neceſſitate rei*. The very name of ſo many ſhips of war, enabled "the miniſter twice within a very ſhort period, to avert from this country the evils of war," and there can be no doubt "but he will continue his peaceful courſe."

He has obtained for the ſufferers in the firſt caſe, an honourable *arbitration*; which is like to prove as laſting, and durable, as a chancery ſuit; and may probably not be finiſhed till the preliminaries of the next peace ſhall include it in other more important affairs. Perhaps it may make a neat political couplet with the long looked for Manilla ranſom. Where arbitrators receive a handſome ſtipend during the time of conſidering the ſubject

ject in diſpute; they would be madmen to let the world accuſe them of precipitancy in either their judgments, or concluſions.—In the other, he has obtained the free navigation of the Dnieſter, and it is ſuppoſed that e'er long, a veſſel may be fitted out for the purpoſe of aſſerting this *right*; and at the ſame time making diſcovery of ſome hitherto unknown Iſland, which may ſerve as a ſuccedaneous receptacle, *for our virtuous and immaculate coloniſts*, if we ſhould be obliged to give up, the advantageous and lucrative ſettlement of, Botany Bay.

We are told "the laſt five or ſix years have been "the moſt eventful and intereſting in the hiſtory of "Europe." If theſe miniſteral panegyriſts allow *this iſland* to be in Europe, and to merit a place in the pages of its hiſtory, I ſhould think the ten or twelve years, immediately preceding the laſt five or ſix years, were nearly "*as eventful*," and full "*as intereſting*" *to us—at leaſt.* They coſt us one hundred thouſand brave men, and one hundred millions of money; but that is all put to the *old ſcore*, and ſignifies nothing.—"The brighteſt jewel in his "Majeſty's crown has undoubtedly been tarniſhed" to uſe the words of the elegant biſhop of Landaff—"the ſtrong-"eſt limb of the Britiſh empire has been rudely ſever-"ed from our parent ſtock;" but we have the conſolation to reflect, that our colonies in America, coſt us eight times as much as we derived from them; and as they would not ſuffer us to bleed and ſqueeze them in the way of *taxation*, we are infinitely better without them. The golden rivulets of the eaſt, the mines of rupees and pagodas in the Myſore country, will recompence us for every thing; and the ſons of proſtitution are already revelling in the anticipated delights of a ſecond *golden age*.

Next to the miniſter's "maſterly policy," his *æconomy*, is the favourite ſubject of his panegyriſts. What credit is due to him on that ſcore, I leave your readers to determine, when ſome of his friends ſhall fairly have explained the following ſtatement of taxes, impoſed by him during his *ſeven years* of peace. Mr. Pitt came into office in the latter end of the year 1783. The taxes with which he has burthened the nation ſince that time are as under.

In 1784, taxes were	impoſed for	£. 930,000 a Year.
1785, ditto	ditto	553,000
1786, ditto	ditto	100,000
1787, ditto	ditto	170,000
1788, ditto	ditto	110,000
1789, ditto	ditto	800,000
		2,663,000

To redeem this ſum will require at the preſent price of ſtocks about eighty million ſterling. Of this however, 18,856,541l. is the unfunded debt left by Lord North, and for which Mr. Pitt was obliged to provide. Mr. Pitt is alſo to have credit for 9 millions of the public debt, purchaſed by the commiſſioners to this time. And he is to be made debtor for the preſent amount of the unfunded debt, which may be about fifteen million. The reſult is, that during his adminiſtration, Mr. Pitt, ſo far from having improved the finances of the country, has burthened the nation with an addition of upwards of ſixty millions to the national debt! It is to be hoped this matter will be, ſome how or other, explained to the public, by Mr. Pitt, or his friends in the *World*.

The account of taxes impoſed, is taken from the 'Diſtribution of grants" regularly laid before the Houſe of Commons every year: and the ſtate of the unfunded

debt left by Lord North is to be found in the laſt page of Appendix, No. 39 to the 11th report of the Commiſſioners of public accounts preſented to the Houſe in 1784. The preſent unfunded debt cannot be accurately known; but the ſum here ſtated is leſs than the probable fact.—Vide Raymont, on the income and expenditure of Great Britain, quarto, page 110, to 112.

Such of your readers as will conſider the above ſtatements, with a candid and impartial eye, will ſoon ſee to what extent, the nation is indebted and beholden to the Miniſters, for their "Maſterly policy, their veracity, or their œconomy"—thoſe who prefer plain facts to ſtudied eulogiums, and proſtituted panegyrics, may derive perhaps, ſome information as to the *real* ſtate of things; to thoſe who blindly fix their faith on the aſſertions of perſons in power, or their numerous flatterers; and who are continually crying out for an unlimited confidence in them; —I have only to ſay,

"*Qui vult decipi, decipiatur.*"—
He who is *determined* to be deceived, let him be ſo.*

ALBANICUS.

* We think it is but juſtice to our Correſpondent *Albanicus* to declare, that the above letter was ſent to us by him, at leaſt three weeks before, the arrival of the late intelligence from India We believe the accounts reſpecting the expences of the war in that country, are conſiderably exaggerated; (at leaſt we ſincerely hope they are,) and as we are not competent to ſpeak with accuracy on the ſubject, ſhould have declined the inſertion of them; had they not been coupled with other details, which are truly intereſting, and important to the public. However from the information we have been able to gather on the ſubject, it appears that this country will have at leaſt *ten millions* to make good, for the expences of this ſhort war. And we fear

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

WHILST Engliſhmen with too forward and indiſcriminating zeal are in many places addreſſing the crown. If you think the ſentiments contained in the following addreſs to the inhabitants of Wakefield, ſuch as ought to inſpire every friend to liberty, and are calculated to impreſs juſt ideas on the ſubject, you will give it a place in your valuable repoſitory. The addreſs was anſwered in a ſummary way at the meeting held in Wakefield, by ſtiling it ſeditious—a new mode of argument much in uſe at at preſent, among the enemies of re-

fear that in addition to this, by no means *trifling expence*, we have been teaching the *Country Powers* in the Eaſt a *diſcipline*, and knowledge of our mode of fighting, which will enable them ere long to drive our people out of the country. We cannot but remember, that the Marattas alone, once held us a conteſt of *ſeven years*. They are every day becoming better diſciplined, and more accuſtomed to, and acquainted with our mode of attack; and if *a year and a half of war*, has lately coſt us ten millions, it is eaſy to calculate what another *ſeven years war* would bring us to. This is not a language dictated by deſpondency, or a ſpirit of croaking;—but ſprings from the *boneſt*, and *patriotic* determination, to ſpeak of important affairs, as they really appear to the eye of Reaſon; adhering firmly to the words of our immortal Bard.—"Nothing extenuate, nor ſet down ought in malice."

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reformation. If our laws are adequate to the punishment of the press, any future measure is unnecessary; if not, a reformation is acknowledged to be wanting. *Quis furor iste novus? Quo nunc, quo tendite cives.* What new madness is this? Whither now! citizens whither tend you?

R. B.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF WAKEFIELD.

Fellow Townsmen,

YOU have been requested to assemble and consider of some proper mode of expressing the grateful sense you are supposed to have, of his Majesty's goodness, in issuing a late Proclamation against what are called divers wicked and seditious Writings:—But we entreat you before you interrupt the tranquil state of the town, by political discussion, to reflect on the nature and principle of that proclamation, and what persons and writings you are called on to reprobate.

The proclamation was issued immediately after a Society had been formed in *London*, called THE FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE; a society which hath for its object the security and happiness of the nation, by promoting a timely and temperate Reform of the abuses of our constitution: a society composed of men the most respectable for knowledge and integrity, this country can boast. With the character and virtues of two of its members, who reside in this town and neighbourhood, you are well acquainted, one of whom represents the city of York. Will you then assemble to sanction a proclamation which, in the opinion of several members of both houses of parliament, is intended to criminate that society, and is only calculated to raise a spirit of distrust and jealousy in the nation at large?

Are

Are you not all equally intereſted in ſecuring the invaluable privilege which, as Engliſhmen, you have long enjoyed—the Liberty of the Preſs, and the right of private judgment;—to think with freedom, and to expreſs your thoughts without fear. The Liberty of the Preſs is the only ſcourge for the hypocriſy and venality of miniſters, and the unconſtitutional exerciſe of power. But is not this liberty affected by the proclamation, ſince in it, nothing is ſpecified, nothing defined, and every ſentiment which expoſes the corrupt proceedings of a miniſter may be deemed wicked and ſeditious. Is not an Inquiſition eſtabliſhed, and an hoſt of informers poured on the public, to deſtroy private happineſs and the pleaſing intercourſe of ſociety?—Are not men incited to annoy each other, for the innocent variations of judgment on political philoſophy? Such principles once expelled the immortal LOCKE from this kingdom; ſuch principles would bury all free inquiry, and extinguiſh the light of liberty and knowledge.

Fellow Townſmen,

We are ſtrongly impreſſed with veneration for the genuine principles of the conſtitution, and are no leſs loyal in our attachment to the reigning Family than you; —but why will you aſſemble to prove that loyalty which can never have been ſuſpected, and give any indirect ſanction to the infringement of your ineſtimable privilege—The liberty of the preſs.

What is really good, can never ſuffer by inveſtigation, and they are the greateſt enemies of the ſtate, who would conceal from the public eye its principles, or prevent an enquiry into the conduct of its governors.

Before

Before you sanction a measure which strikes at your dearest privileges, we address you in the language of GALGACUS, the intrepid Briton, when marching to resist the power of Roman despotism—Countrymen, look back upon your ancestors—look forward to your posterity.

ON PROPERTY.

(Continued from page 263)

"GOD gave the world to men in common; but "since he gave it them for their benefit, and the greatest "conveniences of life they were capable to draw from "it, it cannot be supposed he meaned it should always "remain common and uncultivated. He gave it to the "use of the industrious and rational, (and *labour* was to "be his *title* to it;) not to the fancy or covetousness of "the quarrelsome and contentious. He that had as "good left for his improvement as was already taken "up, needed not complain, and ought not to meddle "with what was already improved by another's labour; "if he did, it is plain he desired the benefit of another's "pains, which he had no right to, and not the ground "which God had given him in common with others to "labour on, and whereof there was as good left, as

"that

" that already poſſeſſed, and more than he knew what to " do with, or his induſtry could reach to."

It is true, *in land that is common* in *England*, or any other country, where there is plenty of people under government, who have money and commerce, no one can encloſe or appropriate any part, without the conſent of all his fellow-commoners; becauſe this is left common by compact, i. e. by the law of the land, which is not to be violated. And though it be common, in reſpect of ſome men, it is not ſo to all mankind, but is the ſole property of this county, or this pariſh. Beſides, the remainder, after ſuch encloſure, would not be as good to the reſt of the commoners, as the whole was when they could all make uſe of the whole, whereas in the beginning and firſt peopling of the great common of the world it was quite otherwiſe. The law man was under, was rather for appropriating. God commanded, and his wants forced him to *labour*. That was his *property* which could not be taken from him wherever he had fixed it. And hence ſubduing or cultivating the earth, and having dominion, we ſee are joined together. The one gave title to the other. So that God by commanding to ſubdue, gave authority ſo far to *appropriate*: and the condition of human life, which requires labour and materials to work on, neceſſarily introduces private poſſeſſions.

The *meaſure of property* nature has well ſet by the extent of men's *labour, and the conveniencies of life:* no man's labour could ſubdue, or appropriate all; nor could his enjoyment conſume more than a ſmall part; ſo that it was impoſſible for any man, this way, to intrench upon the right of another, or acquire to himſelf a property, to the prejudice of his neighbour, who would ſtill have room for as good, and as large a poſſeſſion (after

(after the other had taken out his) as before it was appropriated. This *measure* did confine every man's *possession* to a very moderate proportion, and such as he might appropriate to himself, without injury to any body, in the first ages of the world, when men were more in danger to be lost, by wandering from their company in the then vast wilderness of the earth, than to be straitened for want of room to plant in. And the same *measure* may be allowed still without prejudice to any body, as full as the world seems; for supposing a man, or family, in the state they were at first, peopling of the world by the children of *Adam* or *Noah*; let him plant in some inland vacant places of *America*, we shall find that the *possessions* he could make himself, upon the *measures* we have given, would not be very large, nor, even to this day, prejudice the rest of mankind, or give them reason to complain, or think themselves injured by this man's encroachment, though the race of men have now spread themselves to all the corners of the world, and do infinitely exceed the small number which was at the beginning. Nay the extent of *ground* is of so little value *without labour*, that I have heard it affirmed that in Spain itself, a man may be permitted to plough, sow and reap, without being disturbed, upon land he has no other title to, but only his making use of it. But, on the contrary, the inhabitants think themselves obliged to him, who by by his industry on neglected, and consequently waste land, has encreased the stock of corn which they wanted. But be this as it will, which I lay no stress on; this I dare boldly affirm, that the same *rule of propriety*, (viz.) that every man should have as much as he could make use of, would hold still in the world without straitening any body; since there is land enough in the world to suffice double the inhabitants, had not the *invention of money*,

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ON PROPERTY.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 324.

BUT be this as it will, which I lay no ſtreſs on; this I dare boldly affirm, that the ſame *rule of propriety*, (viz.) that every man ſhould have as much as he could make uſe of, would hold ſtill in the world without ſtraitening any body; ſince there is land enough in the world to ſuffice double the inhabitants, had not the *invention of money*, and the tacit agreement of men to put a value on it, introduced (by conſent) larger poſſeſſions, and a right to them; which, how it has done, I ſhall by and by ſhew more at large.

This is certain, that in the beginning, before the desire of having more than man needed had altered the intrinsic value of things, which depends only on their usefulness to the life of man; or had *agreed, that a little piece of yellow metal*, which would keep without wasting or decay, should be worth a great piece of flesh, or a whole heap of corn; though men had a right to appropriate, by their labour, each one to himself, as much of the things of nature as he could use; yet this could not be much, nor to the prejudice of others, where the same plenty was still left to those who would use the same industry. To which let me add, that he who appropriates lands to himself by his labour, does not lessen, but increase the common stock of mankind: for the provisions serving to the support of human life, produced by one acre of enclosed and cultivated land, are (to speak much within compass) ten times more than those which are yielded by an acre of land, of an equal richness, lying waste in common. And therefore he that encloses land and has a greater plenty of the conveniencies of life from ten acres, than he could have from an hundred left to nature, may truly be said to give ninety acres to mankind: for his labour now supplies him with provisions out of ten acres, which were but the produce of an hundred lying in common. I have here rated the improved land very low, in making its product but as ten to one, when it is much nearer an hundred to one; for I ask, whether in the wild woods and uncultivated waste of *America*, left to nature, without any improvement, tillage or husbandry, a thousand acres yield the needy and wretched inhabitants as many conveniencies of life as ten acres of equally fertile land do in *Devonshire*, where they are well cultivated.

Before

Before the appropriation of land, he who gathered as much of the wild fruit; killed, caught, or tamed as many of the wild beasts as he could; he that so employed his pains about any of the spontaneous products of nature, as any way to alter them from the state which nature put them in, by placing any of his *labour* on them, did thereby *acquire a property in them*: but if they perished in his possession, without due use; if the fruits rotted, or the venison putrified, before he could spend it, he offended against the common law of nature, and was liable to be punished; he invaded his neighbour's share: for he had *no right, farther than his own use* called, for any of them, and they might serve to afford him conveniencies of life.

The same measures governed *the possession of land* too: whatsoever he tilled and reaped, laid up and made use of, before it spoiled, that was his peculiar right: whatsoever he enclosed, and could feed, and make use of, the cattle and product was also his. But if either the grass of his enclosure rotted on the ground, or the fruit of his planting perished without gathering, and laying up, this part of the earth, notwithstanding his enclosure, was still to be looked on as waste, and might be the possession of any other. Thus, at the beginning, *Cain* might take as much ground as he could till, and make it his own land, and yet leave enough to Abel's sheep to feed on; a few acres would serve for both their possessions. But as families increased, and industry enlarged their stocks, their *possessions enlarged* with the need of them; but yet it was commonly *without any fixed property in the ground* they made use of, till they incorporated, settled themselves together, and built cities; and then by consent, they came in time to set out the *bounds of their distinct territories*, and agree on limits between them and their

their neighbours; and by laws within themselves, settled the *properties* of those of the same society: for we see, that in that part of the world which was first inhabited, and therefore like to be best peopled, even as low down as *Abraham*'s time, they wandered with their flocks and their herds, which were their substance, freely up and down; and this *Abraham* did, in a country where he was a stranger. Whence, it is plain, that at least a great part of the land *lay in common*, that the inhabitants valued it not, nor claimed property in any more than they made use of. But when there was not room enough in the same place, for their herds to feed together, they by consent, as *Abraham* and *Lot* did, *Gen.* xiii. 5. separated and enlarged their pasture, where it best liked them. And for the same reason, *Esau* went from his father and brother, and planted in *Mount Seir*. GEN. xxxvi. 6.

And thus, without supposing any private dominion and property in *Adam*, over all the world, exclusive of all other men, which can no way be proved, nor any one's property be made out from it; but supposing the *world* given, as it was, to the children of men *in common*, we see how labour could make men distinct titles to several parcels of it, for their private uses; wherein there could be no doubt of right, no room for quarrel.

Nor is it so strange, as perhaps before consideration it may appear, that the *property of labour* should be able to overbalance the community of land; for it is labour indeed that *puts the difference of value* on every thing; and let any one consider what the difference is between an acre of land planted with tobacco or sugar, sown with wheat or barley, and an acre of the same land lying in common, without any husbandry upon it, and he will find that the improvement of *labour makes* the far greater

part

part of the value. I think it will be but a very modeſt computation to ſay, that of the products of the earth uſeful to the life of man, nine-tenths are the *effects of labour*; nay, if we will rightly eſtimate things as they come to our uſe, and caſt up the ſeveral expences about them, what in them is purely owing to *nature*, and what to *labour*, we ſhall find that in moſt of them ninety-nine hundredths are wholly to be put on the account of *labour*.

There cannot be a clearer demonſtration of any thing, than ſeveral nations of the *Americans** are of this, who are rich in land, and poor in all the comforts of life; whom nature having furniſhed as liberally as any other people with the materials of plenty, viz. a fruitful ſoil, apt to produce in abundance what might ſerve for food, raiment, and delight; yet, for *want of improving it by labour*, have not one-hundredth part of the conveniencies we enjoy; and a king of a large and fruitful territory there, feeds, lodges, and is clad worſe than a day labourer in England.

(To be continued.)

* Whenever the *Americans* are mentioned in this Eſſay the author ſpeaks of the original natives, diſtinguiſhed now from the civilized part of the inhabitants of that Continent, by the name of *Indians* or *ſavages*.—Editors.

ON THE

CHURCH LANDS IN FRANCE.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

THERE is nothing ſince the commencement of the French Revolution, which has cauſed a greater diverſity of opinion, and warmer controverſies in this kingdom, than the circumſtance of the National Aſſembly having ſeized on the lands belonging to the *Church*, and applied them to the ſervice of the ſtate; and it is no wonder this ſhould be the caſe. In a nation like *this*, where ſo *very few*, in compariſon of the whole, know any thing of the *conſtitution* of their own country, it is by no means ſurpriſing, all but this *few* ſhould be totally ignorant of thoſe eſſential points which conſtitute the happineſs or miſery of the people under other governments. Had the French people acted otherwiſe than they have done, the baſis of their liberty had been in the ſame predicament, as the houſe of that man who ſhould be ſo fooliſh as to lay the foundation of his building in a ſandy ſoil.

Ever ſince the important æra of the *reformation* which laid the foundation of that liberty which Engliſhmen *once* could boaſt, the French and all other nations in Europe have been viewing with ardent and longing eyes the emancipation of theſe happy iſlanders. The philoſophers of France taught by thoſe publications which iſſued

iſſued from the *free preſs* of this country, ſoon perceived what were the magic ſpells which held in chains ſo many millions of their fellow men. They ſoon perceived that ignorance was the parent of ſuperſtition—that ſuperſtition was the mother and nurſe of bigotry—that bigotry was the ſupport of prieſthood, and the prieſthood the pillars of deſpotiſm. When therefore, they wanted to pull down the temple of deſpotiſm, who can be ſurprized that they ſhould make free with the ſtrongeſt props which ſuſtained it.

To the philoſophers, France is indebted for the foundation of its freedom—to them the French people owe the enlightening of that reaſon, whoſe operations have by ſlow, but ſure degrees, enabled them to break the bonds of tyranny, and hurl their chains at the heads of their oppreſſors.

"I regard," ſays a celebrated French author, "the "virtue and genius of man, as the product of inſtruc- "tion," nor wonder therefore that the world has remained for ſo many ages in the darkeſt ignorance, when the ſtruggle of thoſe in power (the prieſts) have been uniform in almoſt every country to perpetuate that evil, by weakening the natural abilities of men, to make them ſuperſtitious—by diſjointing, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, the wings of their genius, to ſtifle in their minds all true ſcience, and in their hearts every patriotic virtue. What a maſs of light does the knowledge of mankind throw upon the ſeveral parts of governments;—the ability of the groom, conſiſts in knowing all that is to be done to the animal he is to manage; and the ability of the miniſter, in knowing all that is to be done in the management of the people he is to govern.

The

The ſcience of man makes a part in the ſcience of government. It is the ſcience of philoſphers to whom the politicans, in this reſpect, think themſelves far ſuperior, but they are miſtaken. The miniſter knows the detail of affairs better than the philoſophers. His informations of this ſort are more extenſive; but the latter has more leiſure to ſtudy the heart of man, and knows it better than the miniſter. They are both by their different ſpecies of ſtudy, deſtined to elucidate each other. The miniſter who would promote the *public good*, is ſeldom within the compaſs of what a miniſter concerns himſelf about. Before it was forbidden at Paris to print any thing but catechiſms and almanacks, it was to the numerous pamphlets of intelligent men, that France, they ſay, owed the advantage of exporting corn,* which was demonſtrated by men of ſcience. The miniſter who was then at the head of the finances availed himſelf of their informations.

But the misfortune is, that it too frequently happens the views of the *philoſopher* and the *miniſter*, are as nearly as poſſible, diametrically oppoſite. The former wiſhes to *enlighten* mankind; the latter exerts his utmoſt endeavours to keep them in the dark. Hence comes the long and almoſt uncontrouled ſway that deſpotiſm has had in the world.

Man

* Perhaps it may be owing to the reverſe of this, viz. to a *want* of intelligent men and intelligent miniſters, added to the too great prevalence of the landed intereſt in our Houſe of Commons, that the exportation of corn was ever *permitted* in this fated iſland—the moſt deſtructive meaſure ever adopted; which has been the great cauſe of the high price of proviſions, and in caſe of an accident which no human foreſight can guard againſt, may one day be the means of overturning and deſtroying our boaſted Conſtitution.

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Man is born ignorant, but he is not born a ſot or an idiot; and it is not even without labour that he is made one. To be ſuch, and to be able to extinguiſh in himſelf his natural lights, art and method muſt be uſed; inſtruction muſt heap on him error upon error; he muſt have multiplied his prejudices by a multitude of lectures.

If ſottiſm be the common condition of mankind among the poliſhed nations, it is becauſe they are educated by men of falſe ſcience, and read ſottiſh books; for it is with books as with men, there is good and bad company. The good book is almoſt every where prohibited. Senſe and ſpirit urge its publication; bigotry forbids, for bigotry would command the world; ſhe is therefore intereſted in the propagation of folly. The deſire of ſuperſtition is to render man ſtupid; her fear is that he become enlightened. Now to whom will ſhe commit the care of making him a brute? To the *Prieſts*,* for of all the ſons of Adam they are the moſt ſtupid and conceited.

In France during the old government, the approbation of the Cenſor was, for an author, almoſt always a certificate of his ſtupidity; they permitted the ſale of operas,

* We think the following lines from the Independent Whig, vol. 1. may fairly and properly be introduced as a note on the above paſſage. "I ſay it with the utmoſt ſincerity, that no man living deſires to pay a more true and affectionate eſteem than myſelf to thoſe clergymen who anſwer the end of their inſtitution, and whoſe lives adorn their doctrine. That profeſſion muſt always be moſt honourable and deſerving from mankind, which is moſt uſeful and advantageous to them: but as it is almoſt impoſſible to ſhew too much reſpect to virtuous clergymen, ſo the corrupt part of them cannot be too much expoſed." The above are our ſentiments, but perhaps, better expreſſed than we could have done.

The Editors.

operas, dramas, romances, and even some good books of geometry and medicine; but of every other sort, the work of superior merit, and that which was regarded as such by the rest of Europe, was prohibited. Such were those of *Voltaire*, *Marmontel*, *Rousseau*, *Montesquieu*, &c. The works of these great men, and many other sublime geniuses, which have edified and illumined both Europe and America, were, from the prevalence of religious bigotry and superstition, obliged to be published in other countries than that where the authors lived.

"If the French, said Mr. Saville, formerly, are frivolous, the Spaniards grave and superstitious, the English serious and profound; these properties are the "effects of their *forms of government*. It is at Paris that "the man curious in trinkets and dress should fix his "abode: it is at Madrid and Lisbon they ought to reside "who love to give themselves discipline, and see their "brethren burnt alive; and lastly, it is at London *they* "should live, who would think and exert that faculty "which principally distinguishes the man from the brute. "According to this author, there are but three subjects "worthy of consideration; nature, religion, and govern-"ment. Now, as the French, says he, dare not think "on these subjects, their books, insipid to men, can af-"ford entertainment only to women. *Liberty* alone eno-"bles the spirit of a nation, and the spirit of a nation "that of its writers. The minds of the French are "without energy. The only estimable author among "them that I have a regard for is *Montaigne*. Few of "his fellow subjects are worthy to admire him: to feel "him we must think, and to think we must be free."*

The

* A great part of that universal respect which is paid to the writings of *Montaigne* arises, we imagine from his unparalleled frankness

The above quotation I met with in a French author of celebrity, who, speaking of the *impostures of ministers of false religions*, reasons thus. "In every country, the same motives of interest, and the same facts have combined to furnish sacerdotal bodies with the same means to impose on the people; and in every country the Priests have made use of them.* A private person may be moderate in his desires, and content with what he possesses; a body is always ambitious; it constantly endeavours with greater or less rapidity, to encrease its power and wealth. The desire of the clergy has been to be powerful and opulent.† By what method can it satisfy this desire? by the vending of hope and fear. The Priests, wholesale dealers in these commodities, were sensible that the sale would be certain and lucrative; and that if hope supported the hawker, who sold in the streets the chance of a great prize, and the quack, who sold on a scaffold the chance of a cure, it would in like manner maintain the Bonze and the Talopouin, who sold in their temples the fear of Hell and "the

ness. We see his inmost thoughts; and there is in the human mind such a strong relish for the truth, when it does not oppose our interest, that whenever we are sure we see it, we are sure to be pleased. Montaigne wrote whatever he thought; most writers write whatever they think will please their readers.

* In the Indies the Priests annex certain virtues, and indulgencies to extinguish firebrands, and sell them very dear. At Rome; Father Peepe, a jesuit, told in like manner little prayers to the virgin; he made *hens* swallow them, affirming, that they would make them lay their eggs better.

† *What makes all doctrines plain and clear?*
About two hundred pounds a year:
And that which was prov'd true before,
Prov'd false again? two hundred more.

HUDIBRAS.

" the hope of heaven: and as the quack made a fortune " by vending one of these commodities only, that is hope; " the Priest must make a greater by selling both hope and " fear. Man, said they, is timid; there will consequent- " ly be most got by the sale of the last article. But to " whom shall we sell it? To the sinners. And to whom " sell hope? to the penitents. Convinced of this truth " the priesthood considered that a great number of buy- " ers supposed a great number of sinners; and that as " the presents of the sick enriched the physician, offer- " ings and expiations of sinners would enrich the Priest; " and therefore as sick people were necessary to one, sin- " ners were to the other. The sinner would be constant- " ly a slave to the Priest; and by the multiplication of " sins which would promote the sale of indulgences, " masses, &c. the power and riches of the clergy would " increase. But if among the sins, the priests counted " these actions only, that were really prejudicial to soci- " ety: the sacerdotal power would be of little conse- " quence; it would only extend to cheats and villains: " now the clergy would have it extend to honest men " also. To effect which, it was necessary to create such " crimes as honest men might commit. The priest there- " fore ordained that the least liberties between the two " sexes, that the mere desire of pleasure, should be a " sin. They moreover instituted a great number of su- " perstitious ceremonies, and ordered every individual " to obey them; declaring the non-observation of these " to be the greatest of all crimes, and that the violation " of the ritual law should be, as among the Jews, if pos- "sible, more severely punished than the most abominable " villainy."

" These rights and ceremonies, more or less nume- " rous among different nations, were every where nearly the

"the ſame: they were every where held ſacred, and "ſecured to the prieſthood the greateſt authority over "the ſeveral orders of the ſtate."

I one day attended (ſays he) on a repreſentation the Clergy of a German court made to their Prince: I bore the marvellous ring, which makes men ſay and write, not what they would have others hear and read, but what they really think. Without the virtue of my ring I ſhould doubtleſs never have heard or read the following diſcourſe.

When the clergy thought they had convinced the Prince that religion was loſt in his dominions; that debauchery and impiety boldly ſtalked abroad; that the holy days were profaned by labour; that the *Liberty of the Preſs* ſhook the foundations of his throne, and of the altars, and that in conſequence, the biſhops enjoined the ſovereign to arm the laws againſt the liberty of thought, to protect the *church* and deſtroy its enemies: the following were the words I ſeemed to bear in that addreſs.

"Prince, your clergy are rich and powerful, and "would be ſtill more ſo. It is not the loſs of morality "and religion, but that of their own authority, they de-"plore. They deſire to have the greateſt authority, and "your people are without reſpect for the ſacerdotal "power. We therefore declare them to be impious; "we exhort you to reanimate their piety, and for that "purpoſe to give your clergy more authority over them. "The moment choſen to accuſe the people and irritate "you againſt them, is not perhaps the moſt favourable. "Your ſoldiers have never been ſo brave, your artizans "more induſtrious, your citizens more zealous for the

" public welfare,* and consequently more virtuous. " They will tell you, without doubt, that the people " most immediately subject to the clergy (the modern " Romans) have neither the same valour, nor the same " love for their country, nor consequently the same vir- " tue. They will add, perhaps, that Spain and Portu- " gal, where the clergy command so imperiously, are " ruined and laid waste by ignorance, sloth, and super- " stition; and in short, that among all nations, they " who are generally honoured and respected, are those " same enlightened people to whom the Catholic church " will always give the name of impious.

ALBANICUS.

(To be continued.)

* Might not the same be said of another country, when a certain square paper which so lately made such a stir was framed and circulated so industriously, forbidding riots and tumults, when the nation was never known to be more quiet.

The Editor.

BELFAST COMMEMORATION

OF THE

DEMOLITION OF THE BASTILE,

The Birth-day of Liberty in France, July 14, 1792.

THIS day, which forms an illustrious æra in the history of man, and of nations, as having given birth to effects the most important to society, and to human nature

nature the most beneficial; *to which a World should pay homage*, and to which a large majority of the inhabitants of every enlightened country in Europe have testified their approbation and respect. This day—dear to every heart that has once felt the consoling and dignifying throb of *liberty*, and pleasing to every mind that has been lifted above the debasement of *Tyranny* and *Despotism*, by a love of JUSTICE and VIRTUE; the anniversary of the 14th of July, 1789, when despotic government in France received the fiat of expulsion, was observed here with every demonstration of joy, suitable to the consequence and solemnity of the GREAT OCCASION.

At nine o'clock this morning the different corps paraded on High-street, and were there formed into a brigade of three battalions, from whence, at ten, they marched off to the review ground, distant about a mile.

Immediately after the REVIEW, the brigade returned to the town, and commenced the

GRAND PROCESSION,

WHICH WAS ARRANGED IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER:

REVIEWING GENERAL
(PRECEDED BY TWO TROOPERS.)
Belfast Troops of light Dragoons.
COMMANDING OFFICER, and his Aid-de-Camps,
Train of the Belfast 1st Volunteer Company.
Standards of the five FREE NATIONS, with their respective Mottos viz.
IRELAND—Unite and be free.
AMERICA—The Asylum of Liberty.
FRANCE—The Nation, the Law, and the King.
POLAND—We will support it.
GREAT BRITAIN—Wisdom, Spirit, and Liberality to the People.

These

Thefe were the national Flags, elegantly executed, of the different Nations, for whom they were carried, borne by Boys, dreſſed in the

NATIONAL UNIFORM OF IRELAND,

WITH BLUE SASHES.

PORTRAIT OF DR. FRANKLIN;

Motto,

"Where Liberty is, there is *my* Country."

Part of the Brigade.

PORTRAIT OF MONS. MIRABEAU;

Motto,

"Can the African Slave Trade, tho' morally wrong, be politically right?"

Part of the Brigade.

GRAND STANDARD—An emblematical painting, eight and a half by ſix feet ſquare, ſupported by Volunteers, elevated in a triumphal Car, drawn by four Horſes, caparifoned for the purpoſe; with Drivers dreſſed for the occaſion, in a fanciful and ſuitable manner.

Part of the Brigade.

The Citizens in pairs, and people of the neighbourhood for ſeveral miles round, with green ribbands and laurel leaves in their hats.

One hundred and eighty of the moſt reſpectable inhabitants from the pariſhes of Carnmoney and Temple Patrick, joined in the proceſſion; they bore a green flag, with the following

MOTTOS.—"Our Gallic Brother was born July 14, 1789; Alas! we are in Embryo."

REVERSE.—"Superſtitious jealouſy, the cauſe of the Iriſh Baſtile; let us unite and deſtroy it."

—

In this manner the proceſſion paſſed thro' the principal ſtreets of the town, and proceeded to Linen-hall Street, where the whole fired three *feu-de joys*, and then entered the White Linen-hall, where a chair was raiſed in the centre of the area, round which the volunteers and principal inhabitants aſſembled, to the amount of 5000 at leaſt.

John

John Crawford, Esq. Reviewing General, having been called to preside,

Mr. Sinclair arose. He said he was deputed to produce addresses to the assembly for their consideration; one to the National Assembly of France, the other to the People of Ireland. These addresses had been prepared by select committees of the volunteer delegates of Belfast, and had afterwards received the assent of the said delegates; infamous calumnies he said had gone abroad relative to them, which had been industriously circulated by interested men, but which he would not take up the time of the assembly to refute; the papers themselves when read, would save him that trouble, and he would venture to say there was not an individual present who claimed the noble title of a *freeman*, that would hesitate in giving his approbation. He then read the following address to the National Assembly of France, which was unanimously agreed to.

TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE.

IT is not from vanity or ostentation that we, the Citizens of Belfast, and Citizen soldiers of that town and neighbourhood, take the liberty of addressing the representative Majesty of the French people.—We address you with a rational respect due to a title elevated far above all servile and idolatrous adulation, and with that affectionate fraternity of heart which ought to unite man to man, in a mutual and inseparable union of interests, of duties, and of rights; which ought to unite nation with nation, into one great Republic of the WORLD.

On a day, sanctified as this as been, by a Declaration of Human Rights, the germ of so much good to mankind,

we meet with joy together, and wiſh well to France, to her National Aſſembly, to her People, to her Armies, and to her King.

May you *Legiſlators*, maintain by the indefatigable ſpirit of liberty, that Conſtitution which has been planned by the wiſdom of your predeceſſors, and never may you weary in that work, you have undertaken, until you can proclaim with triumphant ſecurity, *It is finiſhed!* Manifeſt to an attentive and progreſſive world, that it is not the phrenſy of philoſophy, nor the fever of a wild and precarious liberty, which could produce ſuch continued agitation; but, that imperiſhable ſpirit of freedom alone, which always exiſts in the heart of man, which now animates the heart of Europe, and which in the event, will communicate its energy throughout the world, invincible, and immortal.

We rejoice in the ſincerity of our ſouls, that this creative ſpirit animates the whole maſs of mind in France.—We auſpiciate happineſs and glory to the human race from every great event which calls into activity the whole vigour of the whole community; amplifies ſo largely the field of enterprize and improvement, and gives free ſcope to the univerſal ſoul of the empire. We truſt that you will never ſubmit the liberties of France to any other guarantees than God, and the right hands of the PEOPLE.

The power that preſumes to modify or to arbitrate with reſpect to a conſtitution adopted by the people, is an Uſurper and a Deſpot, whether he be the meaneſt of the mob, or the ruler of empires; and if you condeſcend to negotiate the alteration of a comma in your conſtitutional code, France from that moment is a ſlave. Impudent deſpots of Europe! Is it not enough to cruſh human nature

ture beneath your feet at home, that you thus come abroad to disturb the domestic settlement of the nations around you, and put in motion your armies, those enormous masses of human machinery, to beat down every event that man makes for his own happiness? It is high time to turn these dreadful engines against their inventors, and, organized as they have hitherto been for the misery of mankind, to make them now the instruments of its glory and its renovation.

Success therefore attend the ARMIES of France.

May your soldiers, with whom war is no trade, but a duty, remember that they do not fight merely for themselves, but that they are the *advanced Guard of the World:* nor let them imagine that the event of the war is uncertain. A single battle may be precarious; not so a few campaigns. There is an Omnipotence in a righteous cause which masters the pretended mutability of human affairs, and fixes the supposed inconsistency of fortune.—If you *will* be free, you MUST; there is not a chance that one million of resolute men can be enslaved; no power on earth is able to do it, and will the God of Justice and Mercy? Soldiers! there is something that fights for you even in the hearts of your enemies. The native energies of humanity rise up in voluntary array against tyrannical and prepostrous prejudice; and all the little cabals of the heart give way to the feelings of nature, of country, and of kind.

Freedom and prosperity to the People of France.

We think that such Revolutions as they have accomplished, are so far from being out of the order of society, that they spring inevitably from the nature of man, and the

the progression of reason: what is imperfect, he has the power to improve: what he has created, he has a right to destroy. It is a rash opposition to the irresistible will of the public, that in some instances has maddened a disposition, otherwise mild and magnanimous; turned energy into ferocity, and the generous and gallant spirit of the French, into fury and vengeance. We trust that every effort they now make, every hardship they undergo, every drop of blood they shed, will render their Constitution more dear to them.

Long life and happiness to the KING of the French! Not the lord of the soil and its servile appendages, but the king of men, who can reserve their rights while they entrust their powers. In this crisis of his fate, may he withstand every attempt to estrange him from the nation, to make him an exile in the midst of France, and to prevent him from identifying himself as a magistrate with the constitution, and as a Frenchman with the people.

We beseech you all, as men, as legislators, as citizens, and as soldiers, in this your great conflict for Liberty, for France, and for the World, to despise all earthly danger; to look up to God, and to connect your councils, your arms, and your empire to his Throne, with a chain of union, fortitude, perseverance, morality, and religion.

We conclude with this fervent prayer; that as the Almighty is dispersing the political clouds which have hitherto darkened our hemisphere, all nations may use the light of heaven; that as in this latter age, the Creator is unfolding in his creatures, powers which had long lain latent, they may exert them in the establishment of universal freedom, harmony, and peace; may those

who

who are free, never be ſlaves; may thoſe who are ſlaves, be ſpeedily free.

Mr. Sinclair next propoſed the following,

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

WE the Volunteers and other inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Belfaſt, aſſembled to commemorate this great day, embrace with earneſtneſs the opportunity which it affords, at once to expreſs our zeal and affection for the cauſe of liberty in France, and our undiſguiſed opinions on ſubjects of the laſt importance to our native land.

Trained from our infancy in a love for freedom, and an abhorrence of tyranny, we congratulate our brethren of France and ourſelves, that the infamous conſpiracy of ſlaves and deſpots, againſt the happineſs and glory of that admired and reſpected nation, and againſt the common rights of man, has hitherto proved abortive.

Fixing our view ſteadily on the great principle of Gallic emancipation, we will not be diverted from that magnificent object by the accidental tumults, or momentary ebullitions of popular fury. We will not eſtimate the wiſdom of the legiſlators, by the tranſports of a mob; nor the ſpirit of her armies, by the cowardice of a regiment; nor the patriotiſm of her people, by the treachery of individuals; nor the juſtice of her cauſe by the number of her enemies. We judge with other views and on other principles. We ſee with admiration, France extending the land-marks of human knowledge in the great art of government, and opening to the world new ſyſtems of policy and of juſtice. We ſee her renounce all

wars

wars on the principle of conqueſt. We ſee her propoſe an univerſal brotherhood, and an eternal peace among the nations. We ſee her, even now, when forced into arms and bloodſhed, by the unjuſt and unprincipled machinations of her enemies, ſeparating as far as poſſible, the innocent ſubjects from the guilty deſpot; reſpecting, amidſt the horrors of war, the property of individuals and exempting from interruption the peaceful traffic of the merchant. It is from views like theſe that we eſtimate that ſtupendous event, the Revolution which we this day commemorate; not from accidental irregularities, which, while we condemn them, we are compelled to pity, as feeling that they ſpring not merely from a ſpirit of licenciouſneſs, but from a ſenſe of injury working on a ſanguine people, ſtill galled with the recollection of recent tyranny and oppreſſion, and jealous of liberty, but juſt recovered, and ſcarcely yet ſecure.

Such are our ſentiments on the ſubject of the French revolution; we now come to the ſtate of our own country.

Impreſſed as we are with a deep ſenſe of the excellence of our Conſtitution, as it exiſts in *theory*, we rejoice that we are not, like our brethren in France, reduced to the hard neceſſity of tearing up inveterate abuſe by the roots, even where utility was ſo intermixed as not to admit of ſeparation.—Ours is an eaſier and a leſs unpleaſing taſk; to remove with a ſteady and temperate reſolution, the abuſes which the lapſe of many years inattention and ſupineneſs in the great body of the people, and unremitting vigilance in their rulers to invade and plunder them of their rights, have ſuffered them to overgrow and to deform that beautiful ſyſtem of government, ſo admirably ſuited to our ſituation, our habits, and our wiſhes. We have not to *innovate*, but to *reſtore*. The

uſt prerogatives of our Monarch we reſpect, and will maintain; the conſtitutional power of the Peers of the realm we wiſh not to invade. We know that in the exerciſes of both, abuſes have grown up; but we alſo know that thoſe abuſes will be at once corrected, ſo as never again to recur, by reſtoring to *us* the *People*, what we for ourſelves *demand as our right*, our due weight and influence in that ſtate, *which is our property*—THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE IN PARLIAMENT.

Thoroughly impreſſed with the unjuſt and ruinous inequality of the repreſentation, with the conſequent corruption which pervades all ranks in the ſtate; with the deſtruction of the morals, the ſacrifice of the commerce, and the hourly and imminent danger to the liberty of our country, we will inflexibly perſevere in the purſuit of that great remedy for all our political evils, a Parliamentary reform; a reform, temperate, equal, and juſt, which ſhall reſtore luſtre to the Crown, dignity to the Peerage, and their due weight and influence to the People of Ireland.

But while we thus ſtate our ſentiments on the ſubject of reform, we feel it incumbent upon us to declare, as we now do, that no reform, were even ſuch attainable, would anſwer our ideas of utility or juſtice, which ſhould not equally include all ſects and denominations of Iriſhmen. We reprobate and abhor the idea, that political inequality ſhould reſult from religious opinions; and we ſhould be aſhamed, at the moment when we are ſeeking for liberty ourſelves, to acquieſce in any ſyſtem founded on the ſlavery of others.

We have now declared our ſentiments to the world, in declaring them we ſpurn with equal diſdain, reſtraint, whether

whether proceeding from a mob, or a monarch; from a riot or a proclamation. We look with a mixture of abomination and contempt on the tranſactions which on the laſt anniverſary of the French Revolution, degraded the national character of England; when neither the learning, the piety, the public ſpirit, nor the private virtue of a *Prieſtley*, could protect him from the ſavage fury of the vileſt of an ignorant and bigotted rabble; before whom the religion of the country was diſhonoured, the name of the Sovereign inſulted, and all law and order levelled in the duſt, to the diſgrace, not leſs of the integrity of the magiſtrates who were the fomenters, than of the ſpirit of the people, who were timid witneſſes of the ravage and deſtruction. As little ſhou'd we reſpect any attempt under colour of authority, to fetter down our minds or prevent the publication of our grievances, and our determination to ſeek redreſs. In the purſuit of reform that great meaſure indiſpenſible to the freedom, the happineſs, and the glory of our country, we will inflexibly perſevere, and for its attainment we rely with confidence on the ſteadineſs, the public ſpirit, and the zealous co-operation of our countrymen.

[We eſteem ourſelves highly indebted to our correſpondent in the North of Ireland for his early tranſmittal of the above patriotic proceedings. We conſider the two addreſſes as maſterpieces of oratorical compoſition, combining the ſoundeſt *logic*, with the moſt nervous and elegant *diction*; evincing a moſt laudable enthuſiaſm for the glorious cauſe of *liberty*; and the bleſſings reſulting therefrom a noble ſpirit of univerſal philanthropy and a thorough knowledge of our conſtitution, which needs only to be well underſtood to convince every *impartial mind* that we can now boaſt only its ſhadow and its forms; having long ſince been baſely and treacherouſly pilfered of its ſubſtance; however, weak and decayed as this once beautiful fabric appears at preſent, we by no means deſpair of ſeeing it reſtored, and renovated, to its primeval ſtrength and vigour and its long loſt energies reinfuſed into it. Thank heaven, the grea

BOD-

BODY OF THE PEOPLE, are beginning to open their eyes, and to perceive the intereſt they have in its *reſtoration*, and its *preſervation*; and we look forward with the moſt lively preſages of hope, that we ſhall ere long ſee it revived, with additional force, and iſſuing with redoubled ſplendour, like the *Phœnix* out of its own aſhes.

The Editors.

ON THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SAXON MODE OF GOVERNMENT, BY A COMBINATION OF THE CLERGY WITH WILLIAM, THE BASTARD DUKE OF NORMANDY:

The Ground upon which the Clergy firſt eſtabliſhed their religious Tyranny.

BEFORE we proceed to obſerve the deſtruction that was made in the conſtitution or mode of government, by the fatal union of the Church with William of Normandy, we muſt not forget to take notice, that we have not given the clergy a place in the Saxon parliaments; becauſe they were foreign to the original inſtitution, and only graſted themſelves upon it after it was eſtabliſhed in England. But as they afterwards obtained ſo conſiderable a ſhare, both in the legiſlative authority, and the adminiſtration of the government, it may not be amiſs to give ſome account how they came by it.

The Roman Pontiff had already extended his plan of Church power, to a great degree; and the nature of the government introduced into Europe by the northern

nations, greatly contributed to his ſucceſs. All hiſtory is full of the dreadful conſequences, that have attended the baneful influence, which every religious hierarchy hath always had, upon the bulk of mankind. And, a government, founded upon the elective power of the people, where their favour was the road to riches, power, and grandeur, gave a fine opportunity to ſuch an artful deſigning ſet of men, by their intrigues and influence, to procure themſelves, or their devotees, to be elected into the chief magiſtracy of the towns, and country diviſions. By this means they poſſeſſed themſelves in a great meaſure of the legiſlative authority; and conſequently became in proportion, maſters of the ſtate.—For whoever is maſter of the legiſlative authority, in any ſtate, is undoubtedly maſter of that ſtate.

Having thus taken poſſeſſion, as it were, of the manſion, they were not long before they began to plunder it. However, they firſt eſtabliſhed and ſecured the power of the Church, by a variety of laws made in her favour, and defended them by every eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment that papal cunning could invent; ſo that they were now prepared to receive in the name of the church, all the riches, honours, and power, which they could by any means obtain; and what is more, they knew how to keep them when they had obtained them. For according to their maxim, whatever was given to the Church, was given to God: and therefore was never afterwards ſubject to be taken away by any earthly power whatever.

Thus they endeavoured to provide againſt all revolutions in the ſtate, that the property of the clergy might always be ſafe under the name of the Church. Upon this

this ground the clergy have grafted themſelves, upon every ſtate in Europe; and as they are plants that will grow in any ſoil, they have taken ſuch deep root, that ſcarce any ſtate, except Holland, hath been ſo unfriendly to their vegetation, as to exclude them from having ſome ſhare in government; though they have no more buſineſs with ours, as a ſeparate body of men, than the company of apothecaries or pariſh-clerks.

It is ſurprizing that mankind ſhould ever be ſo inconſiderate, as to ſuffer any religious order of men to form ſuch an independent intereſt in the ſtate; which muſt, from the engroſſing principles, upon which it is founded, be evidently deſtructive to the ſociety to which it belongs. For while the church was continually acquiring riches, and power, and never diſcharging either, it muſt follow, that the clergy would, in a ſhort time, be the richeſt, and moſt powerful body of men in any ſtate, where they were thus eſtabliſhed. Such was the ſituation of this kingdom, at the death of Edward the confeſſor;* when England may be ſaid to have been governed

* The Monks who reaped great advantages from his liberal diſpoſition have not been ſatisfied with extolling his virtues to the ſkies, but have even, if we may ſay ſo, canoniſed his very faults, and endeavoured to repreſent them as ſo many proofs of his ſanctity. It was not thought ſufficient to allow the Prince all the virtues neceſſary to carry him to Heaven, unleſs he had a place given him alſo among the ſaints of the firſt claſs. He was therefore canoniſed by Pope Alexander the Third, under the name of Edward the confeſſor. We are told he was favoured with ſeveral revelations, with the gift of prophecy, and many other miraculous powers: particularly the ſpecial privilege which he was ſaid to have received from heaven of curing the King's evil. Nay it is affirmed this privilege has deſcended to the Kings of England, his ſucceſſors: hence the cuſtom in England, of the King's touching for the evil, at a certain time for the year.

governed by the power, and influence of the clergy. And we shall see, presently, how these shepherds betrayed their flocks, and surrendered them to the Norman tyranny.

Under

It may not be unentertaining to our readers, to relate the first instance of this hereditary miracle, as Mr. Collier calls it. A young married woman having the misfortune to be barren, and troubled at the same time with the distemper since called the King's evil, was, after all human means had been tried in vain, admonished in a vision to go to the King, by whose merits she should be cured upon his washing, touching and signing with the cross the parts affected. The woman runs to court next morning overjoyed, and tells the King of the whole matter; who thereupon disdains not to wash, touch, and cross her putrified sores, which immediately breaking, and corruption and worms bursting out, the parts were in a few days healed without the least scar remaining: and moreover, her barrenness was removed, and she soon became the joyful mother of children. This is the first act, as it is given us, by Ailred, in his history of the life and miracles of Edward the Confessor, of that supernatural gift enjoyed by the King's of England ever since. But tho' Mr. Collier says, to dispute this matter is to go to the excesses of scepticism, yet there are some who doubt of it on the following accounts.

1. This power is generally fixed to the lineal succession; whereas it is plain there was not such thing in those days, neither was Edward himself the next heir.

2. It is plain from Ailred that this privilege was given him not as a King but as a saint; and Malmsbury says, they are to be blamed that attribute it to his royalty, and not to his sanctity. Consequently there is no reason his successors, who were certainly no saints, should be so highly favoured of Heaven.

3. Ailred reckons up many other miracles which he performed, as the restoring to their sight six or seven blind men, &c. but does not say a word of his power of curing the evil descending to his successors, any more than his power of restoring the blind to their sight,

Under all tyranny whether of Kings or Prieſts, or both, it is the people, who are to be made the ſacrifice; it is the people, who are to be plundered of their property: it is the people, who are to wear the yoke of ſlavery; it is they, who are to be made hewers of wood, and drawers of water. But ſo long as the Engliſh government continued upon the original principles, upon which it was founded; and the people annually exerciſed their elective power; ſo long it was out of the power either of the King, or the Clergy, to commit any acts of violence with impunity.

Indeed

or of his removing barrenneſs which one would think ſhould be joined to the other, ſince they were cured both by the ſame touch.

4 As there is no evident reaſon why the Kings of England ſhould have this privilege above any other Chriſtian Prince,* ſo if Heaven had granted ſuch a power to our Kings, one would think they ſhould have it in ſuch a degree as to render it viſible to all, and that the cure ſhould immediately follow the touch: whereas multitudes are not cured at all, and thoſe that are pretended to be ſo, not till a conſiderable time after being touched.

* This miracle is appropriated by Laurentius, phyſician to Henry fourth, to have belonged to the crown of France ever ſince the time of Clovis, the firſt *Chriſtian* King of that Kingdom; but Dr. Tucker is even with him, for he makes the Kings of France to do it by virtue of their alliance to the royal family of England, and Mr. Collier will have the antiquity of this power to be on the ſide of England, ſince he ſays, Lewis the Godly was the firſt that touched for the evil two hundred years after our Edward.—*Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.*

Be theſe things as they may, William the third was ſo perſuaded he ſhould do no injury to perſons afflicted with this diſtemper by not touching them, that he refrained from it all his reign; and we have never heard that any of the preſent family, when on the throne, have effected any cures in this dreadful malady.

The Editor.

Indeed the clergy might recommend, and the people might conſent to many things that were wrong, and even ruinous in their conſequences; yet the latter had always, in their own hand, a correcting remedy for all their errors. It was this correcting power, in the people, that hung, like a millſtone, over the pride, and riches of the clergy; and made them apprehenſive that, at ſome time or other it would cruſh them to pieces: and put an end to all their ſchemes of authority, riches, and grandeur.

The parliament in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, had given ſuch a ſpecimen of their correcting power, as was enough to ſhake the foundation of all papal authority; and that was by baniſhing Robert, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as an incendiary, and fomenter of diviſions between the King and his Subjects; and appointing one Stigand, Archbiſhop in his room. By this they ſaw there was only one way to avoid the danger, and preſerve and extend their tyranny over the people; and that was to deſtroy the elective power, and eſtabliſh an arbitrary government in the ſtate. This, they were ſo bold as to attempt, and ſo happy to ſee effected by William, the baſtard Duke of Normandy; who in the year one thouſand and ſixty ſix, put an end to the Saxon mode of government, which had ſubſiſted for ſix hundred years, from its firſt eſtabliſhment; the particulars of which tranſaction, we ſhall enumerate in the following.

(To be continued)

Intereſting Political Facts.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE peruſed with infinite pleaſure, the numbers already publiſhed of your truly entertaining and inſtructive Miſcellany. I ſee clearly the noble end you have in view, and ſhall be happy to contribute every thing in my power to give you aſſiſtance, and to forward your noble, and patriotic intentions. You have certainly adopted the very beſt method of *informing*, and *enlightening*, the public mind; and I cannot but commend the ſteps, by which you are proceeding to fulfil the promiſes you have given in your original addreſs. I ſhould pleaſe myſelf, perhaps, more than your readers, by tranſcribing and ſending you my own ſpeculative opinions, on the preſent times, men, and meaſures; though I am a deſcendant of a family, which deſerves well of its country on this head: I will therefore refrain from any thing of the kind at preſent, and to convince you, that I ſincerely wiſh well to your work, I beg you will favour me with the inſertion of the following authentic facts, which have occurred in the political hiſtory of this country, within this laſt half century; and which will perhaps weigh

weigh more with your readers in convincing them of the neceſſity of a reform in Parliament, than whole quires of paper, filled with what *you* think, or *I* think. *Facts* ſpeak a moſt forcible language; and being fairly related, and every reader left at liberty to draw his own concluſions from them, will, in my humble opinion, produce more convictions in the minds of our fellow-citizens, than any other arguments which can be made uſe of on this occaſion. If you coincide with me in ſentiment in this point, you will comply with my requeſt; and I ſhall in all probability trouble you again. If you differ with me, you will of courſe exerciſe your own judgement, and decline my correſpondence. In either event, I ſhall not ceaſe to wiſh ſucceſs to your undertaking; for though you may mortify my vanity, I can venture to aſſure you, that my zeal for my country, far ſurpaſſes every other conſideration; and it is ſo deeply rooted, that even the inſidious and powerful attacks of *ſelf-conceit*, can never ſhake it.

ALGERNON SIDNEY.

Intereſting Political Facts, ſince the Year 1753.

In March 1754, Mr. Pelham, who was then Prime Miniſter, died. Mr. Fox, (afterwards Lord Holland, and father of the now juſtly celebrated C. J. Fox, member for Weſtminſter) who was at that time ſecretary at War, wiſhed to ſucceed to Mr. Pelham's ſituation; and the oppoſition offered to act under him, if he was appointed; but the Duke of Newcaſtle ſaid, "he "had been *ſecond* Miniſter long enough; that he would "not have acted in that capacity, under any body but his "brother; and now his brother was gone, he would be "at

"at the head of the Treasury himself." Mr. Fox then solicited the Duke to succeed his Grace in the office of Secretary of State: and it is very probable, that this request would have been granted, had he not insisted upon having the management of the House of Commons; which the Duke peremptorily refused: and upon that point the negociation broke off.

The management of the House of Commons, as it is called, is a confidential department unknown to the constitution. In the public accounts it is immersed under the head of secret service. It is usually given to the Secretary of State, when that post is filled by a Commoner. The business of the department is to distribute with *art* and *policy*, amongst the members who have no ostensible places, sums of money for their support during the sessions, besides contracts, lottery-tickets, and other *douceurs*. It is no uncommon circumstance at the end of a session, for a gentleman to receive five hundred or a thousand pounds, for *his services*.*

When

* Mr. Fox was so confident his negociation with the Duke would succeed, that, while it was pending he sent the following letter to his friends:

"Sir,

"The King has declared his intention to make me Secretary of "State, and I (very unworthy as I fear I am of such an undertaking) "*must take the conduct of the House of Commons.* I cannot therefore "well accept the office, till after the first day's debate, which may "be a warm one. A great attendance that day of my friends, will "be of the greatest consequence to my future situation, and I should "be extremely happy, if you would for that reason, shew yourself "amongst them, to the great honour of, &c. &c.

"H. FOX."

In

When it was known, that the Duke of NEWCASTLE, intended the Treaſury for himſelf, Mr. Pitt expected, that the ſeals of Secretary of State, would have been offered to him. It is certain, that he did not aſk for them, but he expected them without aſking. This diſappointment was in ſome degree palliated, by making Mr. GEORGE GRENVILLE, Treaſurer of the Navy, who at that time lived in the utmoſt intimacy with Mr. PITT: and they were become relations, by the latter gentleman's having married the ſiſter of the former.—Mr.

In the memoirs of the Marchioneſs of Pompadour, (vol. 1. pages 57, 58, 59, Engliſh Tranſ. 1766) we are preſented with a very intereſting anecdote, written to Cardinal Fleury, by an *Engliſh Miniſter* of that time.

"I penſion (writes the Miniſter) *half* the Parliament, to keep it "*quiet*. But as the King's money is not ſufficient, they to whom I "give none, clamour loudly for a war; it would be expedient for "your Eminence to remit me three millions of French Livres, in "order to ſilence theſe barkers. *Gold* is a metal which here cor"rects all ill qualities in the blood. A penſion of 2000l. a year will "make the moſt impetuous warrior in Parliament as *tame as a* "*lamb*."

By this anecdote we are enabled to apprehend the myſtical meaning of the Miniſter's *planning* of a Parliament, and of a Miniſter's *conducting a Houſe of Commons*. The former phraſe we find uſed by Mr. Tindal, in the octavo edition of his Hiſtory of England. Vol. 21. page 439. It runs thus, "Mr. P——, before his death, "had ſettled the *plan*, of the new Parliament." And ſame vol. page 510, he ſubjoins—"As for the elections they went much in "the ſame track *that had been laid out by* Mr. P——." *

* "The winter campaign, (ſaid that truly great man Thomas "Hollis) is now nearly ended, the Treaſury had the numbers they "wanted, and the reſt have remained patriots."

O miſerabile dictum——

Sic tranſit gloria Parliamenti.

Mr. LEGGE was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir THOMAS ROBINSON Secretary of State, and ſome other alterations were made. But notwithſtanding this arrangement, there was a general diſſatisfaction throughout all parties. Some diſliked the meaſures, others diſliked the men; in fine nobody was pleaſed; neither thoſe in office nor thoſe out; and there was a new party forming, that ſeemed to menance more danger to their views, than their own differences. This was the party of Leiceſter-houſe; which threw a general alarm, and conſternation over the whole. No one was quite certain of whom this party conſiſted. Several individuals in office, and in oppoſition, were ſuſpected of ſecretly belonging to it.

The flame of war had been kindled in North America, and it was about to burſt out in Europe. Great Britain, from her predilection for Hanover, was every day more cloſely rivetted to the continent, by freſh engagements, while her own proper buſineſs was totally neglected; her fleet was rotting in ordinary; her army, except ſuch corps as were under the eye of the Duke of Cumberland, relaxed in diſcipline. Her Miniſters were timid by diſunion, and their meaſures were enervated by ignorance. However unpleaſing the fact may be to relate, it is a fact which the beſt informed perſons will not contradict, that the principal, if not the only attention, of all deſcriptions of men was employed at this time in intriguing and negociating for places. But in this general aſſertion, it is not to be underſtood that all parties were influenced by the ſame motives. There is no doubt that ſome perſons were actuated by the paſſion of ſelf intereſt; but it is equally true, that there were many who were governed by a ſincere deſire to ſerve their country; that officers were no otherwiſe their objects, than as they

gave

gave them power and ſituation to do good. This diſtinction it is not only proper, but neceſſary to make; becauſe it was a principle laid down in the next reign, and the votaries of the court diſſeminated it with uncommon art and induſtry, that all mankind were knaves alike; hat the ſubjects of all kings ought to look for honeſty in the Royal boſom; they ſaid it reſided no where elſe. This political blaſphemy came with unpardonable effrontery from the followers of a court, which owed its elevation to the true orthodox principles of the conſtitution.

[The Editors think it a duty incumbent on them to return their warmeſt thanks to their correſpondent ALGERNON SIDNEY, for his very excellent Letter, and the intereſting Hiſtorical Facts which accompany it. They are happy in aſſuring him, that they *entirely coincide* in opinion with him, as to the weight and importance which good *hiſtorical facts*, ought ever to claim, from perſons acting in the ſituation they do. They are perfectly convinced, that nothing can tend more effectually to open the eyes of the public, and make them tremblingly alive to the ſenſe of their preſent ſituation, than ſuch communications; and they flatter themſelves, that their *immediate* inſertion of the above, will at once evince their high opinion of the perſon who tranſmitted it, and their earneſt deſire of ſpeedily hearing from him again.]

THE

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday, August 21.

ON PROPERTY.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 329.

TO make this a little clearer, let us but trace some of the ordinary provisions of life through their several progresses, before they come to our use, and see how much they receive of their *value from human industry*. Bread, wine, and cloth, are things of daily use, and great plenty; yet notwithstanding, acorns, water, and leaves, or skins, must be our bread, drink, and clothing, did not *labour* furnish us with these more useful commodities: for whatever bread is more worth than acorns, wine than water, and *cloth* or *silk*, than leaves, skins, or moss, that is wholly owing to *labour* and *industry*;

try; the one of these being the food and raiment which unassisted nature furnishes us with; the other, provisions which our industry and pains prepare for us, which how much they exceed the other in value, when any one hath computed, he will then see how much *labour makes the far greatest part of the value* of things we enjoy in this world; and the ground which produces the materials, is scarce to be reckoned in, as any, or at most, but a very small part of it; so little that even amongst us, land left wholly to nature, that hath no improvement of pasturage and tillage, or planting, is called, as indeed it is, *waste*; and we shall find the benefit of it amount to little more than nothing.

This shews how much numbers of Men are to be preferred to largeness of Dominions; and that the encrease of lands, and the right employing of them is the great art of government; and that Prince, who shall be so wise and godlike, as by established laws of liberty to secure protection and encouragement to the honest industry of mankind, against the oppression of power and narrowness of party, will quickly be too hard for his neighbours: but this by the by. To return to the argument in hand.

An acre of land that bears here twenty bushels of wheat, and another in America, which, with the same husbandry would do the like, are, without doubt, of the same natural intrinsic value; but yet the benefit mankind receives from one in a year, is worth 5l. and from the other possibly not worth a penny, if all the profit an Indian received from it were to be valued and sold here; at least, I may truly say, not one thousandth. It is *labour* then which *puts the greatest part of the value upon land*, without this it would scarcely be worth

worth any thing: it is to that we owe the greateſt part of all its uſeful products; for all that the ſtraw, bran, bread, of that acre of wheat, is more worth than the product of an acre of good land, which lies waſte, is all the effect of labour: for it is not barely the plowman's pains, the reaper's and threſher's toil, and the baker's ſweat, is to be counted into the *bread* we eat; the labour of thoſe who broke the oxen, who digged and wrought the iron and ſtones, who felled and framed the timber employed about the plough, mill, oven, or any other utenſils, which are a vaſt number, requiſite to this corn, from its being ſeed to be ſown, to its being made bread, muſt all be *charged on* the account of *labour*, and received as an effect of that: nature and earth furniſhed only the almoſt worthleſs materials as in themſelves. It would be a ſtrange *catalogue of things that induſtry provided and made uſe of about every loaf of bread*, before it came to our uſe, if we could trace them; iron, wood, leather, bark, timber, ſtone, bricks, coals, limes, cloth, dying drugs, pitch, tar, maſts, ropes, and all the materials made uſe of in the ſhip, that brought any of the commodities made uſe of by any of the workmen, to any part of the work: all which it would be almoſt impoſſible, at leaſt too long to reckon up.

From all which it is evident, that though the things of nature are given in common, yet man by being maſter of himſelf, and *proprietor of his own perſon, and the actions or labour of it, had ſtill in himſelf the great foundation of property*, and that, which made up the great part of what he applied to the ſupport and comfort of his being, when invention and arts had improved the conveniencies of life, was perfectly his own, and did not belong in common to others.

The

Thus *labour* in the beginning, *gave a right of property*, wherever any one was pleaſed to employ it upon what was common, which remained a long while the far greater part, and is yet more than mankind makes uſe of. Men at firſt, for the moſt part, contented themſelves with what unaſſiſted nature offered to their neceſſities: and though afterwards, in ſome parts of the world, (where the encreaſe of people and ſtock, with the *uſe of money*, had made land ſcarce, and ſo of ſome value) the ſeveral communities ſettled the bounds of their diſtinct territories, and by laws within themſelves, regulated the properties of the private men of their ſociety, and ſo, by *compact* and agreement, *ſettled the property* which labour and induſtry began; and the leagues that have been made between ſeveral ſtates and kingdoms, either expreſſly or tacitly, diſowning all claim and right to the land in the others poſſeſſion, have by common conſent, given up their pretences to their natural common right, which originally they had to thoſe countries, and ſo have, by *poſitive agreement*, *ſettled a property* amongſt themſelves, in diſtinct parts, and parcels of the earth; yet, there are ſtill *great tracts of ground* to be found, (which the inhabitants thereof not having joined with the reſt of mankind, in the conſent of the uſe of their common money) *lie waſte*, and are more than the people who dwell on it do, or can make uſe of, and ſo ſtill lie in common; though this can ſcarce happen amongſt that part of mankind that have conſented to the uſe of money.

The greateſt part of *things really uſeful* to the life of man, and ſuch as the neceſſity of ſubſiſting made the firſt commoners of the world look after, as it doth the *Americans* now, are generally things of *ſhort duration*; ſuch as, if they are not conſumed by uſe, will decay and

periſh

perish of themselves: gold, silver, and diamonds, are things that fancy or agreement hath put the value on, more than real use, and the necessary support of life.—Now of those good things which nature hath provided in common, every one had a right (as hath been said) to as much as he could use, and *property* in all that he could effect with his labour; all that his *industry* could extend to, to alter from the state nature had put it in, was his. He that gathered a hundred bushels of acorns or apples, had thereby a *property* in them, they were his goods as soon as gathered; he was only to look that he used them before they spoiled, else he took more than his share, and robbed others. And indeed it was a foolish thing, as well as dishoneſt to hoard up more than he could make use of; if he gave away a part to any body else, so that it perished not uselessly in his possession, these he also made use of; and if he also bartered away plums that would have rotted in a week, for nuts that would last good for his eating a whole year, he did no injury; he wasted not the common stock, destroyed no part of the portion of goods that belonged to others, so as nothing perished uselessly in his hand. Again, if he would give his nuts for a piece of metal pleased with its colour; or exchange his sheep for shells, or wool for a sparkling pebble or a diamond, and keep those by him all his life, he invaded not the right of others; he might heap up as much of these durable things as he pleased; the *exceeding of the bounds of his just property*, not lying in the largeness of his possession, but the perishing of any thing uselessly.

And thus *came in the use of money*, some lasting thing that men might keep without spoiling, and that by mutual consent men would take in exchange for the truly useful, but perishable supports of life.

And as different degrees of Industry were apt to give men poſſeſſions in different proportions, ſo this *invention of money* gave them the opportunity to continue and enlarge them: for ſuppoſing an Iſland, ſeparate from all poſſible commerce with the reſt of the world, wherein there are but an hundred families, but there were ſheep, horſes, and cows, with other uſeful animals, wholeſome fruits, and land enough for corn for a hundred thouſand times as many, but nothing in the Iſland becauſe of its commonneſs or periſhableneſs, fit to ſupply the place of *money*; what reaſon could any one have there to enlarge his poſſeſſions beyond the uſe of his family, and plentiful ſupply to his *conſumption*, either in what their own induſtry produced, or they could barter for like periſhable uſeful commodities with others? Where there is not ſomething both laſting and ſcarce, and ſo valuable to be hoarded up, there, men will not be apt to enlarge their *poſſeſſions of land*, were it never ſo rich, never ſo free for them to take: for I aſk, what would a man value ten thouſand acres of excellent *land*, ready cultivated, and well ſtocked too with cattle in the middle of the inland parts of *America*, where he had no hopes of commerce with other parts of the world, to draw money to him by the product?—It would not be worth the incloſing, and we ſhould ſee him give up again to the wild common of nature, whatever was more than would ſupply the conveniences of life to be had there for him and his family.

Thus in the beginning all the world was *America*, and more ſo than it is now; for no ſuch thing as money was any where known. Find out ſomething that hath the *uſe and value of money* amongſt his neighbours, you ſhall ſee the ſame man will begin preciſely to enlarge his poſſeſſions.

Bu

But since gold and silver, being little useful to the life of men, in proportion to food, raiment, and carriage, has its value only from the consent of men, whereof *labour* yet *makes*, in great part, the *measure*, it is plain, that men have agreed to a disproportionate and unequal *possession of the earth*, they having, by a tacit and voluntary consent, found out a way how a man may fairly possess more land than he himself can use the product of, by receiving in exchange for the overplus, *gold and silver*, which may be hoarded up without injury to any one; these metals not spoiling or decaying in the hands of the possessor.—This partage of things in an equality of private possessions, men have made practicable out of the bounds of Society, and without compact, only by putting a value on gold and silver, and tacitly agreeing in the use of money, for in Governmets, the laws regulate the right of property, and the possession of land is determined by positive Constitutions.

And this I think, is very easy to conceive, without difficulty, *how labour could at first begin a title to property* in the common things of nature, and how the spending it upon our uses bounded it, so that there could be then no reason of quarrelling about title, nor any doubt about the largeness of possession it gave. Right and conveniency went together; for as a man had a right to all he could employ his labour upon, so he had no temptation to labour for more than he could make use of. This left no room for controversy about the title, nor for encroachment on the right of others; what portion a man carved to himself was easily seen: and it was useless, as well as dishonest, to carve himself too much, or to take more than he needed.*

HISTORICUS.

* We

* We feel ourſelves extremely obliged to *Hiſtoricus* for his corre ſpondence and particularly happy in an opportunity of giving a plac in our Work to an eſſay, which we are convinced muſt at the ſam time convey not only great pleaſure but alſo conſiderable improve ment and information to *many* of our readers. We have lamente that the works of this immortal writer, whom we may very juſtly ſtile the Prince of *Philoſophers* and *Politicians*, ſhould have ſo long con tinued *unknown* to the bulk of mankind. The foregoing eſſay is a moſ inſtructive leſſon to the world in general. It ſhews the *Prince* tha the *number* of his *Subjects*, is a far greater tower of ſtrength than th *extenſiveneſs* of his *dominions*; it evinces to the proud and haughty *no bleman*, that the vain and empty ſplendour of his titles, or the vaſ circumference of his *domains*, would leave him but a poor and help leſs *creature*, were it not for the induſtry of the farmer, the labourer and the huſbandman.—It proves to the merchant, that it would b in vain he ſhould import the raw materials of other countries to pro duce a fifty fold value in *his own*, if it were not for the ingenuity and handy work of the manufacturer.—And when we reflect tha *ninety-nine hundred* parts in a thouſand of the riches of a country, conſiſ in the number of its inhabitants, and the *labour* and *ingenuity* uſed b them and that the *labouring* part of the Community compoſe the bull or body of the people in a State—it ſeems wonderful that any on can be found hardy enough to deny, that this vaſt body ſhould no have an actual choice in the election of thoſe *repreſentatives* whoſ voices are to bind *them* in all caſes whatſoever in *life*, *liberty*, and *pro perty*. Reflect, Britons, reflect on the immenſity of the importanc of this ſingle right, and aſſert your claim to it! The poſſeſſion of i is the *only ſecurity* you have, to continue *freemen*;—and your induſtry your ingenuity, liberty, property, and even life itſelf, will becom *of little value*, if ever you ſubmit to be made *ſlaves*. Read the hiſ tory of all deſpotic governments from the beginning of the world you will find that the ſubjects in each have uniformly, and invaria bly, been in a ſtate of *perſonal* wretchedneſs, and *mental* degradation which ſhocks the free born mind to contemplate. Remember tha the *motto* and *maxim* of your memorable and glorious anceſtors, wa "To live free or die,"—*that this*, indelibly impreſſed on their minds enabled them to conquer at *Agincourt*, at *Creſſy*, and *Poictiers*, recolle alſo, that the deſcendants of thoſe brave and noble Frenchmen, wit whoſe limbs, thoſe memorable fields of battle were ſtrewed, an with whoſe blood, they were bathed, have recently adopted an ſworn to maintain the ſame ſentiment. Let us not envy them th

poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion of this ineſtimable bleſſing—but never let it be ſaid that they have taken it up as a *ſtray*, as a *derelict*, which Britons *have enjoyed*, but now throw from them, inſenſible of its worth and value. Kind Heaven! on this account never let Britons have cauſe to ſay,

Heu patior telis vulnera facta meis Ovid.

Alas the wounds we now endure
Which our own folly did procure.

The Editors.

INNOVATIONS IN THE CONSTITUTION.

INTRODUCTION.

SINCE by means of the Printing-preſs knowledge has become ſo eaſily communicated and expeditiouſly diſſeminated, people in general are better informed of the nature and uſe of government, and ignorance cannot long be the 'patrimony of tyrants' where the liberty of the preſs is in any degree permitted. This accounts for the Revolutions in America and France, and the common people here begin to open their eyes, and to ſee as well as feel, that they have now no real efficient repreſentation, though the form remains; and comparing their degraded ſituation with that of the above two States, they are become diſſatisfied, and the better they are informed the more they will be ſo; and eſpecially as they will find that where the people are really repreſented, taxes are ever more eaſy; and that where the people are not ſo repreſented as to have ſome effectual controul over their legiſlators,

egiſlators, in making thoſe laws, by which they are governed, they are reduced to a degree of ignominious ſlavery.

Upon theſe conſiderations many perſons of the ſoundeſt judgement and moſt extenſive information, are perſuaded that if a reform ſhould be much longer obſtinately refuſed, a very ſerious change will be the unavoidable alternative. Let then our people in power ſeriouſly conſider this; which is the ſole intention of the following tract.

—

IT is very remarkable, that all the paragraph writers in the miniſterial prints, have of late perpetually branded thoſe who have ſtood forward for a Reform in the Repreſentation, with the opprobrious appellation of innovators; ever ſtigmatizing their plan of Reform with the abuſive epithets of utopian, viſionary and ruinous, at the ſame time endeavouring to perſuade the people of Britain that the Societies, which were formerly, and are now aſſociated for the purpoſe of a neceſſary Reform, mean to turn every thing upſide down; and, in ſhort, entirely to deſtroy the very form of the Britiſh government; which evidently is equally falſe and malicious.

It muſt ſeem exceedingly ſtrange and unaccountable that any perſons in power ſhould be ſo ignorant, or fooliſh, as thus to employ people to write about matters of which they know nothing at all; and to encourage them to publiſh ſuch groſs and palpable abſurdities. If they would only take the pains to inform themſelves what the Repreſentation formerly was, and ever ought to

to be, and ever *muſt* be in a *free* government, and compare it with what it *now is*, they could not avoid ſeeing that the above named Societies, like the former Aſſociations, propoſe nothing more than to remove and correct thoſe innovations which the ſervants of the crown have gradually introduced, in order to ſerve its purpoſes, in oppoſition to the intereſt of thoſe who created it, and ſtill ſupport it, together with all its extravagant ſervants. If they would only properly conſider this, they would not ſurely thus expoſe their ignorance or their malice, to the ridicule or abhorrence of every intelligent reader.

That the former and preſent Aſſociations aim at nothing more than the *correction of Innovations*, is as evident from all their declarations, as the ſun in his meridian on the cleareſt day, to any one who will peruſe our Parliamentary hiſtory for about 200 years paſt.—There he will find the Crown has erected many inſignificant villages into Boroughs, which ſend about half as many repreſentatives as there were before; and for what end we need not enquire.* Will any one venture to ſay this is not a dangerous innovation?

Another innovation, deſervedly complained of, is the confining electors for counties to ſuch as were poſſeſſed of, at leaſt forty ſhillings a year in freehold, to the excluſion of a prodigious number who pay taxes, and undoubtedly originally *were*, and ſtill *ought to be* repreſented, while paupers, and even mendicants, to a conſiderable amount, are repreſented in boroughs, ſome of whom are almoſt ſupported from one election to another by the price of their votes, the wages of corruption

What

* Blackſtone tells us the number of repreſentatives has been encreaſed from 300 to above 500, ſince Forteſcue's time in the reign of Henry the ſixth.

What is this but a Plebean oligarchy, which, as Burke obſerves, is a monſter in itſelf.

The next innovation to be noticed is, the cloſed boroughs; it is notorious that all the boroughs in England, which elect by burgeſs tenure, are now cloſed, and many of them within this century.* Theſe ſend in about one fourth of the mock repreſentation, which repreſents nobody except a few Lords or great Commoners. The cloſing of every borough, gives a freſh wound to the conſtitution, and confirms the oligarchy.

The next innovation, which certainly ought to be removed, is the barefaced interference of the nobility in almoſt every election, which has gradually grown to an alarming heighth, (to ſay nothing of the cloſed boroughs which the lords have got poſſeſſion of) and which is entirely contrary to the original conſtitution, though probably about one third of the Houſe, are now ſent in by their influence alone. This fully appears in the ſecond volume of the ſtate of the boroughs.

The next innovation is changing the interval of elections from one to three years, towards the cloſe of the laſt century, and within memory, from three to ſeven years. Theſe were moſt dangerous innovations, and made without any proper authority, chiefly by the interference

* Cloſed Boroughs are thoſe in which the owners (not renters) of the houſes built therein, at the time the villages were erected into boroughs, had the privilege of ſuffrage for repreſentatives. Now ſo many of theſe houſes, in each of this ſort of boroughs, are got into one, or a very few hands, as will carry the elections, when each houſe is pretended to be transferred to ſome ſervant or depenpent of the great proprietor, who give their mock votes to whomſoever he directs.

ference of the lords, who by the original conſtitution, had evidently no ſort of buſineſs to regulate the affairs of the lower Houſe; and their interference therein, is ſuch an innovation, that if it be ſuffered to proceed, it cannot fail overturning the conſtitution, and in its place erecting an oligarchy, the moſt deſpicable of all forms of government.

By theſe moſt evident innovations before mentioned, and the corruption which they have neceſſarily introduced, the original conſtitution has been, almoſt perpetually, changing for many generations, ſo that HENRY FIELDING was not ſo vague as ſome may imagine, when he aſſerted, *that our conſtitution has been as changeable as the weather*: and, if we do not agree with PAINE, who declares we have no conſtitution, it muſt be allowed, that, like Charon's boat, it has gone through ſo many, and ſo material alterations (we cannot ſay repairs) that it is not difficult to determine whether it be the old or a new one, in any thing but its oſtenſible form, which impoſes upon ſuperficial obſervers, ſuch as DE LOLME; but here, *fronti nulla fides—truſt not too much to outward appearances*—is peculiarly applicable.

There is, moreover, another moſt powerful innovator, which muſt be occaſionally reſtrained, and his operations corrected, or no Repreſentative Government can long remain virtually the ſame, though it may retain all its old forms, but will moſt certainly be converted into an engine for deſtroying the people's liberties, inſtead of protecting them. Thus the privilege which was originally intended as a guard againſt the Crown, is now turned to guard the Houſe againſt the people. This innovator is *Time*, whoſe innovations in our government I know not better how to deſcribe, than in the words of

that Prince of moral philoſophers and politicians, LOCKE. Thus, " Things in this world are in ſo conſtant a flux, " that nothing remains long in the ſame ſtate. But things " not always changing equally, and *private intereſt* often " keeping up cuſtoms and privileges, when the reaſons " of them are ceaſed, it often comes to paſs, that in go- " vernments, where part of the legiſlature conſiſts of " *Repreſentatives* choſen by the people, that in tract of " time, the Repreſentation becomes very *unequal*, and " diſproportionate to the reaſon it was firſt eſtabliſhed " upon. To what groſs abſurdities the following cuſ- " tom, when reaſon hath left it, may lead, we may be " ſatisfied, when we ſee the bare name of a town, of " which there remains not ſo much as the ruins, where " ſcarce is to be found ſo much as a ſheep's cote, or more " inhabitants than a ſhepherd, ſends as *many* repreſenta- " tives to the grand Aſſembly of Law-makers, as a whole " county, numerous in people, and powerful in riches. " This, ſtrangers ſtand amazed at, and every one muſt " confeſs, needs a remedy."

" *Salus populi ſuprema lex—the public welfare is the firſt* " *law*—is certainly ſo juſt and fundamental a rule, that " he who ſincerely follows it, cannot dangerouſly err. " If, therefore, the Executive, who has the power of " convoking the Legiſlative, obſerves rather the true pro- " portion than faſhion of Repreſentation, regulates, not " by old cuſtom, but true reaſon, the *number* of mem- " bers that have a right to be repreſented diſtinctly " which no part of the people, however incorporated, " can pretend to, but in proportion to the aſſiſtance it af- " fords to the public, it cannot be judged to have ſet up " a new Legiſlative, but to have reſtored the old and " true one, and to have rectified the diſorders, which " ſucceſſion of time had inſenſibly, as well as inevitably

" intro-

"introduced. For it being the intereſt, as well as the "intention of the people to have a fair and *equal Repre-* "*ſentation*, whoever brings it neareſt to that, is an un- "doubted friend to, and eſtabliſher of the Government, "and cannot miſs the conſent and approbation of the "community."—*Locke on Civil Government*, book 2, c. 13.

What then, may it be ſuppoſed, this luminary in philoſophy and politics, this able ſupporter of the people's civil rights, would have ſaid, had he lived to ſee all the petty boroughs, either *cloſed*, or under the arbitrary diſpoſal of ſome neighbouring lord, or opulent commoner; or elſe *ſelling* their ſeats in the Aſſembly of Repreſentatives, at every general election, to the higheſt bidder! But what would he not have ſaid, had he ſeen ſuch peculation and profuſion of bribes laviſhed to ſecure majorities in that Aſſembly, as are recorded in the anecdotes of the Earl of Chatham, juſt publiſhed!!*

And what would he have thought, if he had lived to hear people now talk of a happy and glorious Conſtitution, evidently built upon corruption, and ſupported by peculation: and what would he have conjectured, had he ſeen a Proclamation iſſued to intimidate and prevent the people from exerciſing their right of conferring upon and publiſhing their grievances?!!

If it be aſked what great national benefit is likely to ariſe from the propoſed Reform of the Repreſentation, I anſwer, the ſureſt way of reaſoning in ſuch caſes, is by deduction

* Upon the meeting of Parliament, November 25, 1762, immediately previous to the preliminary articles of Peace, being laid before Parliament, twenty five thouſand pounds were iſſued in one day in Bank notes of 100l. each; the only ſtipulation was,—'Give us your vote.' Vol. 1. P. 236.

deduction from what has happened, as the ſame may, and moſt probably will happen again, ſo long as the ſame cauſes remain in force; and we know that if this Reform had taken place only ſixteen or ſeventeen years ago, this nation would, at this day, have been richer by one hundred millions of money, and one hundred thouſand lives would have been ſaved: America would alſo ſtill have been ours;* to ſay nothing of ſome expenſive and unneceſſary and later armaments, or of the preſent war in India, which muſt at leaſt add very greatly to the already immenſe national debt, and poſſibly may, in the end, prove as deſtructive as the American war, without any poſſibility of remuneration.

Whenever a radical Reform takes place, peculators will not endeavour to get into the Houſe, who now make a trade of the Repreſentation; and while they do ſo, no Miniſter can preſide many months without immenſe bribery, and the money muſt come out of the pockets of the people in the form of taxes.

Let, then, theſe inſolent declaimers, who ſtigmatize thoſe with the appellation of innovators and ſpeculators, who honeſtly labour to reſtore the Conſtitution to what it was when it really deſerved the epithet of GLORIOUS, take ſhame to themſelves for abetting and ſupporting of innovations, ſpeculation and peculation, for to them alone it moſt evidently belongs. This, Truth compels me to ſay, though

NO ASSOCIATOR.

* See Briſſot de Warvill's, Travels in America.

BOROUGH

BOROUGH REPRESENTATION.

BUCKINGHAM.

Political Character.—THIS Town, altho' it gives name to the county, is of the utmoſt inſignificance and comes exactly under the deſcription of a rotten Borough.

The Corporation.—Conſiſts entirely of the friends and dependents of the Marquis of Buckingham, who has the ſole and abſolute diſpoſal of the Borough. This town is ſaid by Willis to have been the only borough in the county at the time of the conqueſt. It never ſent members to parliament before the laſt of Henry VIII. according to the principle of giving this privilege to boroughs by charter. But it ſent to the National Aſſembly or Council as a trading borough ſo early as 11th Edward III. when only the chief towns in trade were ſummoned, no Knights of the Shire were convened to this Council. In the 27th of the ſaid King it was ſummoned, but made no return, and thus diſcontinued to ſend, until 36th Henry VIII. as above mentioned.

Right of Election.—Is in the Bailiff and twelve Burgeſſes only. Nov. 11th 1690.

Number of Voters, 13.—Patron of the borough.—Marquiſs of Buckingham.

AYLESBURY, BUCKS

Political Character.—This borough is not like Buckingham, under the controul of a ſingle individual. At preſent the repreſentation is divided between the parties of oppoſition and adminiſtration.

Original Repreſentation.—This town was made a borough by charter Anno 1ſt. Mary, and then empowered to ſend members to parliament, dated Jan. 14, 1553-4.

In the chapel rolls, in the bundle of returns of Parliament writs, in the 14th Eliz. is this remarkable return, which particularly claims a place in the hiſtory of Borough-Repreſentation.

"To all chriſtian people, to whom this preſent writ-
" ing ſhall come; I, Dame *Dorothy Packington*, late
" wife of Sir John Packington, Knt. lord and owner of
" the town of Ayleſbury, ſend greeting. Know ye me,
" the ſaid *Dorothy Packington*, to have choſen, named,
" and appointed, my truſty and well beloved Thomas
" Litchfield, and George Burden Eſqrs. to be my Bur-
" geſſes of my ſaid town of Ayleſbury. And whatſoever
" the ſaid Thomas and George, Burgeſſes, ſhall do in
" the ſervice of the Queen's Highneſs in the preſent par-
" liament to be holden at Weſtminſter the 8th of May
" next enſuing, the date hereof, I, the ſame Dame Do-
" rothy Packington, do ratify and approve to be of my
" own act, as fully and wholly as if I were witneſs or
" might be preſent there. In witneſs whereof to theſe
" preſents I have ſet my ſeal, this 4th day of May, in
" the

" the 14th year of the reign of my ſovereign, Lady Eli-
" zabeth, by the Grace of God, of England, France,
" and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c."

Corporation.—It was incorporated as above, by the ſtile of a Bailiff, nine Aldermen, and 12 Burgeſſes, who were to elect the Members; but by neglect, the corporation was diſſolved. This town was a royal manor, in the reign of William the conqueror, who gave it to one of his favourites, to be held by an old tenure, namely, that he ſhould provide litter or ſtraw for the Kings bed and chambers, and ſhould furniſh him with three eels in the winter, and two green geeſe in the ſummer, whenever his Majeſty came into the neighbourhood.

Right of Election—is in all the houſeholders not receiving alms. (Jan. 28, 1765) The two members are returned by the conſtables, who are nominated by the Lord of the manor.

Mode of obtaining Votes. The practice which is ſaid to prevail here, is by giving five guineas to each voter. The manner of canvaſſing is by the holding up their hands and extending as many fingers as they mean to give guineas for each vote. Conformably to this cuſtom, a whimſical anecdote is related of a certain Knight, who, thus canvaſſing with all his fingers extended, perſuaded the electors, that ſuch as voted for him would have ten guineas each elector; this being double the ſum they were uſed to receive, he was choſen by a conſiderable majority. But the member being elected he left the town immediately, and the electors as well ſatisfied as *they ought to be* who would barter away their birth right for a meſs of pottage.

GREAT

GREAT MARLOW.

Political character. The borough of Great Marlow being the joint property of William Clayton, Esq. and W. Lee Antoine, Esq. is one of those that can boast of no privilege but that of voting at the will of a superior. The majority of houses and property joining the borough belonging to the above gentlemen, no opposition to them can ever be attempted with success.

Original representation. This borough sent fourteen times to parliament before the 3d. of Edward the 2d. and then ceased sending for 400 years, until it was restored the 21st of James the 1st. when it began again to send members.

Right of Election was resolved December 21, 1680, and Nov. 21, 1690, to be in those inhabitants only who pay scot and lot. The returning officers are the constables.

Number of Voters 216. Patrons of the borough, Wm. Clayton and W. Lee Antoine, Esqrs.

ON THE

CHURCH LANDS IN FRANCE.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 338)

"LET your ears, O Prince, be for ever closed "against such representations; that in concert with your "clergy you may spread darkness over your dominions, "know that a people skilful, rich, and without superstition, are in the eyes of the priests a people without "morals. It is, in fact, the rich and industrious citizen, "who has for example, all the respect for the virtue of "continence that it deserves. "It

"It is, they will say, in this respect with the present "age, as with those that are past. Charlemagne,* cre- "ated a saint for liberality toward the priesthood, loved "women as well as Francis I. and Henry VIII. Henry "III. of France had a taste less decent. Henry IV. "Elizabeth, Lewis XIV. and Queen Anne caressed "their mistresses, or their lovers, with the same hands "with which they laid their enemies in the dust. They "will add that the monks themselves have almost en- "joyed in secret forbidden pleasures; and in short, "that without changing the natural constitutions of the "inhabitants it is very difficult to keep them from that "damnable disposition that carries them towards wo- "men. There is however one method to prevent it, and "that is to make them poor. It is not from a sound "and well fed body that the demon of the flesh can be "driven: it is to be effected only by prayer, pennance, "and fasting.

"That, by the example of some of your neighbours "your majesty therefore will permit us to strip your "subjects of all their superfluities, to tithe their lands, "to pillage their property, and to keep them in the "strictest necessity. If, touched by these pious remon- "strances, your majesty shall regard our prayers, may "benedictions pour down upon you! No praise can "equal so meritorious an action. But in an age when "corruption affects all minds, when impiety hardens every "heart, may we hope that your Majesty and your mi- nisters

* Charlemagne's hands were loathsome with the blood of the Saxons whom he massacred without the pretence of justice; he robbed his nephews of their Patrimony; married four wives, yet committed incest: but he encreased the territory of the church, and the priests made him a saint.

The Editors.

" niſters will adopt a counſel ſo ſalutary, a method ſo " eaſy to ſecure the continence of your ſubjects ? With " regard to the Liberty of the Preſs, if your clergy riſe " up ſo violently againſt it, if they tell you inceſſantly " that it ſaps the foundation of the law, and renders " religion ridiculous, believe it not.

" It is not that your clergy do not perceive, with the " ſolid and ingenious author of the *Engliſh inveſtigator*, " that truth is proof againſt ridicule, and that ridicule, " is the touchſtone of truth. A ridicule caſt on a demon- " ſtration, is like mud thrown againſt marble; it ſoils " it for a moment, it dries; the rain comes and the ſpot " diſappears. To agree that a religion cannot ſtand " againſt ridicule, is to allow it to be falſe. Does not " the catholic church repeat inceſſantly that the gates of " hell ſhall never prevail againſt it? Yes; but prieſts " are not religion. Ridicule may weaken their authori- " ty, and fetter their ambition; they therefore conſtant- " ly cry out againſt the liberty of the preſs* and entreat " your majeſty to forbid your ſubjects the practice of " writing and thinking, that you may deprive them in " this reſpect of the privileges of men, and conſequent- " ly ſhut the mouth of every one that can inſtruct man- " kind.

" If ſo many demands appear indiſcreet, and that jea- " lous of the happineſs of your people, you would, " Sire, rule over intelligent inhabitants only, know, " that

* Perhaps France has not been the only country where prieſts cry out againſt *the liberty of the preſs*; at the time of the reformation, it was a ſaying of Cardinal Wolſey, " If we don't *undo* the preſs, the preſs will *undo* us—and in *far later* times if we are not groſſly miſinformed, there are other countries where the *clergy* are very active in impeding the good effects which this bleſſing holds out to a people.

" that the ſame conduct that will render you dear to " your ſubjects, and reſpectable to ſtrangers, will be im- " puted to you as a crime by your clergy. Dread the " vengeance of a powerful body, and for the future re- " ſign to them your ſword; it is then that, aſſured of " the piety of your people, the ſacerdotal power may " again aſſume over them its ancient authority, ſee from " day to day that authority encreaſe, and at laſt make " uſe of it to bring you into ſubjection.

" We deſire the more earneſtly that your majeſty " would regard our ſupplication, and authorize our de- " mand, as it will deliver us from a ſecret inquietude, " that is not without foundation. Quakers may eſta- " bliſh themſelves in your dominions; they may propoſe " to communicate, gratis, to the cities, towns, and vil- " lages, all inſtruction, moral and religious, that is ne- " ceſſary; they might moreover form certain companies " of finance, who might undertake this enterprize of " inſtruction at a diſcount, and furniſh it cheaper and " cheaper. Who can ſay whether the magiſtrates might " not then take it into their heads to ſeize on our reve- " nues, and employ them *to diſcharge a part of the na- " tional debt*, and by that means make your nation *the " moſt reſpectable in Europe*. Now it is of little con- " ſequence to us, Sire, whether your people be happy " and reſpectable, but it is of great conſequence that the " ſacerdotal body be rich and powerful."

'This, (continues he) is what the repreſentations of 'the Clergy ſeemed to me to contain. I ſhall not weary 'myſelf with conſidering the addreſs, the artifice with 'which the Prieſts have in all countries continually aſked 'in the name of heaven, the power and riches of the 'earth. I admire the confidence they have always had

'in

'in the weakneſs of the people, and eſpecially men in 'power. But what moſt of all ſurprizes me, is, (when 'I reflect on the ages of ignorance) to find that in this 'reſpect, many ſovereigns have always been out of the 'power of the clergy.'

Tho' the foregoing ſentiments were written and publiſhed many years ago, the Author ſeems to have had a kind of prophetical knowledge, of what has ſo lately come to paſs. The works of the ſeveral great and eminent writers before enumerated, had during the ſpace of many years, being gradually opening the eyes of the people; and removing the bandage which the arts of ſuperſtition, and bigotry, had bound over them. They ſhewed them the overgrown power, tyranny, and oppreſſion of the clergy; the enormous controul their vaſt revenues gave them, over every department of the ſtate: by which they ruled with ſoverign ſway both prince and people. They convinced the people, that the chains of Deſpotiſm in which they were bound, were forged by their own folly, and riveted by the craft, and ſubtility of the prieſts;—they painted to them Liberty, in her ſweeteſt and brighteſt colours: with peace, honour, commerce and wealth in her train. They rouſed their attention, and animated their ſenſibility, by ſhewing them the degrading compariſon of themſelves, with the people of Great Britain and America:—the whole nation became impreſſed with a ſighing, longing, ſmothered love of that freedom, which ſeemed to them ſo fair.—The ſhare they were made to take in the American war, foſtered and gave vitality to the aſhes already kindled and burning in their boſoms; and the neceſſities of their country, brought on it by the improvident extravagance, and laviſh expenditure of a voluptuous and intriguing Court; and an abandoned, and profligate Nobility, who trod without remorſe on the necks of the peaſantry

peaſantry, and revelled in the ſpoils of an oppreſſed and plundered people, ſoon cauſed a convulſion which, like the electric fire, lighted up the ſparks already kindling in their breaſts, and the flame of freedom burſt forth in one loud, wide, and general exploſion.

Able conductors were not wanting to guide and direct the ſtorm, which overſpread the *political horizon*; an enthuſiaſtic ardour filled every breaſt, except thoſe of the cowardly creatures of deſpotic power—*the Caſtle of the King* (as it has ſince been ſtiled by an Iriſh apoſtate) but to every humane mind, the murky tomb of living victims, hurried in the prime of life, health and proſperity, from wives, children, and every thing that can be dear to them in this life; and buried in the damp, dark, and dreary dungeon, perhaps, for having ſpoken freely of the rigour of thoſe laws by which they were oppreſſed; or, it may be, for the more *monſtrous crime* of having ſatirized the *miniſter*, ridiculed his *miſtreſs*, or taken the wall of his *favourite footman*. This abominable abode of ſlaves to the offended pride, and capricious reſentment of the *miniſter*, or his *creatures*, was the firſt object of the aſſault of a people *determined to be free*; they attacked and demoliſhed it, and with it fell that deſpotiſm, which had firſt raiſed, and afterwards ſupported it.

Here began the firſt triumph of the ſons of freedom in France; it was followed by many others, but it ſoon became apparent that *liberty* could never promiſe itſelf ſecurity, whilſt the clergy remained poſſeſſed of the enormous wealth and power they had ſo long engroſſed.* The nation reſolved, therefore, to take into

 their

* When one conſiders to what an immenſe ſum a very ſmall matter will amount in a long courſe of years, there is no wonder to be

their own hands, the management of thoſe revenues, which had ſo long been employed to oppreſs and enſlave them, for the more virtuous and noble purpoſe of giving ſtability and ſecurity to their new-fledged freedom. They followed the advice of the before quoted author, and "ſeized on the church lands and revenues," amounting only to the trifling ſum of ſix millions per annum, "to employ them in diſcharge of the *national debt*, and "(as he ſays) to make their Nation the moſt reſpectable "in Europe."

In the courſe of this *ſacrilegious*, but *neceſſary* buſineſs, they found that many biſhops were in poſſeſſion and receipt of 20,000l. 30,000l. and 40,000l. ſterling per annum, for doing nothing but ſupporting the meaſures of tyrants, and giving their epiſcopal ſanction to religious ſuperſtition and bigotry; they perceived alſo, that thouſands of poor *curates*, who did all the *drudgery* of that duty for which their pampered ſuperiors were ſo well

be made that in popiſh countries, thoſe *gentlemen* who call themſelves the CHURCH, ſhould have made ſuch great acquiſitions: on the other hand it is rather a ſurprize to me, that like their brethren the MAGI of old, they have not uſurped *all* power over the *poſſeſſions*, as well as the conſciences of the laity; ſince in all probability it would have been attended with better ſucceſs as to the continuance of it.

What they might have done in *England* before the reformation, had it not been for the ſtatute of *Mortmain*, is not to be determined: but certainly, it would have been very great. For notwithſtanding that ſtatute, their revenues encreaſed from time to time, till the reign of Henry the 8th. In this reign they ſuffered much, both with reſpect to their power and eſtates, as has been ſince greatly bewailed by many good *proteſtant* divines: but if they will have patience for a few years, they will find that the late Queen Anne has furniſhed them with materials ſufficient, not only to repair the ſacrilege of Henry, but alſo to acquire a greater property. *Smart's tables.*

well paid, were *ſtarving* on 20l. and 30l. a year; and they were *wicked* enough to decree the more equal diſtribution of the *loaves and fiſhes* in future, by providing that no miniſter of the goſpel, however low in the church, ſhall henceforward receive leſs than 50l. *per annum*; nor any dignitary, however *high*, more than *three thouſand a year*.

But while the National Aſſembly thus aſſumed the Church Lands from their former poſſeſſors, and appropriated them to the diſcharge of thoſe immenſe public debts, which the luxury and profligacy of former adminiſtrations had incurred, they did not leave the miniſters of religion to depend for ſupport upon the mere ſpontaneous will of the people: nor ever thought of reducing them to that ſtate of abject humility, which the Apoſtate above-mentioned, boldly, though falſely aſſerts to be their preſent condition. No! they were more juſt and virtuous than to do this. On the contrary, they charged the nation at large with the ſalaries of the prieſthood; thus at once enſuring the perpetuity of the payment, and aboliſhing a ſyſtem which, even in proteſtant countries has been, and yet is, a ſource of endleſs diſputes and litigations. The people of France have done—for ever it is hoped done—with tythes, and every other ſuch partial, unequal mode of ſupporting the Church; and the clergy on their ſide, unincumbered with all troubleſome, expenſive appendages to their office, now receive their payments from the National Fund appropriated expreſſly for them, with the ſame eaſe and facility as our various civil officers under government in England receive their reſpective emoluments.

"To the nation belong religion, its miniſters, reli-
"gious orders, and the poor. Your repreſentatives have
"therefore

" therefore decreed, that henceforth the charges of wor-
" ſhip, the juſt and honourable maintenance of the mi-
" niſters of the altar, *and of the poor*, ſhall be furniſhed
" from the National Treaſury; they have placed the
" creditors of the clergy among the creditors of the ſtate,
" and carried to the charge of the whole nation all the
" expences in order to anſwer the ſame charges."*—
" What imports it what property ſhall diſcharge your
" debts to the miniſters of religion, provided they
" are honourably treated; provided their ſalary removes
" them not from their duty, but on the contrary brings
" them nearer to thoſe whom they ſhould edify, inſtruct
" and conſole? Where is the example of a people, who
" in becoming free, became unjuſt towards them that
" ſerved them; and have we not fixed the expences of
" religion, in the *firſt claſs* of public expences, juſt as
" you all place religion itſelf in the firſt rank of your
" duties?"† " The holy duties which religion enjoins,
" require undoubtedly, a particular profeſſion—a pro-
" feſſion which dedicates a whole life to ſupport great
" truths by great examples. But it ought not to ſepa-
" rate thoſe who embrace it from the reſt of the citizens;
" *the moral influence of religion ought to give no political*
" *influence to its miniſters.* Therefore when labouring to
" regenerate France, the nation had a right to reſume
" thoſe poſſeſſions, which ſerved leſs for the decent main-
" tenance of the true miniſter of the goſpel, than to con-
" ſtitute a *State within a State*, and to promote a dange-
" rous independence."‡

Thete

* See Chriſtie's Account of the French Revolution. Part i. page 103.

† Chriſtie, U. S. p. 108. ‡ Chriſtie, p. 102.

These extracts from the decrees and resolutions of the National Assembly, are sufficient to prove that the clergy in France are by no means in that abject, precarious condition with respect to their incomes, which Mr. Burke, and his followers have dared to assert. It is the Bishops, or what may be called the drones in the ecclesiastical community, who have any cause whatsoever to complain. Their salaries are reduced, but not so much as to prevent them from supporting every useful part of the episcopal character with proper dignity. On the other hand, the stipends of the active, officiating part of the clergy, are very much advanced, and what yet adds to the wisdom and justice of the measure, their stipends are advanced in proportion to the *duty they have to perform*, from 50l. to 150l. per annum, according to the populousness of their respective parishes. The National Assembly have also ordered that all presentations, or sales of livings, should be abolished, and that the ministers of religion should be elected by the free votes of the parishioners; thinking (to use their own words) that "by "this means, religion will be more cherished, its influ- "ence encreased, and *a closer, more affectionate connexion* "*take place between the people and the pastors.*"

Of the propriety, or the contrary, of this regulation, I give no opinion.—I leave it to your readers to determine.

HISTORICUS.

ON THE

ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

What is commonly called the Conqueſt by William I.

WE are now come to that period of the Engliſh hiſtory, which contaminated the purity of the Engliſh Conſtitution, or mode of government, with a deſpotic ſpirit; which time has not been able totally to eradicate.

After the death of Edward the confeſſor, there were two candidates for the crown of England, which always had been elective, and continued ſo to this laſt Saxon King. The one was Harold, an Engliſhman of great natural abilities, much merit, and vaſtly beloved by the people, who had been elected chief magiſtrate of three ſhires, Kent, Suſſex, and Surrey, at the death of his father Earl Goodwin; who, before him, had held the ſame offices.

The other was William the baſtard, Duke of Normandy, who was a man of warlike genius, and a very powerful Prince, whoſe dominions being ſituated oppoſite to our coaſt, rendered it more convenient for him, than for any other Prince, to tranſport an army into England, and conſequently to enſlave the nation. For which

which reason, no one, who was a friend to his country, would ever think of electing a man, who would be so notoriously dangerous to its laws, liberty, and constitution.

Indeed the dangerous consequence of his election was so apparent, that, though the clergy had marked William for their man, yet they could not hinder the choice of Harold: and therefore he was elected King of England, by the Wittenagemot or Parliament; and was accordingly crowned the next day by the Archbishop of York.

The Pope and William, finding themselves frustrated in all their previous intrigues, and secret cabals, in obtaining the crown of England for the latter, were resolved to attempt it by open force; but the states of Normandy having refused the Duke an aid of money for the undertaking, he was obliged to have recourse to some other means for assistance. The Pope, therefore, was now obliged to pull off the mask, and declare openly against England, and make a crusading business of it; which was done with a view to encourage individuals to engage in the enterprize. And that all men might more plainly see that William was the champion of the Church, he first made the Duke a present of a consecrated standard, with a golden *Agnus Dei*, and one of St. Peter's hairs; and solemnly excommunicated every man that should oppose him.

The Duke, on his part, offered the lands of England as a prize to be fought for, and to be divided amongst all those that should assist him in the conquest; by which means he engaged not only great numbers of his own subjects, but many of his neighbours to assist him.—

Thus

Thus the Duke of Normandy was enabled to fit out a fleet and army, with which he invaded England; and on the 14th of October, 1066, was fought the ever memorable battle of Haſtings, in which the Engliſh army was routed and King Harold ſlain; which flung the whole nation into confuſion, and ſoon after procured the crown of England to William.

Morcar and Edwin, two brave Officers who diſtinguiſhed themſelves that day in battle, retired in the night with the broken remains of the army to London, in hopes to recover the people from their fright and conſternation, and to apply ſome remedy to ſo preſſing an evil. Hiſtorians obſerve, that, in all probability, they would have ſucceeded, if the treacherous behaviour of the clergy in London had not broken all their meaſures, by ſecretly caballing amongſt the people. Theſe two officers, and ſome others, who were zealous friends to the liberty of their country, aſſembled the people, and repreſented to them, that the firſt thing to be done was to come out of that ſtate of anarchy and confuſion they were in, and immediately to elect ſome perſon to the chief command. That Edgar Atheling was on the ſpot, and one of the family of their ancient Kings; and that no man could have any juſt objection againſt his advancement to the throne. That as ſoon as he ſhould be proclaimed King, he would ſend orders to all parts of the kingdom to levy troops; and that the Duke of Normandy ſhould find to his coſt, that the gaining a ſingle battle was not ſufficient to render him maſter of the kingdom; and to ſpirit up the people the more to action, they put them in mind how they had defended their country inch by inch, againſt the Danes, for a great many years, and had at laſt drove them out of the kingdom; and that there was no doubt but they would ſoon do the ſame, by this new invader.

The

The clergy knew this was the critical moment, and that if they could but keep things in confuſion a little longer, their buſineſs was done, and therefore they openly oppoſed every propoſal of reſiſtance. The declaration of the Pope in favour of William was ſufficient to induce all the clergy then in London, with the two Archbiſhops at their head, to cabal amongſt the people, in order to hinder Edgar's election; which they ſo effectually did, that Morcar and Edwin, ſeeing every propoſal over ruled, and deſpairing of ſucceſs, retired into the north to take their own meaſures.

They were no ſooner gone than the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Archbiſhop of York, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and the clergy about London, and ſome ſay, Prince Edgar himſelf (by their perſuaſion) went to the Duke at Berkhampſtead, and there ſwore fealty to him, as if he had been already their lawful ſovereign. Hence we may juſtly ſay, that the lives, liberty, and property, of the people of England, were ſurrendered into the hands of the Normans, by the baneful influence of the clergy. For the city of London following the example of the clergy ſurrendered, and afterwards the whole kingdom, without any further reſiſtance.

Thus William the Firſt obtained the crown of England, by favour of the clergy, and not by the power of his ſword, as they would ſeem to intimate by his ſirname of Conqueror; a name impoſed upon him after his death, by the clergy, in order to ſcreen the infamy of their own actions from poſterity, that future generations might aſcribe the miſerable ſtate of the people to the conqueſt of William, and not to the dark treachery of a body of men, who had, under a maſk of religion, abuſed every

every truſt of confidence repoſed in them; and betrayed their flocks, bound hand and foot, like ſheep to the ſlaughter.

From this time, civil and religious tyranny, walked hand in hand, two Monſters, till then unknown in England, which are equally the common enemies to mankind, and have, at all times, united againſt every principle both of civil and religious liberty. This is the true origin of the alliance between Church and State, ſo much contended for by ſome of our Eccleſiaſtics, who have renounced the penances of popery, but would fain retain both its pride and its power.

After the coronation of William I. was well over, in the year 1066, it was hinted to the cities, boroughs, and other incorporated bodies of men in the rural Tithings, that a preſent to their new King would be acceptable; and the King *in a proclamation*, confirmed the ancient rights and privileges of the people. We only mention this to ſhew, that there were incorporated bodies of men at that time, and that their incorporated rights were acknowledged by William himſelf, before any bodies of men were incorporated by the charters of the ſucceeding kings.

(To be continued.)

CHURCH

CHURCH AND STATE.

Extract from a Work, entitled Strictures on a Pamphlet, called, "Thoughts on the late Riots at Birmingham." By a Welsh Freeholder. Just Published.

LET none, says he, abate of the reverence with which they have been wont to regard Dr. Priestly, because the friends of CHURCH and STATE, have exiled him from his home, burned his house, sought to destroy his property, and ransacked his papers. He is not the only Philosopher, not the only Sage, not the only pious Christian, whom the friends of Church and State have persecuted. For Socrates was put to death by *the friends of Church and State.* The philosopher Aristotle was obliged to fly his country to escape the effects of the zeal of *the friends of Church and State.* The same fate Anaxagoras (had it not been for a powerful patron) would at an early period have experienced from *the friends of Church and State.* Our Saviour was crucified by *the friends of Church and State.* The Apostles were put to death, and the primitive Christians made martyrs, by *the friends of Church and State.* Several of the brightest ornaments of the reformation were banished their country, sent to the gallies, and burned at the stake, by *the friends of Church and State.*

A belief that there were Antipodes was once deemed a hereſy not to be tolerated by *the friends of Church and State*. Our illuſtrious countryman Roger Bacon, for his ſtudies in natural philoſophy, was thrown into priſon, by *the friends of Church and State*. Galileo was thrown into that of the Inquiſition for ſaying that the earth moved, by *the friends of Church and State*. The excellent Grotius, for denying the decree of reprobation, was impriſoned by the *friends of Church and State*. Locke was diſhonoured at Oxford by *the friends of Church and State*. Dr. Clarke was put to the alternative of being ſtripped of his preferment, or of diſgracing his reputation by a quibble, by *the friends of Church and State*. Honeſt Whiſton, the co-adjutor and ſucceſſor of Sir Iſaac Newton, was on the charge of hereſy, expelled the mathematical chair at Cambridge, by *the friends of Church and State*: while *his* ſucceſſor, an immoral man, and an Infidel, ſat in it without diſturbance from *the friends, of Church and State*.

Sic tranſit gloria mundi!

So paſſes worldly glory.

THE

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday, September 4.

Extracts from Lord Molesworth's Preface.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

AS the plan of your work admits you to insert extracts from scarce and valuable books, I have transcribed the following passages from the preface to the great Lord Molesworth's account of Denmark, and hope it will be acceptable and entertainining to your numerous readers.

Derby July 14. I am Gentlemen, yours,
A CONSTANT READER.

On the advantages of travel, and on the proper education of youth, extracted from the preface to Lord Molesworth's account of Denmark.

HEALTH and liberty, are without dispute the greatest natural blessings mankind are capable of enjoying, yet these blessings are seldom sufficiently valued whilst enjoyed, by those who are in possession of them. But as an Italian who passes a winter in Greenland, will soon be convinced how much misery he endures from the want of that genial warmth he enjoyed in his native country; so he that knows by experience the trouble of a languishing sickness, or the loss of his *liberty*, will soon begin to have a right notion of the value of what he once scarce thought worth his notice,

Want of liberty, is a disease in any society, like want of health in any particular person; and as the best way to understand the nature of any distemper aright, is to view it in several patients, since the same disease may proceed from different causes, and put on different appearances; so the disorders in society are best perceived by observing the nature and effects of them in our several neighbours. Travel, therefore, seems as necessary to one who desires to be useful to his country, as practicing upon other men's disorders is to make an able physician; for although a man may see too frequently the misery of such as are deprived of health, without quitting his own country, yet thanks to providence, he must go out of these kingdoms who would know experimentally the want of PUBLIC LIBERTY. He that travels into a climate infected with this terrible disease (and he can find few that are not,) does not only see, but experimentally feel the grievances occasioned by it; so as to relish

relish better upon his return the freedom of his own constitution, and may make good use of the experience without having paid too dear for it, which indeed he scarcely can.

Thus 'tis a great, yet rare advantage to learn rightly how to prize health, without the misery of being sick; but we easily and pleasantly become sensible of the true value of liberty, by travelling into such countries as do not enjoy it. Now this can be done by no nation so conveniently as the English; for we have many gentlemen whose estates will admit them either to travel in person, or to send their sons abroad for a few years.

The method indeed which has been too generally pursued in sending young gentlemen abroad, can scarcely answer any good or important end. We send them out children, and bring them home again great boys; and the returns they make are suitable to their inexperienced age. If they acquire the languages it is so far well; but the more usual acquirements are an affected foppishness, and a filthy disease. But the travelling here recommended is that of MEN, who set out well stocked with knowledge of their own country, its laws and customs, and are able to compare these with others.—With such knowledge, travellers cannot fail of becoming serviceable to the public, by contributing towards the improvements of our own constitution, though without doubt it is one of the best in the world.

It is however as absurd to think we need not go abroad and learn of others, because we have perhaps better laws and customs, as it would be, not to trade abroad, because we dwell in a very plentiful country. For as our merchants bring many useful things from barren countries

countries, which our own good one does not produce; so if the same care was taken to supply us with exact accounts of the constitutions and manners of other countries; we might without doubt find many things for our purpose, which now our meer ignorance of keeps us from being sensible that we want.

But, admitting that our constitution were so perfect already as to need no improvement, yet the best methods of preserving it so, are well worth an Englishman's enquiry. 'Tis true the wisdom of our ancestors, or their good fortune have hitherto preserved the liberties of our country; but we all know what various tempests it has sustained. The perpetual contests between the kings and the people; the former endeavouring to acquire more power than was legally their due; and the latter being obliged to oppose them in order to recover, or preserve their just liberties, have been almost in perpetual succession. So that all we pretended to by the late revolution, bought with so great expence, was to be as we were, and that every one should have his own again; the effecting of which may be called a piece of good luck, *and that's the best which can be said of it.* But to return,

Travel will teach a gentleman, who makes a right use of it, by what steps *slavery* has within these 200 years been introduced into Europe; and how most of the protestant, as well as popish countries, have in a manner lost the precious jewel *liberty*. This cannot be attributed to any more probable cause than the enslaving the *spirits* of the people, as a preparative to that of their *bodies*: for since *(foreign)* princes think it their interests that subjects should obey without reserve, and all PRIESTS who depend upon the prince, are for their own sakes obliged to promote what he esteems his interest;

reſt;* 'tis plain the EDUCATION of YOUTH, *on which is laid the very foundation ſtones of public liberty*, has been of late years committed to the ſole management of ſuch as make it their buſineſs to undermine it; and muſt needs do ſo, unleſs they will be falſe to their fortunes, and make the character of *prieſt*, give place to that of true patriot.

'Tis confeſſed that in the foreign ſchools and univerſities, excellent rules are made uſe of, for attaining languages and ſciences. Thoſe youths eſpecially, who have been educated among the *Jeſuits*, are remarked to excel others of equal parts, inſtructed elſewhere. But yet this is only a training up in the knowledge of words and languages, as if the pupils were intended for ſchoolmaſters;

* Lord Moleſworth, in this particular paſſage, had the caſe and behaviour of the Prieſts in foreign countries principally in view; but the juſtice of the remark is not confined to them; for in proteſtant countries, proteſtant Biſhops have employed themſelves in proving the neceſſity and emolument of *both* parties. His Lordſhip here ſpeaks but of one, and that rather in the light of a ſuperior than an ally: both parties have their claims and privileges, which they exerciſe but as the caſe requires. "That claſs of our fellow ſubjects (ſays a fine "writer) which miniſterial deriſion ſtigmatiſes with the name of "*patriotic* or *reformers*, hath inſinuated that the intrigues of the cabinet "have a tendency to arbitary rule. On every manœuvre of that com-"pleſtion the clerical powers in alliance, will of courſe be called "upon to execute their part of the convention. Their province "upon ſuch emergencies will be to keep religious enquiry within its "due limits. If men are left free to ſpeculate upon the genuine prin-"ciples of Chriſtianity, ſay the politicians, they may come to ſtum-"ble upon maxims too favourable to their civil rights and privi-"leges.

"*Ye* therefore *who have the watch, make it as ſure as you can.*"

Vide, Reflections upon the fate of the Clerical petition p. 6. written in the year 1774.

masters; whilst the weightier matters of education, such as good principles, good morals, the improvement of reason, the love of justice, of liberty and their country, are either totally omitted, or very slightly recommended. They forget not however to recommend frequently, what they call the *Queen of all virtues*, viz. *submission*, to superiors, and an entire, blind obedience to authority; without instructing them in the due measure of it, rather teaching them that 'tis beyond all bounds. Thus the spirits of men, are from the beginning inured to subjection, and deprived of the right notion, of a generous, manly freedom; but on the contrary have the misfortune to carry the slavish opinions and passive doctrines taught them at these seminaries, to their graves.

Had these countries while they were free, committed the government of their youth, to *philosophers*, instead of *priests*, they had in all probability secured themselves from the yoke of bondage; whereas now, they not only endure it, but even approve of it.—*Tantum Religio potuit, &c.*—*So much religion hath been able, &c.*

The Greeks and Romans instituted their academies for quite another purpose; the whole education of their youth, tended to make them as useful to the society they lived in as possible. They were trained up to labour, to accustom them to an active life. No vice was more infamous than sloth; nor any one more contemptible than he who was too lazy and idle to do all the good in his power. The lectures of their philosophers all tended to quicken them up to this. They recommended above all things the love of their country, the preservation of its laws and liberty; subservient to which they enforced the moral virtues, such as Fortitude, Temperance, and strict, impartial Justice. Hence proceeded all those noble

noble characters with which their histories are adorned: and hence it was too, that their philosophers were deservedly esteemed as the supporters of the state—They had all their dependence upon it; and having no interest distinct from it, all their efforts were directed towards attaining and promoting the general, public good.

The managers of our modern education have not been so public spirited, for as I have just shewn, it has been for the most part in the hands of men who have a distinct interest from the public; therefore it is not to be wondered at, if, like the rest of the world, they have been biassed thereby, and have directed their principal designs towards the advancement of their own fortunes.

To serve by-ends, and because priests thought they should find their own account in it, they invented those abominable doctrines of passive obedience and *jus divinum** *hereditary right*—that the people ought to pay an unlimited obedience

* Tho' these doctrines might as his Lordship supposes be first invented beyond sea, yet they did not remain there, but were imported into our own country, where they became very fashionable, and the standards of political orthodoxy in the reign of Charles the second and his brother James. Lord Molesworth no doubt employed his time and eye sight to better purposes than either in hearing or reading the Sermons for the 30th of January, otherwise he would have found the truth of the above remark. If however the reader is yet in doubt let him turn to the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, at the 6th day, where he will find a most curious collection of passages in favour of the doctrines in question; brought forwards too by the Doctor's counsel, to prove that he was innocent of the charge laid against him by the House of Commons, and that passive obedience and non resistance were the avowed doctrines of the Church of England; various passages might be selected from this collection to shew to what lengths these infamous doctrines were carried, but let one which has often been quoted suffice,—The Sovereign Power is not to be resisted,—"Not for the avoiding of scandal, not at the instance of any "friend, or command of any power upon earth, nor for the mainte-

dience to a limited government—fall down and worship the work of their own hands, as if it dropped from heaven; together with other as profitable doctrines, which they ought to be ashamed of. For this notion of *jus divinum* of Kings was never known in these northern parts of the world, 'till the latter ages of *slavery*. Even in the eastern countries, though they adore their Kings as Gods, yet they never fancied their right to reign proceeded immediately from Heaven.

I do not mean to reflect on the order which generally has the government of *our* youth; we have had the experience of many among them, who have given proof of a freer education and more useful learning. I only lament the ill contrivance of their constitution; for while interest draws one way, and honesty another, 'tis scarcely to be expected that men should hold out against such temptations, unless they be more gifted with honesty than the generality of mankind are. Whereas, if they were once set upon the same footing the philosophers were, we should soon see the spirit of the philosophers revive again in them.

The constitution of our universities as to learning, seems as unfortunately regulated as it is to politics. We receive the direction of our studies there, from statutes made by those who had quite different notions and taste for learning, than what the world has at present. Now it

" tenance of the *lives or liberties* either of ourselves or others: nor for " the defence of religion; nor for the preservation of *Church* or " *State*, no nor yet if that could be imagined possible for the Salva- " tion of a Soul, no nor for the Redemption of the whole " world."

Dr. Sanderson's works.

it seems as ridiculous to take patterns for the genteel learning of this age, from the old fashioned learning of the times when the university statutes were compiled, as it would be for one who wished to appear well dressed at court now, to have his suit made after the fashion of Henry the VIII's days. But 'tis of yet worse consequence for the prejudices and wrong notions, the stiffness and positiveness in opinion, the litigiousness and wrangling which the old system breeds; besides the narrowness of spirit, and impatience of contradiction, which are often the effects of a monastic life, require a great deal of time to get rid of; so that until they are filed off by conversation with the world, a man's learning does but make him more useless and unfit for society.

I dare appeal to common experience whether the most excellent men in our church, be not for the most part such as have been conversant with the world. The great difference between these, and others of narrow, opinionated tempers, caused by thier monk-like education is discernible to all, and puts it beyond a doubt, that such as have seen most, (of what profession soever they may be,) prove the most honest and virtuous men, and fittest for society: that they embrace better, more liberal notions relating to the public; weigh opinions before they adopt them; have a larger stock of charity; a clearer method of distinguishing between just and unjust; understand the Laws of our country better, and the privileges, the frailties and imperfections of human nature. All these too in a degree far excelling the most zealous, learned person who has been brought up in his cell, and is thereby what is called a *Bigot*, stiff in his opinion merely because he has been used to it, and ashamed of being capable of changing his sentiments.

Thus I have touched upon the mode of education necessary to the beginning and finishing of a gentleman who is to be useful to his country, which I suppose to be the principal end of education. I cannot but believe, that if in our schools, youth were taught to understand the meaning of the authors they are made to read, as well as the mere syntax of the words: if there was as much care taken to inculcate the good maxims, and recommend the noble characters, the old historians are so full of, as there is to drive into their heads the true grammar of them, and the elegance of the style, our youth would turn out much better. If in our Universities a proportionable care was taken to furnish the pupils with noble and generous learning; if after this they were duly informed of the laws, customs, and interests of their own country, trained up in good conversation, useful knowledge, and an ardent love of rational liberty, and then sent abroad when the heat of youth is abated, and their judgments ripe enough to make observations: I cannot but believe that with this mode of education, a very moderate understanding might do wonders: and their returning home well informed of the Constitution of other countries, would make them more resolute to maintain their own.

It was not to learn foreign languages that the Greek and Roman youths went to the academies and lectures of the antient philosophers. It was not then, as it is now too common with us, when the character of a scholar is to be skilled in words; or that of a philosopher to be well versed in dark terms, and useless subtleties, by which some have so far perverted the uses of learning, that a man may be reputed a most profound scholar or philosopher, and be at the same time the most useless creature in the world. No! it was to learn when, and how

how to speak pertinently; how to act like a man; to subdue the evil passions; to be public spirited; to despise torments, reproach, and the smiles of Princes, or their frowns if they stood between them and their duty. This mode of education produced men of another stamp from what now appears upon thetheatre of the world; such as we are scarce worthy to mention, and must never hope to imitate, till a similar mode of education is again adopted. This however in enslaved countries is never likely to happen, so long as the ecclesiasties, who have an opposite interest, keep not only the education of the young, but also the consciences of the old men in their own hands.

To conclude—a considering English traveller will find by experience, that at present nothing is so generally studied by the Princes of the world, as the art of war, and the keeping of their own countries in the desired subjection; the arts of peace, whereby the encrease and prosperity of their subjects might be promoted, being either totally neglected or faintly prosecuted. He will also be convinced what great reason he has to bless God for his being born, and continuing a *freeman*. He will acknowledge that the securing this inestimable blessing, and transmitting it to the latest posterity is a duty he owes to his country; the right performance of which does in a great measure depend upon a good education of our youth, and the preservation of the Constitution upon its true and natural basis.

OF

OF THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

MY deſign in this treatiſe, is to enquire whether, taking men ſuch as they are, and laws ſuch as they may be made, it is not poſſible to eſtabliſh ſome juſt and certain rule for the adminiſtration of a free ſtate; and in the courſe of my reſearch I ſhall endeavour to unite what right permits, with what policy preſcribes, that juſtice and utility may not be ſeparated.

I ſhall enter on my enquiry without ſaying any thing of the importance of the ſubject; and if I am aſked whether I am a prince or a lawgiver, that I write on politics, I ſhall anſwer neither, and for that reaſon I am a political writer. If I were a prince or a lawgiver, I ſhould not waſte in theory, the time which I ought to employ in practice: I would act, or I would *remain ſilent.*

Born a citizen of a free ſtate, and as ſuch, a member of its ſovereignty, however weak the influence of my voice may prove in the determination of public affairs, the right of voting on ſuch occaſions, impoſes on me the duty of informing myſelf on the ſubject; and I am happy, whenever I meditate on different governments to find that my reſearches always afford me new reaſon to admire that of my own country.

Subject

SUBJECT OF THE FIRST BOOK.

Man is born free, and yet we ſee him every where in chains: and thoſe who believe themſelves the maſters of others, ceaſe not to be even greater ſlaves than the people they govern. How this happens I am ignorant; but if I am aſked what renders it legal, I believe it may be in my power to reſolve the queſtion.

If I were only to conſider force and the effects of it, I ſhould ſay that, when a nation is conſtrained to obey, and does obey, it does well; but whenever it can throw off its yoke, and does throw it off, it does better. The people may certainly uſe for the recovery of their liberty, the ſame means that were employed to deprive them of it: it was either intended to be recovered or not to be torn from them.

The ſocial order is a ſacred right which ſerves for the baſis of all others: yet this right comes not from nature: it is founded on conventions. The queſtion is, what thoſe conventions are? But before I come to the point, I muſt eſtabliſh the principles which I intend to proceed upon.

Of the firſt Societies.

The earlieſt and the only natural ſocieties were families; yet the children remained attached to the father no longer than they had occaſion for his protection. As ſoon as that occaſion ceaſed, the bond of nature was diſſolved; and the child exempt from the obedience he owed the father, and the father from the duties he owed the child, entered equally into a ſtate of independence. If

If they continued to reside together, it was not in consequence of a natural, but a voluntary union; and the family was maintained by a convention.

This common liberty is a consequence resulting from the nature of man. His first law is that of self preservation, his first cares those which he owes to himself; and as soon as he has attained the age of reason, he being the only judge of the means proper to preserve him, becomes at once his own master.

It appears that domestic societies were the first models on which political societies were formed. The chief represents the father of the family, the children the people; and all being born equal and free, they in either case alienate their natural liberty in order to obtain what is more necessary to their welfare. All the difference between the two societies is, that, in the gratification which paternal tenderness derives from a consciousness of benefiting those who are the objects of it, makes a full amends to the father for the care he bestows on the children; while, in a state, the pleasure of commanding supplies the place of that love which the chief does not feel for the people.

Grotius denies that all human power is established for the benefit of those who are governed; and he instances slavery in proof of his assertion: but his constant manner of reasoning is to establish the *right* by the *act*. A more satisfactory mode might be employed, but none more favourable to tyrants.

It is doubtful according to GROTIUS, whether the whole human race belong to about one hundred men, or this hundred men to the human race; and he appears throughout

throughout his book to incline to the former opinion.—This is also the idea of Hobbs: so that according to them, mankind is divided into herds like cattle; each herd having its master, who protects in order to devour it.

As the herdsman is of a nature superior to that of his cattle, so the herdsmen of men, are of a nature superior to their people. So reasoned according to *Philo's* account, the Emperor CALIGULA; who concluded very justly, from analogy, that either Kings were Gods, or Men were Beasts.

The reasoning of CALIGULA comes just to the same point as that of GROTIUS and HOBBS: and ARISTOTLE said, before any of them, that men are not naturally equal, but that some are born for slavery and others for dominion.

ARISTOTLE, though in general a sound reasoner, has in this instance mistaken the effect for the cause. Nothing is more certain than that all men who are born in slavery, are born for slavery; and it is equally true that slaves become so debased by their chains, as to lose even the desire of breaking from them; they love their servitude, even as the companions of ULYSSES loved their brutishness. But if there are some who are slaves by nature, the reason is, that men were at first made slaves against nature. Force made the first slaves; and slavery by degrading and corrupting its victims, perpetuated their bondage.

I have not said any thing of *King* ADAM, or *Emperor* NOAH, the father of three great monarchs, who parted the universe amongst them, like the children of SATURN whom they are by many supposed to be. I expect to be

be applauded for this moderation; becauſe as I am deſcended in a direct line from one of theſe princes, and perhaps from the eldeſt branch,* who can tell whether, in the verification of titles, I might not find myſelf one of the legitimate Kings of human nature? However it be, we can diſcover nothing but that ADAM was ſovereign of the world, as ROBINSON CRUSOE was of his iſland, becauſe he was its only inhabitant: and the happieſt circumſtance attending the empire was, that the monarch was ſecure on his throne, having nothing to apprehend from rebellions, wars, and conſpiracies.

Of the right of the ſtrongeſt.

The ſtrongeſt are not yet ſufficiently ſtrong to enſure them the continual maſterſhip, unleſs they find means of transforming force into right and obedience into duty.

From the right of the ſtrongeſt, right takes an ironical appearance, and is rarely eſtabliſhed as a principle. But how ſhall we explain the term? Force is a phyſical power; and I do not ſee what morality can reſult from its effects. To yield to force is an act of neceſſity, not of inclination; or it is at beſt only an act of prudence, in what ſenſe then, can it be an act of duty?

Let us ſuppoſe for a moment the exiſtence of this pretended right, I ſee nothing that can ariſe from it but inexplicable nonſenſe: for if we admit that force conſtitutes right, the effect changes with the cauſe; and all force

* This is an admirable ſatire on the ridiculous and abſurd doctrine of Sir Robert Filmer of the *Right of Fatherhood*, ſo ably anſwered and refuted by the immortal Locke. *Editors.*

force which overcomes the former poſſeſſor, ſucceeds to its right; as ſoon as men can diſobey with impunity, they can lawfully; and becauſe the ſtrongeſt has always reaſon on his ſide, ſtrength is the only thing men ſhould ſeek to acquire. But what ſort of right is that, which periſhes with the force that gave it exiſtence? If it is neceſſary to obey by force, there can be no occaſion to obey from duty; and when force is no more, all obligation ceaſes with it: ſo that this right of the ſtrongeſt adds nothing to the right of force, but is indeed an unmeaning term.

If in ſaying, *let us obey the powerful*, they mean to ſay, *let us yield to force*, the precept is good, but it is ſuperfluous, for it never is or can be violated.

All power we are told comes from God. I grant it does; but all diſeaſes likewiſe come from the ſame hand, and yet who ever forbad us to call in a phyſician? If a robber ſurprizes me in the dark receſs of a wood, is it neceſſary that I ſhould not only give them my purſe, when forced to do ſo; but am I in conſcience obliged to give it him, though I ſhould be in a ſituation to ſubdue, or eſcape from him? The fact is, the piſtol which he holds is his power and his right.

We muſt grant therefore that force does not conſtitute right, and that obedience is only due to the legitimate powers. Thus every thing refers to my firſt queſtion.

ROUSSEAU.

ON THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

What is commonly called the Conqueſt by William I.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 338)

IN the year 1068, the King openly declared, the tyrannical principles upon which he intended to govern the Kingdom, by an act which could not be miſtaken. And that was by impoſing, by his own authority, without the conſent of Parliament, or any body of men elected by the people, what the ancient Hiſtorians call an intolerable tribute; which ſome have confounded with a tax called *Danegeld*; however it is no matter what they call it, it was taxing the ſubject without the conſent of Parliament.* From this time, all confidence vaniſhed, between the

* This was the great complaint which brought on all the troubles and misfortunes of Charles I. and in the end coſt him his life. But we would aſk here, where is the difference between a King of Eng'and "taxing his ſubjects without conſent of Parliament," and taxing them *with* the conſent of Parliament; which parliament the King or his Miniſter can influence as he pleaſes, to approve of war or peace, and to vote ſuch ſupplies as may be required; no matter how grievous or burdenſome, nor for what baſe or corrupt purpoſes they are granted; one would think that the latter method is equally *oppreſſive*, and deſerving of reprobation; for being done with a ſeeming legality, and under a form and ſemblance of *conſtitutional* procedure, the

the King and the Engliſh; who now ſaw plainly they had no ſecurity, either for their perſons, or property.

And they were not miſtaken; for ſoon after, the King ſeized upon the eſtates of ſuch as he had reaſon to ſuſpect, and impriſoned their perſons at his pleaſure. And, in order to keep the nation more in ſubjection to his will, he built caſtles in many parts of the country, and garriſoned them with Norman ſoldiers. After this he obliged them to deliver up all their arms, and forbade them the uſe of fire and candle, after the evening bell had rung eight o'clock. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, the King could not prevent many conſpiracies, and ſome attempts to recover their liberty; but which, being fruſtrated, only ſerved to make their condition the more intolerable.

The King, at firſt, ſeems to have been inclined to draw a line between the Sovereign authority in the State, and

the people are made parties to their own oppreſſion, and the groſſeſt inſults are added to the heavieſt injuries; but as Horace ſays,

"*Lœvius fit patientia quicquid corrigere eſt neſas.—What can't be cur'd muſt be endured.*"

It was ſubmitted to under the Norman Tyrant; the bleſſed Martyr thought he had an equal right to make free with the pockets of his people; but they convinced him to his ſorrow of an old Engliſh *Saw* which proclaims, "*that one man may more ſafely ſteal a horſe, than another look over a hedge.*" And we are told, a certain other great perſonage *of pious memory*, has been frequently heard to ſay that "*Charles the firſt was a very good King but he did not know how to govern by a Parliament.*"

"Tyranny" ſays a celebrated writer "is known not by the ſoil but by the fruits. And the hardeſt ſlaveries have been ſuffered where the forms of a free conſtitution remain, but where a ſpirit of Juſtice, Liberty, and Virtue, exiſts no more." *The Editors.*

and the internal police of the country. With regard to the firſt, he was reſolved, by an arbitary power, to keep it in his own hands, and make his edicts carry the force of law, without any regard to the elective power, in the Saxon Parliaments, which he was determined to aboliſh, and not to ſuffer them to meet and controul his acts of State. So that, by this means, he uſurped an abſolute power over the lives, and property of his ſubjects, by not permitting the Houſe of Commons, or, as it was then called, the common council, to aſſemble, which was the true cauſe of the conteſt between the King and his people. But with reſpect to the internal police of the country, ſo far as relates to the keeping of the peace, and doing juſtice between man and man; we apprehend he had ſome intention of continuing it upon the old Saxon foundation, as it was veſted by them in the people of the reſpective tithings. However, the only reaſon we have to ſuppoſe this, is, becauſe he did not deſtroy the elective power of the people, in the towns and rural tithings till the year 1070; which was four years after his coronation.

The King was a man of too much penetration not to ſee after what had happened, that by continuing the towns and rural diviſions incorporated, he continued ſo many enemies incorporated, and united their ſtrength againſt himſelf, except he could have perſuaded the Engliſh, to have been ſatisfied to walk in a narrower circle, and confine themſelves merely to keep the peace in their reſpective diviſions. But when the King found the Engliſh were calling in foreign aid, and eſpecially the Danes, who had great pretenſions to the crown and much natural intereſt in the country, he plainly ſaw that all temporizing matters were at an end; and therefore reſolved, in the year 1070, to deſtroy the elective power of

of the people, root and branch; and conſequently to diſſolve all incorporated bodies.

For the better execution of this deſign, he previouſly put his garriſons and fortifications in a proper ſtate of offence and defence; and at the ſame time, had an army of Normans in the field, ready to march againſt all diſobedient oppoſition. He then publiſhed an abſolute order, forbidding all elections in every town and rural diviſion in the kingdom. This was putting his finger upon the great artery of the conſtitution, and ſtopping the circulation of all power ariſing from the Saxon principles of government; which in a moment extinguiſhed all appearance of the life of liberty in this land. This action hiſtorians would endeavour to hide, by ſlightly paſſing it over; with only obſerving, that he ſuddenly removed the Engliſh from ſuch poſts, as gave them any power and influence over their countrymen.

As all offices and authority in the interior departments of the ſtate, ſprung from the people, it is very evident, that by their elective power now being aboliſhed, the names of the offices, and officers proceeding from thence, muſt likewiſe be aboliſhed. For, it is acknowledged by all authors, that from this time, we hear no more of the Saxon *Ealdermen*, and *Thanes*, which were titles of offices and not titles of honour. But from this period there appeared a new order of men, with new authority, derived from the King; which were entitled Counts, Viſcounts, Barons, Vavaſours, Eſquires, and others; names taken from the Norman and French tongue.

It was out of theſe orders of men, whoſe titles were of honour, and not titles of office, to which we muſt add

add the clergy, that the king formed his aſſiſtants, in the execution of his new plan of Government; under which England was held in ſlavery and bondage for one hundred and forty ſeven years. He placed the legiſlative authority in himſelf and a great council, compoſed of the dignified clergy, and the nobility of the realm (the latter of which were of his creation) all ſubject to his own ſummons, and he generally aſſembled this great council, three times a year; at Chriſtmas, Eaſter, and Whitſuntide. And from many circumſtances, it appears that the King admitted a right in this body of men, to conſent to ſuch laws as ſhould be binding upon the people.

Whoever gives himſelf a moment's reflection upon the nature of this great council, muſt ſee that, tho' the King created all the nobility of the realm, yet the Pope nominated all the dignified Clergy to their Biſhopricks, Abbeys, and other benefices; which gave them a title to their ſeats, in the legiſlative authority. And conſequently, the roman Pontiff, a foreigner at the head of the Hierarchy, had perhaps more influence in making the laws of England, than the King and all his temporal Lords; therefore, it is no wonder, that the clergy ſhould incline thoſe laws, to pillage the people, in the manner they did, for ſo many ages.

As to the reſt of the buſineſs of the nation, it was under his own direction; he appointed all the officers that were to preſide over the people, both civil and military; and nominated his Norman Counts to be governors over the ſhires; from whence they took the name of counties. A Count was then the higheſt title of honour, in England; for the King himſelf being only a

Duke,

Duke, in Normandy, would not admit of any title equal to himſelf.

It was the cuſtom of the Saxons to ſet a part a quantity of land, for the public ſervice; which was rented out, and accounted for in the department to which it belonged. The crown under the Saxon Kings had many of theſe lands, which were applied to pay the ordinary expence of government; and we apprehend it to have been the ſame in the ſhires, to bear the expence of the ſhire militia, and other exigencies of the internal police of the ſhires. From whence it came, that, at the diſſolution of the old government of the ſhires, ſuch a quantity of land fell into the hands of the King, that he hardly knew how to diſpoſe of it. This land he divided into Manors and Baronies, and gave them away to his Norman nobility,* gentry, and clergy, who held them as fiefs of the crown: from whence came our court barons, manor courts, and court leets. As to the internal police of the country, he placed it in the hands of officers of his own making.

Thus

* Here we ſee clearly the Origin of the immenſe, overgrown landed property of our race of Nobles, and rich Commoners, a right founded in murder, deſolation, rapine, and proſcription of the firſt owners and holders of the landed property in this kingdom among our Saxon anceſtors; and by this we may eaſily trace the means by which our Nobility are at this moment not only in poſſeſſion of one branch of the Legiſlature by hereditary claim; but by which they have alſo monopolized, with the addition of a few rich Commoners, the *majority of voices in the Houſe of Commons*, which name to tell, is barefacedly called the repreſentation of the *people*. This we pledge ourſelves to prove to the Satisfaction of our readers in the courſe of this work, and indeed of a few more numbers.

The Editors.

Thus King William the first destroyed all the elective power, constitutionally placed in the people of England, and reversed the Saxon form of government which was founded on the common rights of mankind, and established an arbitrary power in himself; consequently from this time, all power, authority and honour in the state, descended from the King, and the lives and property of the subject were at his mercy. With this despotic rule he continued to govern England, for the space of twenty one years, when he died; and left the crown by his will to his second son, William, who succeeded him by the name of William the Second; and ascended the throne, in the year 1087.

(To be continued.)

ESSAY ON FACTIONS.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

I View with the most heartfelt satisfaction, the progress of your truly laudable and well conducted work, and anticipate with infinite delight the innumerable and extensive advantages which the public in Great Britain must ere long inevitably derive from it. This country has produced as great and good men, and as genuine *Patriots*, as any nation could ever boast, and the great misfortune

fortune, which you seem so desirous and so capable of doing away, or at least of ameliorating and lessening is, and has hitherto been, that the price of the works of the most eminent authors, on the subjects of civil and religious liberty, has been ever out of the reach of the pockets of the great body of the people. To convey the best and brightest passages from each and every of them thro' so useful and entertaining a medium as your miscellany, must meet with the approbation of every mind attached to the promotion of the public welfare.

I admire particularly the very plain and obvious method you have adopted to shew the vast importance to society, of duly attending to the *use* of words, contrasted with the truly alarming, and pernicious tendency, of the *abuse* of them; and this you have powerfully evinced, in the several essays you have published, ON THE CONSTITUTION:—than which, scarce any one word in our nervous and copious language, has been, or is daily, more extensively abused, and that for the most flagitious of all purposes.

There is another word nearly allied to the foregoing in its effects and consequences, which in my opinion equally deserves the serious and attentive consideration of the public, as to the *use and abuse* of it: and their great care in detecting the misapplication of it, on particular occasions, of weight and moment to the real interest of a *free people*.

This, Gentlemen, is the word FACTION

Sorry am I to observe that it is always applied, and too generally allowed, as peculiarly belonging to that class of men, who either in parliament, or out of it, oppose the measures of the court, and its adherents: whereas,

as that great man, Lord Chatham, when Mr. Pitt, very juſtly obſerved, "The foundation of all other *factions* is the *faction* at court." Abſurd as are the principles and notions, on which the doctrine of arbitrary power is eſtabliſhed, there have been ever in this country found many to adopt it. The vulgar are at all times liable to be deceived, and this nation has ever produced a number of bad citizens, who, prone to be corrupted, have been the ready tools of wicked miniſters, and the zealous partizans in a cauſe big with the ruin of the ſtate, and the deſtruction of that felicity, which the individuals of this country have for ſome years enjoyed.

It is juſtly remarked by an able writer, "That there may be a faction for the crown as well as againſt it, and conſpiracies againſt *freedom* as well as againſt *prerogative*." Whoever attempts to remove the limitations neceſſary to render monarchy conſiſtent with liberty, are rebels in the worſt ſenſe; rebels to the laws of their country, the law of nature, the law of reaſon, and the law of God. Can there be ſuch men? Was I to put the queſtion to my heart it would anſwer, that it was impoſſible there ſhould be ſuch. But the annals of this country have a ſhameful tale to tell, that ſuch a faction has ever exiſted in this ſtate, from the earlieſt period of our preſent conſtitution.

This faction has not only prevented the eſtabliſhing any regular ſyſtem to preſerve and improve our liberties; but lie at this time in wait for the firſt opportunity that the imperfections of this government may give them, to deſtroy thoſe rights, which have been purchaſed by the toil and blood of the moſt exalted individuals that ever adorned humanity. To ſhew the cauſes of ſo great a malignancy, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that there

are

are in every ſociety a number of men to whom tyranny is in ſome meaſure profitable; men devoid of every virtue and qualification, requiſite to riſe in a free ſtate. The emoluments and favours they gain for ſupporting tyranny, are the only means by which they can obtain diſtinctions, which in every equal government are the reward of public ſervice. The ſelfiſh affections of theſe men, exalted above worthier citizens, fancy a recompence in this exaltation ample enough for the ſacrifice of their liberty. To avoid the cenſure of injured poſterity, their children are brought up in the doctrine of a neceſſary ſervitude, and are taught to regard the champions of liberty as the diſturbers of the peace of mankind.—Hence is produced a numerous claſs of men, who having been educated in the principles of ſlavery, become the deluded inſtruments of all the villainous purpoſes of mean ambition.

Some there are, who envying the reputation which illuſtrious characters have acquired, bend their endeavours to deſtroy the genuine notions of virtue and public utility, on which the fame of great men is built. Others whoſe affections are of ſo baſe an alloy that they envy the independency which every individual of this country may enjoy, and would willingly forfeit that natural privilege to ſuperior tyrants, provided they might have the power of domineering over the lower claſs of people.

Others again who have drudged through what is called a regular education, with much learning, or rather reading, but without judgment to have acquired real knowledge, become a magazine of other men's conceits, and commence the diſciples of the firſt doctrine which accident flings in their way. Theſe ſcholars, in the purſuit of ſcience, loſe the diſtinctions of common ſenſe, and

are

are as obſtinately fixed in the prejudices of the authors with whom they have converſed, as if theſe prejudices were the produce of their own imaginations. Hence proceed thoſe oppoſite opinions, among the ſpeculative part of mankind, in regard to popular and monarchial privileges. All men can acquire the jargon of *terms*, but the depths of ſcience are only to be attained by genius. The greater portion of ignorance there may be in a diſputant, the more reluctant he is to give way to reaſoning that contradicts the borrowed opinions which he has taken in the groſs; he looks with a ſovereign contempt on his antagoniſt, not becauſe he can confute his arguments, but becauſe his arguments contradict the tenets that have been laid down by Hobbs, and other writers of that ſtamp. Unequal to the combat, he ſkirmiſhes at a diſtance, wilfully converſes in generals, and never enters into thoſe particulars which may inveſtigate the ſubject. Men like theſe, without the deſire of attaining truth, wrangle but for victory; and if they have ſenſe enough to ſee their miſtakes, they never have candour enough to acknowledge them.

To ſhew that the foregoing thoughts are not chimerical, but on the contrary founded in reality, I beg leave to relate a few facts which took place in the beginning of the preſent pious reign, which prove the exiſtence of a *court faction* that has ſince ſhook the conſtitution of this country to its baſe, and which, if not counteracted, it is to be feared may too ſoon totally deſtroy it.

"On the 25th of October, 1760, the venerable "*George the Second*, died. The circumſtances of his "death are too well known to be repeated here. As to "the ſucceſſor, the effects of the wickedneſs of his advi- "ſers have been, and are ſtill, too deeply felt, to be de- "ſcribed

" ſcribed in any terms adequate to the injuries commit-
" ted. Poſterity in a ſubſequent age, when truth may
" be ſpoken, and the motives of men laid open, will be
" aſtoniſhed at the conduct of their anceſtors at that pe-
" riod.

" Two days after the King's acceſſion, the Earl of Bute
" was introduced into the privy council; and at the ſame
" time the name of the Duke of Cumberland was ſtruck
" out of the liturgy. Another circumſtance not leſs re-
" markable, immediately ſucceeded; this was, Lord Bute
" was made ranger of Richmond Park, in the room of
" the princeſs Amelia, (the King's own aunt) who was
" *turned out*.

" It was the fixed deſign of the party, which the
" new King brought with him from Leiceſter Houſe, to
" remove the miniſters and conclude the war;* but the
" tide of popularity ran ſo ſtrong in favour of both, they
" were obliged to poſtpone the execution of their deſign
" until they had prepared the nation to receive it. For
" this purpoſe a great number of writers were employed
" to calumniate the late King, the Duke of Cumberland,
" Mr. Pitt, and all the whigs.

" The late King was reviled for the affection he had
" ſhewn to his native country (Hanover), for his love
" of female ſociety,† and for his attachment to the
" whigs.

* The King is made to acknowledge in Nov. 1763, in his ſpeech to parliament, " The re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity *was the* FIRST *great object of my reign.*" But upon what terms? Reader thou wilt ſee hereafter!!!!!

† After the death of Queen CAROLINE, he was fond of a game at cards in an evening with the Counteſſes of PEMBROKE, ALBERMARLE and

"The Duke was charged with inhumanity; he was "stiled 'a Prince that delighteth in blood', because the "Princess of Wales had some time before conceived a "jealousy of his popularity. Nothing could be more "unjust then this suspicion: there was not a person in "the kingdom more firmly attached to the rights of her "son.

"The Whigs were called Republicans, although "many of them had exhausted their fortunes in support "of the monarchy.

"*Smollet, Mallett, Francis, Hume, Murphy, Mauduit,* "and many others were the instruments employed upon "this occasion. It has been said, that the sum paid to "these, and other hired writers, during the first three "years of the reign of *George III.* exceeded thirty thou- "sand pounds. And the printing charges amounted to "more than twice that sum. In facilitating the views "of the party, the money was well laid out; for the "nation was completely duped. And as to the few "who might attempt to undeceive the public, there was "a *political judge* ready to punish their temerity.

"A person at this time (thirty years subsequent) "may very rationally ask, if there were any Englishmen "weak enough to give credit to these base assertions.— "The question indeed is natural. And if the answer "corresponds with truth, it must be confessed, that such "was the industry used in writing and circulating these "doctrines, that the new King's faction, in a short time, "had their defenders in every town and village in the "kingdom.

"Do

and other ladies.—Poor Gentleman! reasonable men would think his might be allowed *even in a King.*

'Do not the foregoing facts indisputably prove to "every impartial mind in the present day, the truth of "Lord Chatham's observation, viz. 'that the foundation "of all other factions is the faction at Court.'

"RUSSELL."

BOROUGH REPRESENTATION.

AGMONDESHAM,

Political Character—THIS Borough, which includes in its limits no more than one half of the place which bears the above name, is wholly the property of William Drake Esq. of Shardeloes, near this place. Sir William Drake, Bart. bought it of Charles the II. It is one of those towns which admit of no opposition; for none can be made where no political will is enjoyed, and where the privilege of franchise is only the necessity of obedience. The only vice, therefore, inherent in this Corporation, is that which attends all those places represented at the discretion of one individual, instead of the free consent of the whole community of the Borough.

Original Representation—This Borough having returned to Parliament 28, 44, 35, Edward I. and 1, and 8, Edward

ward II. intermitted ſending for the ſame period as Great Marlow, until it was reſtored like it by petition.

Right of Election—was reſolved by the Houſe, December 11, 1680, and December 1, 1705, to be in the inhabitants paying ſcot and lot only. Returning officers are the conſtables of the Lord's Leet.

Number of Voters—are reduced from 130, to 70.

Patron of the Borough—William Drake, Eſq.

HIGH WYCOMB.

Political Character—Although this Borough is one of the largeſt towns in Buckinghamſhire, the right of Election is in the Corporation only, and which conſiſts of leſs than 50 members, the greateſt part of whom are non-reſident. The patronage had, for above a century, been poſſeſſed by Edmund Waller,* Eſq. of Hallbarn, near Beaconsfield: but the Marquis of Lanſdowne, who has a ſeat in the neighbourhood, and whoſe family receive from this town the title of Baron, has for near 30 years, poſſeſſed the influence of returning one member; and at the laſt general Election he had the addreſs to ſecure the whole. An oppoſition was however made by the eldeſt ſon of Sir John Daſhwood, Bart. upon Mr. Waller's intereſt: but the intereſt of the Marquis prevailed; the numbers upon the poll being

For the Earl of Wycomb,	34
Sir John Jervis,	26
Mr. Daſhwood,	22

Original

* A near deſcendent of Waller the celebrated poet.

Original Representation—This Borough has returned to Parliament ever since 28, of Edward I.

Corporation.—It had a mayor in the reign of Henry VI, and by charter of James I. has now a mayor, recorder, two bailiffs, 12 aldermen, and a town clerk.

Right of Election—is in the mayor, bailiffs and burgesses not receiving alms.

Number of Voters—48.

Patron of the Borough—Marquis of Lansdown.

The three following resolutions are inserted to shew to what mean artifices corruption and influence will descend, in order to obtain a majority in such venal Boroughs.

March 17th, 1725. RESOLVED, *nemine contradicente*, that it appears to this House, that in an entry of Burgesses made at the Borough of *Cheping Wycomb*, in the county of Bucks, dated the 20th of May, 1717, there has been an *erasure* lately made, and the name of Captain *Paget* inserted without any legal authority.

II. RESOLVED, *nemine contradicente*, that it appears to this House, that in an entry of Burgesses made at the Borough of *Cheping Wycomb*, dated the 26th September, 1723, *an erazure* has been made, whereby the name of *David Shilfore*, a burgess in the said Borough is erazed.

III. RESOLVED, *nemine contradicente*, that *Sampson Gosly*, and *John Widiner*, who were admitted to vote at the late election of a burgess to serve in the present Parliament, for the said Borough of *Cheping Wycomb*, (having

ing no pretence to be burgesses of the said Borough, but under a charter of James II. which was never accepted or enrolled) have no right of voting in elections of burgesses to serve in Parliament for the said Borough.

REMARKS ON MEN AND MEASURES.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Potior visa est periculosa libertas quieto servitio. Salust

GENTLEMEN,

AS Englishmen and *supporters* of the state in which we exist, we are entitled to make our free remarks, and to point out, the impolicy of any measure which from its appearance threatens to be of injury, to that state and our interests. Ministers and those of their faction may term this *sedition*, *a spirit of fanaticism*, or by what other application they think proper to denominate it; but, when we see the prosperity of a great nation at stake, and its wealth sacrificed at the shrine of their voluptuousness, it is almost time we should consider the alarming situation to which we are so nearly approaching; and the fatal consequences which will be the attendant of such circumstances. When *slavery* and *despotism* are upheld by the venal pens of the *tools* of *party*, we cannot be too much

much upon our guard; and when we assert, and resolve to preserve inviolate, our most glorious privileges from the depredations and arts of the designing, which have been wrested with so much trouble and slaughter from the hands of tyrants, let the oppressor term it, *sedition*, or by whatever name he thinks proper; we are certainly justified by so doing, as it is our birthright, and in such cases forbearance would be rather considered as a crime than a virtue.

The happiness and good government of a people, consist in the virtues and discretion of its ministers; whenever there is discovered a failing of these qualities on their part, then happiness and good government may be considered to be in a declining state.

That many evils exist in our present system, no person can with truth deny, from which causes, the ears of ministers should not be deaf to the supplications of the people; nothing stirs up a flame of resentment more than contempt, which resentment may perhaps, exceed all bounds of moderation. If we are that happy people, which some would insinuate us to be, I ask them simply in what does our happiness consist, which they so much boast of? Does it consist in being overburthened with taxes? or does it consist in our virtuous officers of the ***e who becoming bankrupts in their fortunes, from the snares of play, undertake *charitably* to fill those offices that they may retrieve their broken finances at the expence of the people. "Without much political sagacity, or an extraordinary depth of observation, we 'need only mark how the principal departments of the 'state are bestowed, and look no farther for the true 'cause of every mischief that befals us."*

Gentlemen

* Junius.

Gentlemen, I now beg leave to compliment you, upon the eſtabliſhing of a work, which will gain you immortal honour, by every true friend to liberty; a work! which from the principles it is intended to contain, will be productive of every beneficial and good end; it will help to extirpate many of the unenlightened notions which the vulgar are too apt to form, ariſing from defects in education; and while it helps to clear the miſt from their eyes, at the ſame time alſo teaches them that moderation and humility in principles, which every good citizen ought ſtrictly to obſerve.

I am, Gentlemen,

July 4, 1792. Yours, &c.

H.

THE

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday, September 18.

ON THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

From William the Second to the restoration of the Constitution, by the great Charter, in the Reign of Henry the Third.

WILLIAM the Second was hated, both by the Normans and English, as a perfect brute, in his behaviour and manners. It is remarked, that he governed himself neither by religion, honour, nor honesty. Such a character as this would not contribute much to the restoration of a government, founded upon the common rights of mankind; and therefore the English were very happy, in the fortunate arrow of Sir Walter Tyrrel, who

who shot him through the heart, at a hunting match;* and thus relieved the world of his tyranny, after a reign of twelve years.

It was happy for England, that Henry the First, who succeeded his brother William, found himself in a very critical situation, between his desire of having a crown, and the means of obtaining it. He was the youngest son of William the First, and born in England; which was his only pretension to the crown, in opposition to his elder brother Robert, who was absent in the Holy Land; which gave Henry a great advantage over him.

But

* As many of our readers may be supposed not to have read the history of England, and therefore may conceive that Tyrrel voluntarily killed this Despot, we take the liberty of subjoining a note explanatory of the business, by a short extract of the transaction as related by historians. The favourite amusement of this King (William Rufus) was hunting. The new forest was generally the scene of his sport. One day as he was mounting his horse to take his customary amusement, he is said to have been stopped by a monk, who warned him, from some dreams he had the night before, to abstain from that day's diversion. Rufus, smiling at his superstition, ordered him to be paid for his zeal, but desired him to have more favourable dreams for the future. Thus, setting forward, he began the chace, attended by Walter Tyrrel, a French Knight, famous for archery, who always accompanied him in these excursions. Towards sunset, they found themselves separated from the rest of their retinue, and the King dismounted, either through fatigue or in expectation of a fresh horse. Just at that instant, a stag bounded out before him, and Rufus, drawing his bow, wounded the animal, yet not so mortally but that it fled, while the King followed in hopes of seeing it fall. As the setting sun beamed in his face, he held up his hand before his eyes, and stood in that posture, when Tyrrel, who had been engaged in the same pursuit, let fly an arrow, which glancing from a tree, struck the king to the heart. He dropped dead instantaneously, while the innocent author of his death, terrified at the accident, put spurs to his horse, hastened to the sea shore, embarked for France, and joined the crusade that was then setting out for Jerusalem.——*The Editors.*

But Henry's beft title was *the favour of the people*; whom he aſſembled together, *(populo univerſo)* as ſay ſeveral hiſtorians. In this aſſembly he promiſed to aboliſh all rigorous laws made by his father and his brother, that he would reſtore the laws of Edward the Confeſſor; in ſhort, he promiſed to reſtore the form of government, as eſtabliſhed under the Saxon monarchy. This declaration met with general applauſe, and gained him the ſupport of the people which he wanted, and this is what ſome call the election of Henry the Firſt. However, be that as it will, with the ſupport of the people, he overruled all oppoſition, and was crowned King of England three days after the death of his brother William.

Though Henry had, by this means, obtained the crown, yet he was far from being ſecure in the poſſeſſion of it; ſince he well knew his brother Robert, would be both able and willing to conteſt it with the ſword, whenever he arrived at his Norman dominions. And therefore he was under a neceſſity of fortifying himſelf, by obtaining the affections of all his Engliſh ſubjects; and convincing them, by undoubted facts, that he intended to govern the kingdom, agreeably to his former declaration.

To manifeſt this his intention, he aſſembled together the great Council (as all agree) which was eſtabliſhed by his father; and ſome ſay, the commons came to this aſſembly; which is not unlikely, though uncertain. However, it was in this aſſembly that he renounced all unjuſt prerogatives, uſurped by the two late Kings; aboliſhed many grievous taxes; and reſtored the laws of Edward the Confeſſor as the law of the land; which ſecured to the people their perſons and property. This was peculiarly advantageous to the Normans, who thereby

by gained a title to their eſtates by law; and no longer held them at the pleaſure of the King; it alſo united the Engliſh and Normans in one point of intereſt; which afterwards contributed much to the reſtoration of the Engliſh conſtitution.

It is a maxim with all tyrants, to conſider every thing they have a power to take as their own by right; and we may obſerve that moſt of our Kings, after what is commonly called the conqueſt, talk in that ſtile; for in their written charters, they give and grant as a new thing what the people of England had enjoyed for ſix hundred years before. For what they grant in writing refers plainly, by their own words, to the antient cuſtom of the people; and therefore how it came to paſs, that thoſe written charters could be underſtood by any man to be the origin of our rights and privileges, appears ſtrange to me, and, indeed, ſeems too great an abſurdity to mention.

When William the Firſt came to the crown, nobody had any concern in the tranſaction, but the Clergy and the city of London; to whom he promiſed in general terms, to preſerve the laws and cuſtoms of the Church and of the city of London, in theſe words: "William, "King, greet William, and Godfrey, their Portgreve "(or chief Magiſtrate) and all the Borough-men with-"out London: I will that you enjoy all the laws and cuſ-"toms you enjoyed in the days of King Edward."

But Henry the Firſt did more than promiſe; for he in ſome meaſure reſtored the elective power of the people, within the city of London, as appears by his charter to them in theſe words: "Know ye that I have grant-"ed to my citizens of London, to hold Middleſex to

"farm

" farm for three hundred pounds, upon account to them " and their heirs; ſo that the ſaid citizens, ſhall place as " ſheriff whom they will of themſelves; and ſhall place " whomſoever, or ſuch one as they will of themſelves, " for keeping of the pleas of the crown, and of the plead- " ing of the ſame, and none other ſhall be juſtice over " the ſaid men of London. And further there ſhall be " no miſkenning (or miſunderſtanding) in the Huſtings, " nor in the Folk-Mote (that is in the general aſſembly " of the people), nor in any other pleas within the city. " And the Huſtings may ſit once a week, that is to ſay " on Monday."

Henry likewiſe granted a charter to the whole kingdom, in which he promiſes to reſtore the antient form of government, with all the rights, franchiſes, and privileges of the people; which afterwards ſerved as the great ground work of the great charter of liberties, obtained from King John. But ſo careful had the enemies of public liberty been to deſtroy theſe authentic vouchers, of the freedom and privileges of the Engliſh people, that there was only one to be found in the reign of King John. And what made the recovery of this charter the more valuable was, that it was given voluntarily by Henry, only thirty two years after the conqueſt (as it is called); when moſt men then living, muſt remember both the loſs of their liberties, and his promiſe to reſtore the Saxon form of government, which was offered as a condition for their aſſiſtance to Henry, in obtaining the Crown. And had England continued a ſeparate kingdom from Normandy, as it was in the beginning of this reign, in all probability, the Engliſh Conſtitution would have recovered its ancient purity. However, from this time, the Conſtitution began to revive and emerge from that load

load of oppreſſion which it had laboured under for the ſpace of thirty-two years.

In the diſputes for the crown, between Stephen and Matilda, the aſſiſtance of the people was abſolutely neceſſary on both ſides; and therefore they readily granted charters to many towns for the government of themſelves, upon their old Saxon principles; by which the elective power of the people was re-eſtabliſhed in thoſe towns, which, in time, operated to the great end of reſtoring the SAXON CONSTITUTION.

(To be continued.)

ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

HAVING felt peculiar pleaſure in peruſing the numbers of your periodical work juſt publiſhed, I am deſirous of caſting a mite into that valuable treaſury of conſtitutional knowledge. If the following is thought worthy of a place there, you may expect hearing further from me on the ſame ſubject.

THERE is no branch of liberty more ſacred in its nature, in which the happineſs of mankind is more immediately involved, or which ought to be inveſtigated with greater

greater plainneſs, and maintained with greater zeal, than freedom of thought, expreſſion and practice, in all religious matters. Religion is moſt ſacred, as it has God for its object: conſequently ought to be under the controul of no inferior power. Men of all perſuaſions, connect with *their* religion their proſpects of happineſs in a future ſtate; and draw much of their preſent peace and felicity therefrom. Hence it muſt be injuſtice and cruelty in the extreme, to interrupt any one living in what he thinks to be of ſuch vaſt moment: for ſhould a man's religion be ever ſo falſe, if he is ſincere in the profeſſion thereof, it muſt appear to him of equal importance as if it was really true.

There cannot be full liberty of conſcience, where men are not left entirely to themſelves as to the ideas they form of the object of worſhip, and the manner in which he is to be worſhipped. Whether a man ſuppoſes there is but one, or that there are thirty thouſand Gods; whether he conceives that the object of worſhip is inviſible, that he reſides in the ſun, or in the ſtump of a tree; whether he thinks the Deity is beſt pleaſed with a language himſelf does not underſtand, with ſilence, with many ceremonies, or with no ceremonies at all; if any earthly power, would prevent (by any other method but reaſoning) his forming and profeſſing whatever ideas he pleaſes on theſe ſubjects; that power by whatever name it is called, ſets itſelf in oppoſition to liberty of conſcience. All religious teſts, and penal ſtatutes, muſt either compel men to be hypocrites, or puniſh them for their thoughts: conſequently, ſo long as theſe diſqualifying and proſcribing laws remain, full liberty of conſcience is not enjoyed. But in vain may Prieſts and Miniſters labour to barricade the human mind; or ſay to the thoughts of men, hitherto ſhall ye come but no further.

Not

Not all the tortures of the inquiſition, all the fires of Smithfield, nor all the perſecutions that took place in the infamous reign of Charles the ſecond, could prevent the ſpirit of free enquiry from operating; much leſs can their weak and fooliſh reſtrictions prevent its progreſs now it has made ſuch rapid ſtrides: no, like a mighty torrent, it daily gathers ſtrength by the oppoſition it meets, and will ſhortly break down all its barriers, and at once ſweep away every veſtige of prieſtcraft and intolerance. Then will every aſſuming mortal, who has dared to lord it over the conſciences of others, ſtand aghaſt, and be covered with ſhame and confuſion; while he beholds thoſe who have been his dupes, acting the part of rational beings!

If the great Creator never intended that all mankind ſhould equally poſſeſs the right of free enquiry, and form ideas for themſelves; why did he make them capable of reaſoning and reflection? Why was each individual endowed with a conſcious faculty, if that faculty is not to be freely exerciſed by each individual? Thoſe who deny others the liberty of judging for themſelves, charge the God of infinite wiſdom with folly; in that their conduct ſuppoſed him to create powers in men which are quite uſeleſs and unneceſſary: for reaſon and conſcience can be of no uſe to thoſe who are to receive implicitly the dictates of others. Free enquiry is founded on the very conſtitution of the human mind: therefore it muſt be a natural, immutable, and everlaſting right of man.

Thoſe who uſurp the right of judging for others, with impudence and pride, exalt their own reaſon and judgment above the reaſon and judgment of the reſt of mankind: as if rationality belonged excluſively to themſelves; and their fellow mortals were to be degrad-

ed

ed to a level with the beaſts that periſh. Nothing more eminently diſtinguiſhes a man from a beaſt, than his being capable of forming ideas upon religious ſubjects, and his acting under the direction of his own judgment, unbiaſſed and uncontrouled by any one. The dignity of human nature;—the diſtinction between man and beaſt is no longer ſupported than the unfettered exerciſe of free enquiry is maintained.

The great author of chriſtianity directed that his goſpel ſhould be *preached*, not impoſed by any penal ſtatutes or coercive meaſures. He directed it to be preached to every individual of the human race, conſequently he intended that ſuch individual ſhould form ideas for himſelf of what it contains. The Apoſtles followed the inſtructions of their great maſter; they ſtated the truth with plainneſs and ſimplicity; recommending what they ſaid to the underſtandings and conſciences of their hearers; which evidently implied that they were to examine what they heard and form a judgment of it for themſelves; yea we find thoſe who did act thus highly commended and their conduct declared to be noble. Paul diſavowed all pretenſions to lordſhip over the faith of others. He exhorted thoſe to whom he wrote to prove all things, to judge what he himſelf ſaid: blind ſubmiſſion to the dictates of others was not heard of among the primitive Chriſtians. Neither Chriſt nor his Apoſtles ſuppoſed that unbounded free enquiry could be inconſiſtent with chriſtianity, for both he and they recommended and enforced it. Liberty is every way congenial to the ſpirit of the goſpel; hence every one that values the ſcriptures ſhould be anxious to promote it. The happy period is haſtening, when men of all nations riſing to the proper dignity of men will ſpurn at every attempt to enſlave their

their minds. Then will the bleſſed goſpel, reſting upon its own evidence, and ſhining with all its native luſtre, approve itſelf to the conſciences of mankind at large: and chriſtianity ſpread to the utmoſt bounds of the habitable globe.

PHILOLOGUS.

ON THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 413)

Of Slavery.

SINCE no man has any natural authority over his equals, and ſince force produces no right to any, all legal authority amongſt men muſt be eſtabliſhed on the baſis of conventions.

If an individual (ſays Grotius) can alienate his liberty, and become the ſlave of a maſter, why may not a whole people alienate theirs, and become the ſubjects of a King? There are ſome equivocal words in this ſentence which require an explanation; but at preſent I will confine myſelf to the word *alienate*. To alienate, is to give or ſell; but a man who becomes the ſlave of another cannot *give*, he muſt ſell himſelf, at leaſt for a ſubſiſtence.

But how can a people ſell themſelves? ſince, ſo far from a King furniſhing his ſubjects with ſubſiſtence, he draws his own from them; and, according to RABELAIS,

King does not subsist upon a little. Do subjects therefore give their persons on condition that the Prince will condescend to accept their property also?* I see nothing after such a gratuity that there remains for them to reserve.

We are told that a despot ensures civil tranquillity to his subjects. Be it so; but still what do his subjects gain if the wars† which his ambition draws them into, if

* This calls to our recollection a story which is told of King George when he first came to this country. Being a *foreigner*, and the people being then ignorant of the *very great extent of obligation* they would after lie under to his descendants, the *swinish multitude* (as a new-made courtier *sublimely* terms them) looked on his Majesty with jealous eye, and were actually so hoggish as to grunt their displeasure and dissatisfaction at the circumstance of a *foreigner* coming to reign over them. The *swine* being joined by certain other animal people in the shape of *geese*, began a most clamourous and discordant concert of hisses and groans, at an inn where his Majesty stopped to change horses, and sat in the coach during the delay. Upon which his Majesty putting down the glass, and advancing his royal head out of the window, addressed the multitude in broken English, thus—"*My people, you bee vun ver lauppy nation,—Me bee your King—me bee come for your goods.*" 'Yes, (answered one of the *swinish multitude*) we believe *you be indeed*, and for our *chattels* too.' Can any one deny the truth of that old proverb, which says, *There is many a true word spoken in jest.*— *The Editors.*

† We apprehend the subjects of Despots are not the only people who are like to complain of the desolations and distresses they endure from the wars which are brought upon them by Kings. There are nations which *are said to be free*, whose subjects have been bled as freely, in this respect, as any of those under the rule and government of the greatest Despot on earth. We think the national debt of Great Britain, which has been solely incurred to support expensive wars, does at a vast distance, any thing of the kind which the annals of Despotism can produce. But we are told Great Britain is governed by a Parliament and therefore must of course *be free*. Where then is

if his insatiable avarice and the vexations of his administration, desolates the country even more than civil dissentions? What do they gain if this very tranquillity is one of their miseries? We find tranquillity also in dungeons; but are the wretches there contented with enjoying it? The Greeks enjoyed the same kind of tranquillity while they were shut up in the cave of the Cyclop, and expecting every moment that it would be their turn to be devoured.

To say that a man gives himself gratuitously, is absurd and incomprehensible; such an act would in itself be illegal and void, because the person who performed it could not be in his proper senses. To say the same of a whole nation, is to suppose the multitude are all mad; but still folly would not confer the right so vainly contended for.

If each individual could alienate himself, he could not alienate his descendants; for being born men, and free, their

is the advantage of being *free*, and having a *Parliament*, if our wars cost us infinitely more, than those carried on to the same extent by *Despots?* Are we not paying immense sums for a *Name?* and may not some future King of Great Britain become in reality *more absolute* (by having it in his power to command or controul the parliament from being certain of always having a majority in it) may he not we say, *bona fide*, become *more absolute*, than the greatest *despot* of them all—and may not the people of Great Britain become neither more nor less than *slaves*, by their own consent, expressed thro' the medium of what is called their representatives?—Britons, Countrymen, let us be on our guard and look out in time; let us call to mind the miserable fate of other Nations that once were free and have been enslaved—let us observe the various means which were used to enslave them, keep them ever in our eye; and never lose sight of this cautelary maxim.

"*Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.*"

"Happy are they whom other mens' harms make wary!"

The Editors.

liberty is their own, and no perſon can diſpoſe of it but themſelves. Before they arrive at the age of reaſon, the father may, in his childrens' name, ſtipulate conditions for their preſervation and welfare; but not give them up irrecoverably, and unconditionally: for ſuch a gift would be contrary to the deſigns of nature, and exceed the limits of paternal authority. It would therefore be neceſſary in order to make an arbitrary government legal, that each generation ſhould be at liberty to admit or reject it: but then ſuch a government would not be arbitrary.

To renounce our liberty, is to renounce our quality of man, and with it all the rights and duties of humanity; and no adequate compenſation can poſſibly be made for ſuch a ſacrifice, as it is in itſelf incompatible with the nature of man, whoſe actions, when once he is deprived of his free will, muſt be deſtitute of all morality. In a word, a convention which ſtipulates for abſolute authority on one ſide, and unlimited obedience on the other, muſt always be conſidered as vain and contradictory.— Neither is it clear that there can be any engagement made with a perſon from whom every thing may be juſtly required; and does not the ſingle circumſtance of there being no equivalent given, and no liberty of change allowed, annul the act of courſe? For what right can my ſlave have that is not mine, ſince every thing that he has belongs to me? and, his right being mine, to ſpeak of the right of me againſt myſelf is abſolute nonſenſe.

Grotius and others derive from war, another origin for this pretended right of ſlavery. The victor having according to them, a right to kill the vanquiſhed; the latter may purchaſe his life at the expence of his liberty; a convention

convention which is so much the more legal, as it tends to the benefit of both parties.

But it is clear that this pretended right of killing the vanquished, results not in any manner from the state of war; because while men remained in their primitive independences, there was not sufficient intercourse between them to constitute either peace or war; and they are not naturally enemies. It is a concurrence of things, and not of men, that occasions war; and the state of warfare cannot rise out of simple personal concerns, or exist between man and man, either in a state of nature, where there is no settled property; or under a civil State where all are under the authority of the laws.

Private combats, duels, and rencontres, are acts which do not constitute a state of war; and with regard to the petty wars authorized by the establishment of Louis the IXth. of France, they were abuses of the feudal government; a system so completely absurd, that it contradicted every principle of natural right, and of sound policy.

War is therefore not a concern between man and man, but between state and state, in which individuals are only enemies accidentally; not as men or as citizens, but as soldiers: not as members of a country, but as its defenders. In fine, states can only have other states, and not individuals for enemies.

This principle is conformable to the established maxims of all times, and the invariable practice of all polite people. Declarations of war are not so much to inform the powers, as their subjects. The stranger, be it a monarch, a private individual, or a whole nation, that robs, kills, or unlawfully detains the subjects of another

power, is not an enemy, but a robber. Even in the time of war, a juſt Prince, while he carries away as legal ſpoil, whatever he can ſeize upon in an enemy's country that belongs to the public, reſpects and ſpares the perſons and property of private people, becauſe he reſpects the right by which he holds his own poſſeſſion.

The end of war being to ſubdue a hoſtile ſtate, the army of one nation has a right to kill the defenders of the other nation while they have arms in their hands; but as ſoon as they lay them down, and ſurrender themſelves, they ceaſe to be enemies or the inſtruments of enemies; they become ſimply men, and the victors have no longer any right over their lives.

Sometimes it may be poſſible for one ſtate to deſtroy another ſtate without loſing one of its own members: but war does not give a right to do any thing beyond what is abſolutely neceſſary to its end, that is, to the ſubduing of a hoſtile power. Theſe are not the principles of GROTIUS, neither are they adopted on the authority of the poets; but they are derived from the nature of things, and founded on reaſon.

With regard to the right of conqueſt, it has no other foundation than the law of the ſtrongeſt arm. If war gives not to conquerors the right of maſſacring the conquered, that right (which does not exiſt) cannot prove a foundation for the right of enſlaving them.* Men have no right to kill the enemy, but at the time when it is impoſſible to enſlave them (when they have their arms in their hands): the right of enſlaving cannot of courſe be:

* See the arguments of GROTIUS and others on this ſubject in chap 4.

be derived from the right of killing. It would therefore be an iniquitous barter, to make them purchase at the price of their liberty, that life over which the conquerors had no longer any right. In establishing the right of life and death, is it not clear that we fall into a vicious track? * But

* This doctrine entirely overturns the argument of those *virtuous* advocates who contend for the legality, and even the expediency, and *merciful tendency* of the *African Slave trade*, on the ground, that if we were not to purchase them, those who sell them as their prisoners, would inevitably *kill* them. Our Author clearly proves that (by the laws of war) one enemy has no right to kill another, after he has laid down his arms, and submitted? and further, that having vanquished and made them *prisoners*; still they have no right, to make them *slaves*. Perhaps we shall be told that these are the laws of war, among *Christians*;—but that the Africans are *Pagans*—be it so; and let us allow it as a common opinion among the Pagans, "that every thing belonged to those who were the strongest," still we *Christians* are obliged to found our *right* to this traffic on the opinions and belief of *Pagans*; and not on our own. We must entirely lay aside, and put out of our remembrance, that if these wretched prisoners, accepted their lives, on condition of being slaves, to the victors, it shews clearly a convention between the parties, and the immortal Locke has, laid it down as an indisputable principle, "that wherever a *covenant* exists, there is no *slavery*. Besides, if they accepted their lives on condition of serving their conquerors as slaves, in their own country and climate; how can this be extended, to forcing them away to other climates, and countries, which they have never seen, consequently know not? yet this must be done in our case.—But, this inhuman and infamous traffic is to these poor wretches, the most dreadful to think of, that can be imagined. No proof of this can be more clear than a complaint an English Merchant made some years ago to the House of Commons.—"Gentlemen said he you can never imagine how perfidiously the negroes treat us; their wickedness is so great, that on some of the coasts of Africa they prefer death to slavery. When we have bought them they stab themselves, or plunge into the sea, which is so much loss to the purchasers. Judge by this action of the preversity of that abominable race."—

The Editors.

But ſuppoſing that this terrible right of maſſacring a whole nation did exiſt; the ſlaves made in war, or a conquered people, could be bound by no one obligation to their maſter, and would only obey him while they were compelled by force to do ſo. In taking his ſervice as an equivalent for ſparing his life, the victor confers no favour on the man he has vanquiſhed; for inſtead of killing him (from whence he could derive no advantage) he ſpares him to linger out a wretched exiſtence that he may reap the fruits of his labour. Therefore as the conqueror has acquired by ſaving the life of the conquered, no other authority over him to ſecond that of force, the ſtate of war ſubſiſts between them as formerly; even their union is ſuch in fact: and, while the rights of war are exerciſed, no treaty of peace can be ſuppoſed to exiſt. I ſhall be told perhaps that they have made a convention. Be it ſo: but this convention is ſo far from terminating their warfare, that it ſuppoſes the continuance of it.

Thus, in whatever light we view things, the right of ſlavery is found to be null; not only becauſe it is illegal, but becauſe it can have no exiſtence: for the terms *every* and *right* contradict and exclude each other: and whether it from man to man, or from a man to a nation, it would be equally nonſenſical to ſay—*I make a covenant with you entirely at your expence, and for my benefit; I will obſerve it as far as my inclination leads me, and you will obſerve it as far as I pleaſe.*

ROUSSEAU.

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen, May 26, 1792,

A Few days ago I was presented with your excellent pamphlet called the PATRIOT. It is impossible to describe the pleasure I found in reading it. I have long wished to see a publication of this nature. What particularly struck my attention was, the candour and simplicity which run through every page. You bring your subject to a level with the meanest capacity. By manifestation of the truth, you commend yourselves to the judgment and conscience of every man, who is capable of reflection. Other authors have laboured to hide their sentiments from the vulgar: they have mounted above the common sense of their readers, designedly to bewilder and lead them astray. In their rhetorical flights, they have gone beyond the views of the most enlightened. They have wrapt themselves in a cloud and have only been visible to persons of their own party. But you have brought down your minds to a method of writing

writing which cannot fail to inſtruct the ignorant, and thoſe who call themſelves the enlightened too.

As I am a miniſter of the goſpel, I am apprehenſive many of my brethren will think I act out of character, by having connection with men of your ſentiment; they will conclude me unworthy of my place in the Church if I countenance the PATRIOT. But as I value the cauſe of liberty more than all the advantages which ariſe from my ſituation, I ſhall glory in bearing reproach from men who wiſh to keep the nation wrapt up in ignorance, that they may lead them into any meaſures that are moſt conducive to their own intereſt. The ſecret ſprings of deſpotiſm and prieſt-craft only want to be known, and then they are ſure to be deteſted by every man that dare judge for himſelf. While the veil is continued, the hidden things of darkneſs and diſhoneſty cannot be revealed: but if you take away the veil, they appear in their native deformity.

For many years we have looked on ourſelves as the happieſt people in the world; our civil and eccleſiaſtical liberty has been exalted to the ſkies; we have exulted in our privileges, and have trembled at the thoughts of being ſubject to the yokes which are impoſed on the nations around us. Before America claimed her privileges, and got them eſtabliſhed to her, it is probable we were the freeſt people in the world for liberty; but ſince they have been emancipated from bondage; and the French have broke their fetters and gained ſuperior advantages, we have cauſe no longer to boaſt of our being the happieſt nation in the univerſe. We were only free in compariſon. When a man poſſeſſed of a ſlight wound, compares himſelf with a man in Job's ſituation, he conſiders himſelf well in compariſon. But if he compares himſelf with

with a man that enjoys perfect health, he finds his own complaints, and groans beneath their oppression. While we compared ourselves with neighbouring nations, we concluded our grievances not worthy to be named with theirs. If we reflected on those who had shaken off the Romish yoke, we beheld them groaning beneath another equally oppressive. But now we have a nation before us that is recovered to health (which we hope will soon be confirmed to such a degree, as to defy the influence of future storms) that enjoys privileges superior to any that are known with us; if we compare ourselves with this nation, we shall soon find out our disease. You have already named several advantages which that people enjoy superior to ours. In the course of your work, you will bring forward the subject, and give us to feel what at present we seem insensible of.

I am exceedingly sorry that your publication is so little known. Many gentlemen endeavour to hide it from those with whom they have to do. Others, who have never seen it, cry loudly against it. Many of my brethren in the ministry, oppose it with all their might.*— It has to grapple with the prejudices of men of all parties. The learned and unlearned cry out, "Away with "such an infamous publication from the face of the earth." They declare your motives are diabolical. You want to sap the foundation of Church and State. Your work is a libel, and you ought to be punished severely for it. If you were spreading the plague through the nation, you could not be more detested than you are. One would suppose men of learning and character would be more moderate; but, contrary to all decency, many of them are first in the cry against you. I hope, gentlemen, these things

* See Note on Page 255

things will not discourage you. What you suffer in this way, is of the same nature with the sufferings of all who have stood forth to help forward the cause of truth. I am afraid you have not sufficiently advertised your work. You should put advertisements into all the country newspapers in the three kingdoms, and get your booksellers to spread hand-bills every where, Press on all that favour your righteous cause to use their influence to circulate your pamphlets. It would be to the honour of every minister in the church to recommend them to his parishioners. Every dissenting minister, who loves toleration, will not require urging to engage in this work. If your pamphlet could be circulated through the nation as much as those written for the abolition of the Slave Trade, you may depend on it, there would be as many petitions for more equal Representation of the People, before the House of Commons are chosen again, as there have been in the present sessions, for the abolition of the Slave Trade.*

I hope you will not confine yourselves to the subject of Civil Liberty. We are in as great want of Ecclesiastical Liberty as Civil. The nation groans in bondage for their release. The revenue of the church is sufficient to pay the ministers that are now employed, and to maintain most of the poor in the land. Many of the clergy enjoy their thousands, and some their tens of thousands, for having a name in the church. They hardly ever preach. They do not reside near their parishes. The people are obliged to pay them tythes and offerings to support them in luxury and disorder, if their minds are not better disposed. I could enlarge here sufficiently, but must forbear. You shall have any help I can afford you

* And we fear they would be got rid of in the same mean, shuffling, hypocrtical, deceptive manner, as those respecting the slave trade have been. *Editors.*

you on this subject, if you are disposed to accept of it. I should be honoured in helping forward the good cause you have espoused, I shall deem it an invaluable privilege.

I am,

Gentlemen,

Yours affectionately,

INDEPENDENT.

ON THE NATURE OF POLITICAL LIBERTY.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

De Minoribus Principes consultant; de Majoribus, omnes.

Their Chiefs deliberated on lesser matters; on greater the whole Nation.

Tacitus, on the manners of the Germans.

Gentlemen,

THERE is nothing more absurd, than the idea which many people entertain, that government must necessarily from the very nature of it be enveloped in mystery. On the contrary, it is constructed on principles so very plain and simple, that they may be easily made apparent to the most common understanding. The agents indeed of all governments affect a mystery, and for this obvious reason; their actions too frequently require a veil to be thrown over them. The uses of governments are manifold, they are important, and they are indispensible: but like all the other blessings of this sublun-

y world, they are neceſſarily mixed and accompanied
ith ingredients, which form no inconſiderable ſhare of
lloy in thoſe who enjoy them. The *abuſes* of govern-
ents are never failing attendants; they are alſo mul-
ifarious; almoſt as innumerable as the ſands on the
hore, and could never eſcape the eye of an enlightened
eople. Hence the ignorance in which the *body of the*
eople, in almoſt every nation has been attempted to be
ept. Hence the ſecret, inviſible, and they think the
mpenetrable mantles with which the agents of all govern-
ents have uniformly cloaked themſelves; and in
hich they have invariably endeavoured to envelope and
nvolve all their meaſures.

The great end of Civil Society, and the object of all
ivil Government, is the *Public Good*; and every Go-
ernment is excellent, in proportion as it is adapted to
ain this end. The grand component parts of every free
overnment, are *Civil and Political Liberty*.

" *Civil Liberty* (ſays a celebrated and enlightened
' author) is the reſult of laws and regulations which de-
' fine the boundaries of men's actions as citizens of the
' ſame community, and leave them free within thoſe
' boundaries. *Political Liberty* is the reſult of incidents
' or inſtitutions combining the grand diviſions of the
' State; the popular, the executive, and the legiſlative;
and conſiſts in their freedom of encroachments from
each other. A Community has no Political Liberty,
when the executive power influences, or commands
the legiſlature; or when the people have not regular
and practical methods of checking or controlling all
the branches of Government into their proper boun-
daries. A Society may enjoy Civil Liberty, that is,
all interference of individuals may be regulated by laws,
while

" while no method may be aſcertained to regulate the ſe
" veral branches of Government, to prevent the encroach
" ments of any, or all of them, on the power and happi-
" neſs of the whole people. We ſhall ſee, that Eng
" land furniſhes reaſons for fixing the public attentior
" on this important diſtinction. Since the Revolution,
" and the acceſſion of the Hanover Family, its Civil Li-
" berties have been improved, while Political Liberty
" has been nearly annihilated."

That political liberty is eſſential to a wiſe or happy conſtitution of government, is demonſtrable; as that three lines are neceſſary to form a triangle.

All bodies, natural or political, have a principle of ſelf-preſervation reſulting from their conſtruction, from the uniſon and harmony of their parts, without which they ceaſe to exiſt. The offices of the members are diſtinct, and they cannot be blended without inconvenience and miſchief. In Communities, the legiſlative power deliberates and ordains; the executive puts the laws in force for the whole body, which muſt have a principle of ſelf-preſervation, not only account of other communities, but to provide againſt the erroneous or miſchievous exertions of its own members. Power, without a reſiſting or balancing power, is like a muſcle without its antagoniſt; which always diſtorts, and may occaſion fatal diſorders. Legiſlation and magiſtracy, without actual power in the people to preſerve their liberty, are abſurdities; or they are maſques for the features of Deſpotiſm.

A ſtate properly conſtituted, muſt have a body of men to make laws; a perſon or perſons to repreſent the community

community to foreign nations, and to execute the laws for the preſervation of civil liberty; and a power reſerved by the people to repel encroachments, or to confine the members of the community within the limits of their offices.

This truth, though not deemed ſuſceptible of demonſtration, has been admitted by political writers; thoſe excepted who avow their attachment to deſpotiſm. I am not aſhamed to decline all conteſt with the advocates of deſpotiſm. If the happineſs of the world had nothing to apprehend but their argnments, it would be well. The moſt dangerous enemies of liberty are of its own houſehold. Every writer from Solon to the declamatory retailer of an Engliſh faction, pretends to diſtinguiſh between theory and practice. It has ever been the expedient of knaves and blockheads. If in Geometry all clear and accurate demonſtrations are reducible to practice, why not in politics? Theſe gentlemen cannot tell: but they have the aſſurance to affirm the abſurdity. The ſcience of Geometry is underſtood by its profeſſors; the ſcience of Politics is not; nor can it be underſtood by venal Legiſlatures or corrupt Magiſtrates. But let knaves and blockheads ſay what they will; no man of *real ſcience* will preſume to affirm that what is true in theory is falſe in practice; or that theory formed on proper data, and calculated for utility or happineſs, is impracticable.

That particular men may be incapable or unwilling to reduce the beſt theory to practice may be allowed. That an Engliſh parliament may ſee the nation verging on ruin, and not be willing to own or acknowledge the cauſe: and that a delegated executive power in a family recently

recently honoured with it, may drag one immenſe maſs of the empire to oppreſs the other, or to deſolate the whole; are facts which may aſtoniſh the world, taught by romances on the conſtitution, that Engliſhmen were free, made laws by delegates, and limited the crown to certain duties for the good of the ſtate. Engliſhmen learnt their political creeds from theſe romances copied into political breviaries, * and ſeemed intoxicated with the illuſion, until deſpair, as ſhe ſuddenly opened her arms to receive them, maliciouſly pointed out the loſs of their *political liberty*.

Nothing was heard but the confuſed clamour of orators and patriots, for the majeſty or power of the people: but no power, no traces of majeſty were to be found. Influence or venality in an intriguing court, and rapacious ariſtocracy, had been occupied ſince the revolution in building an edifice on ſand; in conſtructing a free conſtitution, without political liberty, *which is or ought to be its foundation.* The winds blew; and the floods came—I will not copy the whole text—as I hope the houſe is not yet fallen.

I am, Gentlemen,
Yours,
ALFRED.

* See Blackſtone's Introduction copied from Monteſquieu: and De Lolme's Conſtitution of England copied from Blackſtone. Both theſe Gentlemen ſpeak of the Engliſh Conſtitution as poſſeſſed of all the excellencies appertaining to it in its original ſtate, without noticing the encroachments with which the ravager Time, and various other attacks have weakened, defaced, and mutilated this once glorious fabric.

BOROUGH REPRESENTATION.

CAMBRIDGE TOWN.

Political Character.— THE right of voting in this town has been limited, like the majority of other towns and boroughs of Great Britain, to the corporation. The leading man in this corporation is John Mortlake, Esq. banker of the town. In the miniſtry of the Duke of Portland he was the friend of the coalition; to ſupport which he cauſed additional freemen to be made: among theſe was the Right Honourable Mr. Fox. But having, ſince ſeen the road to preferment much clearer thro' the medium of the Rutland intereſt, he cauſed, under that influence, a greater number of Electors to be made.— The miniſter has ſince ſeen the merit of Mortlake in ſuch advantageous colours, as to promote him to the lucrative places of a Commiſſioner of the tax office and receiver-general of the poſt-office.

Ancient Repreſentation.—

Corporation.—It was incorporated by Henry the firſt, and is governed by a Mayor, High Steward, Recorder, 12 Aldermen, &c. The Mayor, at the entrance into his office, takes an oath to maintain the privileges and cuſtoms

toms of the Univerſity, which, altho' the town is ſo large as to contain 14 pariſhes, is the chief glory of the place, and is ſaid to have been founded before the birth of Chriſt. However, it was certainly a ſchool of learning in 630 under Sebert, King of the Eaſt Angles. The town of Cambridge is noticed in doomſday book: in which it is deſcribed to have been then divided into ten wards, containing 387 Houſes. After the Conqueror's death, Roger de Montgomery deſtroyed it with fire and ſword, to be revenged on William Rufus: in this deſtruction the Univerſity was entirely abandoned. Henry the firſt however, beſtowed upon it many privileges; ſuch as exempting it from the power of the Sheriffs, and making it a Corporation, on paying annually 100 marks into the Exchequer, which was the ſame ſum as the Sheriff paid before for the profits of the town: he alſo ordered that the merchants in the Guild in Cambridge ſhould be free from all tolls, paſſage, laſtage, portage, and ſtallage, in all the fairs in his dominions on this ſide and beyond the Seas.

Right of Election.—Is in the Mayor, Bailiffs, and freemen not receiving alms. (February 14 1709.)

Number of Voters—Two hundred. The majority of them are non-reſidents and placemen.

Patron.—Duke of Rutland.

The numbers pólled at the laſt conteſt in 1780 were,

Benjamin Keene, Eſq, 96.
J. War. Aderne, Eſq. 83.
Chriſtopher Potter, Eſq. 18.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.

Political Character.—The elective influence may be conſidered

considered as chiefly ministerial from Mr. Pitt being now High Steward* and one of its Members.

Right of Election.—Is in the Doctors and Masters of Arts.

Number of Voters.—Appears from the State of the last Pole to be nearly Six hundred. The numbers were,

Right Honourable William Pitt,	509.
Earl of Euston, —	483.
Lawrence Dundas, Esq.	207.

* The office of High Steward seems to us always to adhere to the first Lord of the Treasury. If we mistake not—the Duke of Grafton held it when he presided at the Golden Fountain—was succeeded in it by Lord North when he first took his seat at the head of the Treasury—was held by him during the whole of his perturbed reign, and from him devolved with all his other, (except the Cinque Ports) to the present immaculate and Heaven born Minister. To whose consideration we submit the following line from Seneca,

"*Fortuna vitrea est, tum quam splendet frangitur.*"

Fortune is Glass, the brighter it doth shine,
More frail, and soonest broken when most fine.

The Editor.

ADDRESS

ADDRESS OF THE EDITORS,

—

TO THE PUBLIC.

BEING come to the end of the thirteenth number, which we fixed in our outset for the completion of the first volume of this work, we embrace the opportunity of addressing our numerous patrons, in order to request their acceptance of our most grateful thanks for the great encouragement they have given to our efforts, in the service of our country; and to assure them and the public in general that we shall not relax an iota in our future exertions, to render the succeeding numbers and volumes of the Patriot, equally interesting, and abundant in philosophical and political information, with that which we have now the honour to offer to the consideration and attention of the people of Great Britain.

We must beg leave to refer our readers to our original address, for the views and motives which first induced us to undertake the present publication; and we rely with confidence on their candour, to judge and determine, whether we have not invariably pursued that line of conduct which apparently seems best calculated to promote

promote the public welfare; at the ſame time, ſtrictly adhering, "to the plan on which we then propoſed "to proceed."

"A reform of abuſes, and *an equal repreſentation of* "*the people*, are the firſt objects of our paper, and we "think it neceſſary to apprize our readers that their time "ſhall not be waſted in mere controverſies and perſon- "alities. Bad meaſures may be arraigned and bad men "expoſed; but it will be on account of the public, and "not to harraſs adminiſtrations or to injure private cha- "racters."

We flatter ourſelves we have uniformly purſued the path we have thus chalked out by way of outline; and we think we can defy the greateſt enemies to the ſucceſs of our publication, to point out an inſtance where it has been made ſubſervient to the purpoſes of any particular party. Our views are totally directed to the *general good*; and we are thoroughly convinced that deſirable end is never to be attained, through ſo partial, narrow, and changeable a medium. We are ſenſible that the leaders of all parties have invariably ſtudied and followed their own *particular intereſts*; nor are we able to recollect one conſolatory inſtance, in which the PUBLIC WELFARE has not been ſacrificed to the calls of *ſelf, ſelf, ſelf!*

To weaken and deſtroy all party ſpirit in the great body of the people, has therefore been, and ſhall continue to be the grand object of the PATRIOT:—to open their eyes and convince them of their true intereſts, by conſtant endeavour to unveil the myſterious intrigues of

of a court, and by exposing at the same time the latent causes of opposition, to teach the people that both one and the other may act from the same interested and corrupt principle, and thereby make them cautiously diffident of the motives of either.

It is our wish and our aim to animate all ranks of our countrymen to the love of true patriotism, to instruct and warn them to be more watchful and attentive to the *measures* of administration, than to the *parties* which form it. By a supineness and carelessness in the great body of the nation, successive administrations have dared to pass laws, which tend greatly to the subversion of the constitution, the curtailment of that first of blessings, liberty; and the grievous oppression of a very great part of the community. The present state of the *game laws*, the rapid and great extension of the *excise laws*, the enormous establishment of a *standing army*, and the unconstitutional measure of building barracks in different parts of the kingdom; are such gigantic strides towards despotism and arbitrary power, as must make every intelligent mind, which contains in it a regard for the liberty of this country, tremble for its safety and existence.

It is with infinite pleasure we congratulate our fellow citizens and countrymen, on the encrease of societies for an acquirement and a diffusion of political information, which every day evinces itself. By such meetings, conducted with order and regularity, and directed by that first and strongest of all motives, an ardent desire to promote the public welfare, in ascertaining and maintaining our just rights and privileges; we can have no doubt but in due time we shall be enabled to obtain such a reform of abuses and encroachments, as will restore to the constitution its original spirit and vigour, and put liberty

on

on a foundation of permanent ſtability. To effectuate this deſirable end, no means can be more truly eſſential than to enlighten as much, and as ſpeedily as poſſible the minds of the great body of the people, on theſe important ſubjects, their *rights*, and their *duties* as members of a *free ſtate*.

The grand obſtacle to this, as we have before ſuggeſted and lamented, is "the very great expence of the firſt "coſt of philoſophical and political tracts (the ſources of "information on thoſe important ſubjects)," and this it has been our ſtudy and endeavour to obviate by the preſent publication. We have purpoſely fixed the price of it ſo low that it might be within the reach and ability of all but the very pooreſt order of the people; the public advantage is our ſole aim, and we flatter ourſelves the contents of the preſent volume when candidly attended to, will ſufficiently prove this.

Talents of all deſcriptions are employed daily by the partiſans of power, to warp, amuſe, deceive, terrify, miſlead, and betray the people. They build their hopes of ſucceſs on the *ignorance* which pervades the body of the people at large. One of theſe avowed enemies to public liberty and the rights of mankind, ſeems as Mr. Cooper moſt admirably expreſſes it, "to regard the "people as fit only for the goad, and the whip, and "the ſpur; for labour without intermiſſion, in peace; "for ſlaughter without commiſſeration in war—and who "blaſpheming againſt human nature itſelf, impiouſly "terms the great maſs of mankind *the Swiniſh Multitude*."

We think we cannot conclude this addreſs more ſatisfactorily to our readers, or more honourably to ourſelves, than by a quotation from the ingenious, nervous and ſpirited

rited reply of the above named gentleman to the invective of that Prince of apoſtates Mr. Burke.—"A quotation "on the abſolute neceſſity of public *ignorance*, to the ſuc- "ceſs of fraud and impoſition which will furniſh alſo "a parallel to the famous paſſage in Mr. Burke's reflec- "tions, where he ſo courteouſly mentions 'the hoofs 'of the ſwiniſh multitude.' (i. e. the people.)

"Knyghton a *canon* of Leiceſter, complains very "heavily of Wickliff, (the reformer) his Neighbour and "contemporary," 'for having tranſlated out of the Latin 'into Engliſh, the Goſpel which Chriſt had entruſted with 'the Clergy and Doctors of the Church, that *they* might 'miniſter it to the laity and weaker ſort according to the 'exigency of times and their ſeveral occaſions: ſo that by 'this means the goſpel jewel or evangelical pearl was, 'made *vulgar*, was thrown about, and trodden under the 'foot of *ſwine*. (Lewis' Hiſtory of tranſlations of the 'Bible, p. 20. 1729. Sylva p. 319.'

"Thus (continues Mr. Cooper) we find that public "ignorance is the cement of the far-famed "alliance be- "tween Church and State; and that impoſture, political "and religious, cannot maintain its ground, if knowledge "and diſcuſſion once finds its way among the *ſwiniſh mul- "titude*. Hence we have a clue to the true ſource of "proſecutions for Libel, and public proclamations againſt "Conſtitutional Societies, and ſeditious Correſpondences. "But myſtery cannot laſt for ever; its day is far ſpent, "and we have now the touchſtone, the Shibboleth, by "which the real friends of the people may always "and certainly be known: thoſe who mean well to "the people ſay, think for yourſelves, read for 'yourſelves, decide for yourſelves; try all things,

and

and hold faſt that which is good: you are the moſt concerned in what relates to your own intereſt, and wherever you place *implicit* confidence, ſooner or later you will infallibly be deceived. The other ſide, on the contrary, take this for their text, and preach this for their doctrine, 'you (the people) have nothing to do with politics; leave that to your rulers, they know beſt what is good for you; you have no need to think for yourſelves, pay your taxes quietly, and they will take care to think for you.'

"Fellow Citizens, thus are you cajoled:—ſwine they call you, and ſwine in underſtanding they would gladly make you: it is your fault if they ſucceed."

Perfectly coinciding in ſentiment with Mr. Cooper, we beg leave to repeat his ſalutary advice, and remain with the higheſt reſpect, the public's

Moſt obedient and faithful Servants,

THE EDITORS.

AN

AN INTERESTING ANECDOTE.

AT a late trial in Ireland, a Mr. Morton profecuted o John Farrel for an aſſault, with an attempt to commit a rape up his daughter. When Mr. Morton had given his teſtimony for t crown, (as the term is) he was croſs examined by the Counſel f the priſoner. The firſt queſtion aſked him by one of theſe Coun was, "Pray, Sir, is the young Lady your daughter?" The ev dence replied, "Yes." "Pray, Sir," continued the Counſe "how do you know ſhe is your daughter?"

The witneſs thus expreſſed himſelf:

"Gentlemen of the jury, I am called upon in this court to gi my teſtimony. I have given it; and I have given it honeſtly, as my mind, and true, as to the fact. A Counſel, I ſuppoſe him so his impertinence, has aſked me, whether I can upon oath, ſwe that this young lady is my daughter—many of you are fathers, a will feel upon the occaſion as I do.

"One obſervation I beg permiſſion of the Court to make; it i that in ſupport of the laws of my country, I come forward here, t puniſh a tranſgreſſor at my own expence, and that the man who ha aſked me the queſtion as to my daughter's legitimacy, and who, n doubt means to aſk many more of the ſame ſort, is *a perſon* BRIBE *to prevent the courſe of Juſtice.*

"Gentlemen, I will prove the aſſertion.—Look to his brief, h there acknowledges to have received *ten guineas* to defend a villain.

"Will you believe the teſtimony, on oath, of a man who is no *purchaſed*, in preference to the arguments of a man who is *publicl bribed*, or will you not? That is the queſtion."

This ſo completely humbled the Counſel that he immediately ſhewed his back, and the priſoner was convicted, and ſentenced to two years Impriſonment, and to give ſecurity for his good behaviour during life, himſelf in two thouſand pounds, and his ſecurities in one thouſand pounds each.

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NUMBER XIV.

OF

THE PATRIOT:

OR,

POLITICAL, MORAL, AND PHILOSOPHICAL REPOSITORY,

CONSISTING OF

ORIGINAL PIECES,

AND

SELECTIONS FROM WRITERS OF MERIT.

A Work calculated to diffeminate theſe Branches of Knowledge among all Ranks of People, at a ſmall Expence.

BY

A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

PRO PATRIA.

VOL. II.

Oct 2, 1792 — March 26, 1793

POPULUS, LIBERTAS, LEX, ET REX.
THE PEOPLE, LIBERTY, THE LAW, AND THE KING.

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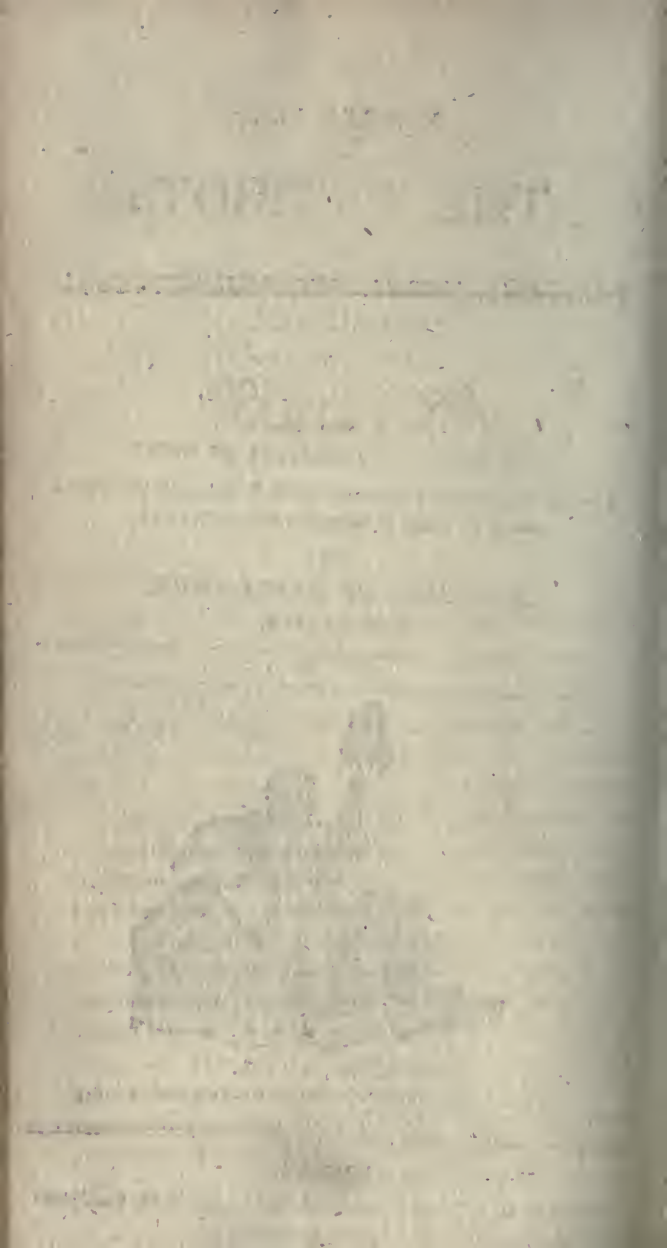

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday, October 2.

Extract from Major Cartwright's Letter to the Duke of Newcastle.

AS the whole of the French Constitution is before the public, let every one think for himself. It is my present purpose only, to notice its *general effects* on this side of the water. That it has given a severe shock to all those who are interested in the abuses and corruptions of our own constitution, is manifest from their inveteracy against it, from the prostituted labours of the newspapers in their pay, and the artificial clamour they have in vain endeavoured to excite against that constitution. On the other hand, like the awakening and animating trumpet of the morn, it has broken the slumbers of the English reformers, and rouzed them to a renewal of their generous labours: and it has awakened in the people an attention to their rights. The spirit of political reform, bottomed on Justice and truth, maintained with manly reason; and conducted with peace, order and wisdom; which

which is now so conspicuously rising, and so rapidly spreading through the land, justify both parties in the opinions they have severally formed on this great event. Political popery and imposture have received the mortal wound. Their remaining struggles, will be the mere convulsions of death: but they will die as they have lived; uttering to the last moment nothing but mystery, lies, and words of deception. The hour, however, is at hand, when they shall perish. And in the same hour, the British people shall demand and recover their rights; and shall "*re-instate the constitution upon its true principles**."

Not even plausible *concession* will now, in my humble opinion, put the people off their guard; and *compromise* will be received as insult. Their demand is THEIR RIGHTS. They are taking their cause into their own hands. They want no patrons: and their FRIENDS will be their *servants*. Their operations are infallible; their strength will soon be invincible. They peaceably associate. They exercise their own understandings on their own concerns. They are comparing the two systems of government now opposed to each other. Can any one doubt of their preferring that of COMMON HONESTY AND COMMON SENSE, to that of MYSTERY AND CORRUPTION? Contemplating the maimed, mutilated, mangled, and wretched condition to which their representative body is reduced; and viewing with indignation the scanty fragments and loathsome offals, which is all of freedom that they taste, who can suppose, that they will deny themselves the delicious banquet of complete constitutional liberty, when they shall see it in their power to sit down to it? The Majesty of the People has

* Address of the Public from *the Friends of the People.*

has too long been reduced to the condition of a mendicant, subsisting on the crumbs that fell from the tables of wealth and pride!

Amongst the other occupations of the associated people, they are enquiring into the different pretensions to moral character, of the petty swindler of merchandise or furniture; and the *noble* swindler who gets into his clutches more or fewer seats in a certain assembly, of which no man of integrity can make a *property*. They are also reviewing, and making their comments upon the RED BOOK. It was the *red book of France*, which in the opinion of every honest man, damned the antient despotism. How a British government of MYSTERY AND CORRUPTION will stand a discussion of *our own red book*, remains to be seen. In my judgment, that book is an impudent record of open bribery exercised upon those who sit in the seats of the people's representatives. The House of Commons is the grand inquest of the nation; and ought to be an inquest *wholly* in the service, *wholly* on behalf of the people. In an ordinary issue at law between man and man, the cause is submitted to a *jury* of indifferent persons, bound to decide uncorruptly, without favour and affection. In such a *jury*, were it to be discovered, that, by intrigue and bribery, a majority had been gained over to the interest of one of the parties at issue, that the pannel itself had been packed by arts the most infamous; and that a number of *the very servants* of the bribing parties were amongst the jurors; what would be the indignation at proceedings so foul! What the infamy, that for ever after must attach on the character of the criminal offender! May not the House of Commons, if due care be not taken, become *such a jury?* May not the people's share and influence in that House

Houſe be rendered a mere phantom? May not the time arrive, when their rights ſhall be betrayed at the nod, and their property invaded at the beck, of every ſucceeding Miniſter? And what ſecurity can the people then have that the laſt remnants of their freedom, ſhall not be ſurrendered by a venal majority? Empty forms indeed, may be retained, and new things may be called by old names; but at ſuch a period it would be a ſerious and melancholy truth, that *the Commons, having ceaſed to have one branch of the legiſlature the organ of their will,* THE CONSTITUTION WOULD BE OVERTURNED; THE PEOPLE WOULD NOT BE FREE. For a denial that ſuch a danger is to be apprehended, we may challenge all thoſe placemen and penſioners who affect to extol the conſtitution, in order to hide thoſe abuſes and corruptions, that are the means whereby they riot in the ſpoils of a country, which they plunder and betray.

The patriots of *America* and of *France*, have ſecured the ſacred right of election to moſt, would I could ſay, to all of their reſpective countrymen: they have alſo ſecured the freedom of their elections: and taken effectual care to guard the purity of their governments from even the ſuſpicion of undue influence. Among the legiſlatures of thoſe nations, containing no leſs than *ſixteen repreſentative aſſemblies of the people*, there is not a ſingle PLACEMAN or PENSIONER to be found. Happy *Americans!* Happy *Frenchmen!* How long will *Engliſhmen* endure the ſhame of ſeeing their Houſe of repreſentatives a ſhocking contraſt to models ſo pure*! It is a Houſe that

* In February 1780, Sir G. Saville moved for a full diſcloſure of the PENSION LIST. It was reſiſted by the Miniſter, who moved and carried an amendment, by which the *ſecret* part of the liſt was

that muſt be reformed: or, farewel to the liberty, and to the glory of this country: a country that was once the land of men daring to be free; and whom neither fraud nor force could bind in chains.

THE MINISTERIAL WRITER.

THE defence of the Miniſter having become very faſhionable, and thinking ſome of our readers may poſſibly wiſh to practiſe an art ſo much in *ton*, we beg leave for their inſtruction, to preſent them with an extract from the KORAN, written nearly thirty years ago by that popular writer *Sterne*, who in this work gives ſome account of his own life.—In the fifth chapter he thus expreſſes himſelf:——

"THE MINISTERIAL WRITER.

"MY uncle Toby then employed me to write a "pamphlet, in defence of the Miniſtry—not of the Goſpel. "I

ſtill kept in the *dark*. The minority on that queſtion was 188: the majority only two more, viz. 190; and compoſed as follows:

Penſioners, avowedly ſo,	6
Contractors,	14
Placemen,	94
Sons of do. and other very near connexions	26
Members under no viſible influence	50
	190

Here, then, had the uncorrupt principles of impannelling and challenging a *jury* prevailed, the miniſter, inſtead of ſtifling inquiry by a majority of *two*, would have loſt the queſtion by a majority of *one hundred and thirty-eight*.

"I obeyed his commands, and put the manuſcript into his "hands; which he carried forthwith in his own name to "Sir Robert Walpole.

"He approved of it, 'twas ſent to the preſs, and "procured the Parſon preferment, but prevented his own "for it kept the Knight *out of the Houſe of Lords* for "the remainder of that ſeptennial.

"The method I uſed in that pamphlet was this—"I collected together every thing that had been ever ob-"jected againſt the miniſter from his firſt entering into "office, till that time, and ipſe dixited every article of "it *point blank*, in the negative—*from my own certain* "*knowledge and other ſufficient authority*—affirmed my-"ſelf to be *no courtier*, nor even acquainted with one; "but to be *a mere country gentleman*, of an independent "fortune who had never before troubled his head about "*party diſputes*, vulgarly ſtyled *politics*—but ſhocked at "the *licentiouſneſs of the times*, had entered a volunteer "in the ſervice of my King and country, and the ſup-"port of miniſterial virtue and integrity.

"I affirmed that the high price of proviſions ſo "loudly complained of, aroſe from the riches and af-"fluence flowing daily into the kingdom, under the au-"ſpices of our Miniſter; and that the accumulation of "taxes like the riſing of rents, was the ſureſt token of a "nations thriving; that the dearneſs of markets, with "theſe new impoſts of government, neceſſarily doubled "induſtry; and that an increaſe of this *natural kind of* "*manufacture*, was adding to the capital ſtock of the "common wealth.

"I

"I lamented the fatal effects to be apprehended "from all theſe heats, animoſities, and revilings, which "I ſaid, *I had good reaſon* to affirm, were but a me- "thod of acting and inſtilling treaſon under cover—for "that whenever the *Miniſter* was abuſed, the *King* was "attacked.

"So profligate Parſons, whenever they fall into deteſ- "tation or contempt, inveigh againſt the impiety of "the times, and charge the ſcandal and reproach they "have themſelves induced upon their function, to the "atheiſm of the laity.

"This book of mine has been the *codex*, or *ars poli-* "*tica*, of all the miniſterial ſycophants ever ſince that "æra; for I have ſcarcely met with a paragraph in "any of the ſtate hireling writings, for many years "paſt, that I could not trace fairly back to my own *code*."*

* Whoever doubts of the above may eaſily ſatisfy themſelves by caſting their eye over the chaſte and pure pages of thoſe immaculate diurnal prints "*The World* and the *Morning Herald*," for theſe laſt twelve months, where they will find that the Seaſons and the Weathers, our fleets of merchantmen, and the commerce they bring into our ports; a peace of eight years continuance, the infancy of America in manufactures, the perturbed ſtate of France, and the various bleſſings of providence, have all united done *nothing* for us, when compared with the *maſterly policy*, of Mr. Pitt and his *peerleſs* compatriot Mr. Dundas. We would not willingly ſhock or hurt the delicacy or modeſty of either of the above mentioned gentlemen, or their hireling ſcribes, but along with the *Koran* of Sterne, we would recommend to each of them to attend now and then to the advice of the Satiriſt,——

——*Non quicquid turbida Roma*
Elevet, accedas, examenque improbum in illa
Caſtiges trutina, nec te quæſiveris extra. *Pers. Sat.* 1.

Don't follow turbid Rome's blind ſenſeleſs ways
Of loading ev'ry thing is done with praiſe;
Of that falſe balance truſt not to the teſt
And out of thee make of thyſelf no Queſt.

ON THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

STEPHEN, who ſucceeded Henry I. had a powerful competitor, for the crown, in the perſon of Matilda, who was deſcended from our Saxon line of Kings, and, as ſuch, had many friends to ſupport her title.* And therefore, Stephen was very liberal in his favours;

* It is ſomewhat remarkable, that whenever a Tyrant or an Uſurper has been intruded upon the people of this country, it has always been through the influence and intrigues of the clergy. Maitland, in his Hiſtory of London, ſpeaks thus of the above tranſaction of Stephen's acquiring the crown. "Upon the demiſe of Henry I. "in *Normandy*, Stephen, Earl of Bologn and Montaign, nephew to "the late King, and by the female line grandſon to William the Con-"queror, came privately into England; and notwithſtanding his "having ſolemnly ſworn to the ſucceſſion of *Matilda a Maud*, the "Empreſs, daughter to the late King, he perfidiouſly attempted to "procure the ſceptre for himſelf, by the aſſiſtance of three perjured "Prelates, viz. William Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Henry Biſhop "of Wincheſter (brother to Stephen) and Roger Biſhop of Saliſbury; "who, with the reſt of the biſhops and nobility, had ſworn to ſup-"port Matilda's claim; however ſetting aſide that ſacred tie, they "eaſily prevailed upon their brethren to join them in behalf of the "uſurper: whereby their faction became ſo potent, that the nobility "ſeem not to have been in a condition to ſtem the torrent.

"If the practice of theſe prelates had been anſwerable to their "profeſſion of religion, the very conſideration of their having ſo "often ſworn to ſupport Matilda's ſucceſſion, would have reſtrained "them

favours; he confirmed the charter of Henry, and engaged to carry it into execution whenever by their aſſiſtance he ſhould be eſtabliſhed upon the throne.

Upon this the Barons promiſed him a conditional ſupport; that they would be faithful to him no longer than he was faithful to his promiſes; that they had been amuſed by promiſes from all the Kings ſince the Conqueſt, and therefore they ſhould now take their own meaſures. And accordingly they fortified their caſtles, and put themſelves in a poſture of defence: ſo that, in a little time, there were above a thouſand fortified caſtles in the kingdom, which afterwards contributed much to the reſtoration of the conſtitution. However, the ſucceeding wars prevented any further progreſs during this reign, in reſtoring the people to their elective rights.

Henry the Second ſucceeded Stephen to the throne; and he came to the crown with the approbation of all parties. The hopes of the Engliſh were much elevated upon his acceſſion, becauſe he was deſcended from their antient Kings; they vainly imagined he would reſtore to

" them from aſſiſting an uſurping foreigner to the prejudice of their " lawful and natural Princeſs, deſcended from the ancient race of " Saxon Kings. But unwilling to be outdone in iniquity by their " predeceſſors (who ſacrificed the liberties of the people to the Nor- " man Tyrant) they betrayed their country into the hands of Stephen, " whoſe ingratitude and perjury ought rather to have made him odi- " ous to them; and whoſe advancement to the throne, occaſioned a " long and bloody war, whereby this city greatly ſuffered; for the " citizens were artfully cajoled by thoſe wicked Prelates, to ſide with " them, and receive Stephen into their city." Here we have another ſtriking inſtance of the pernicious conſequences which originally gave riſe to the alliance between *Church and State*—founded on *perjury* and *robbery*, and cemented with torrents of the beſt blood of the betrayed and deluded people.

to them their antient form of government, and re-establish their elective power. But such generous sentiments as these, are seldom known to descend with the posterity of Kings. Accordingly, Henry the Second contributed nothing to this desirable end; but left the legislative authority in the some condition that he found it.*

* Though this King "left the legislative authority in the same "condition that he found it," the following deserves to be mentioned and recorded to his praise ——"It does our Henry II. great honour "(says Lord *Lyttleton* in his History of the life of that Monarch, vol. "3, p. 356) that he was the first author of a regulation for arming "his whole people; for no Prince who desired to govern tyrannically would have thought of such a regulation; nor could any "country, in which such a law was maintained, be either enslaved "by the Crown, or much oppressed by the Nobles. It seems in "deed that the ancient Constitution of England had always intended "what this Statute of Henry II. enacted, as all freeholders were re"quired by the common law of the land to assist in opposing and "driving out invaders; but the want of care to provide the bur"gesses and free soemen, who did not hold any fiefs by military te"nures, with proper arms, rendered that obligation of little or no "effect; whereas, from this time, the whole community of freemen "were bound to have in their own custody, and transmit to their "heirs, the usual arms of a foot soldier, and those who were worth "16 marks in chattels or rents, were to provide heavy armour, and "even those who had but 10, were to furnish themselves with steel "caps and habergeons of iron, together with lances, and leave them "to their heirs."

These were the arms in use at that time. The people have still the same right by Law to keep *arms for their own defence*, which, says Blackstone, vol. 1. p. 144, "is declared also by Stat. 1. Will. & Mar. "st. 2. c. 2. and it is indeed a public allowance under due restriction "of the natural right of resistance and self-preservation, when the "sanctions of society and laws are found insufficient to restrain the "violence of oppression." If the people would prudently and wisely avail themselves of this right, and dedicate a portion of their time to learn the use of the musket and bayonet, to load and fire quickly and to charge with bayonet firmly—we should hear no more such riots as were in London in 1780, and in Birmingham in 179

Richard the Firſt, ſucceeded his father Henry the Second, in the Throne. He was a Prince of ſuch a warlike genius, that it ſeems to have engroſſed the whole man; and to have excluded all other thoughts but what might contribute to the gratification of his ruling paſſion. He had engaged himſelf with the King of France, to proſecute a war againſt the Saracens in the Holy Land, agreeably to the cruſading madneſs of thoſe times; which involved him in an expence that his ordinary revenue was not able to ſupport. This put him upon many expedients for raiſing money, to execute his enterprize; ſome of which were very unjuſt, arbitrary, and impolitic. But what we would chiefly obſerve is, his ſale of every thing that he could part with, or find a purchaſer for. We cannot expreſs his diſpoſition to ſell better, than by his anſwer to his friends who adviſed him againſt ſuch ſales; for he ſtopped their mouths by telling them, "He "would ſell the city of London if he could find a pur-"chaſer."

It was under this ſelling Prince that many of our cities, towns, and boroughs, purchaſed back their old Saxon rights, of being governed by their own magiſtrates; where they had not done it before. For it had been a frequent practice, after Henry the Firſt, to purchaſe back ſometimes a part, and ſometimes the whole of their old Saxon privileges, liberties, and franchiſes, for

One of the moſt plauſible, though abſurd, excuſes for keeping a *ſtanding army*, viz. "to aſſiſt the civil power," would be taken away, and every man would enjoy his rights and his property in ſafety, "under the ſhade of his own vine and his own fig-tree." The expence of the ſtanding army, which is at once *unconſtitutional*, and dangerous to our *liberties*, is at this time, according to Sir John Sinclair's eſtimate, "about two millions and an half"—an eighth part of our enormous and exorbitant taxation, and a burden on the people, the riddance from which, is "*a conſummation devoutly to be wiſhed.*"

a fine to the King; for which the Kings, say the historians, were wont to give their charters.

And from hence it comes, that our corporations hold their rights, by written charters; which were always made by way of grants. In some account that we have seen in that part of the revenue proceeding from fines, the author observes, that as to fines for grants, confirmation of liberties, privileges, franchises, and exemptions, there are numberless instances on the revenue roll. The city of London bought back the privilege of having a Mayor, or chief Magistrate of their own electing; and a power of electing two Sheriffs to serve for the city of London, and county of Middlesex.*

Thus we may see by what means the cities and boroughs recovered by degrees their ancient Saxon government, and became once more little republics among themselves. For though they had changed the Saxon names of officers and offices, yet the power and duty were still the same. But as for the rural tythings, or the Saxon country divisions, they were so confounded and entangled with the different rights of the baronies and manors, and other Norman establishments, that they were never able to make the least attempt to recover their old tything form of government.

And notwithstanding the towns had advanced thus far in their recovery, yet, they were continually in danger of a relapse, from the arbitrary power of the crown; which frequently forced them to surrender their charters back again, in order to oblige them to purchase anew. So

* In the year 1139, the citizens were obliged to pay to King *Stephen* one hundred marks of silver for a right to chuse their own sheriff.——*Madox's Hist. of the Exchequer, A. D.* 1139.

So that they had no good security till they had got possession of their old share of the legislative authority.*—However, they had by this time gained a strength sufficient to make a stand for their liberty the first time the perplexed circumstances of the King afforded them an opportunity; which presented itself in the following reign.

INTERESTING POLITICAL FACTS.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

As you have done me the honour to accept my offer, by inserting my former letter, with some complimentary acknowledgments, which I fear are to be attributed to your kindness more than to my desert; I will at least do all in my power to render my correspondence worthy that opinion you are pleased to express of it: and

* It was voted about fourteen years ago by the House of Commons, *even as it is now, and was then constituted*, "that the influence "of the Crown *has increased*, is *increasing*, and *ought to be diminished*." This influence has been increasing ever since. It is evident that it never *will* or *can* be diminished "till the people get possession of their "old share in the legislative authority." What is this old share?—Why their *just right* to be duly, fully and equally represented in Parliament, and to have *their parliaments elected annually*; and this we hope the *people* will never cease or weary in their endeavours to effect, by every orderly and peaceable means in their power.

and at the ſame time as intereſting to the curioſity, and deſerving of the attention of your numerous readers as my feeble abilities will permit.

I beg leave in this place to give you a ſmall outline of what I mean by deſiring a place for theſe political facts, in your ſo truly uſeful and valuable miſcellany. It has long been a matter of concern to me, to obſerve how much the public have been miſled and deceived, with regard to the nature of the Britiſh conſtitution. Many of your correſpondents feelingly lament the deplorable ignorance of the great body of the people on this head; whereas, in my opinion, we ought rather to rejoice at the circumſtance. If I underſtand theſe writers properly, their regret ariſes from the people not having read, and therefore not knowing any thing of a matter which concerns them ſo nearly. At this very circumſtance I feel *pleaſed*, becauſe the maſs of the people will only have a great deal to learn, and nothing to *unlearn*.

Thoſe who have read without very good inſtructors to adviſe with, from time to time, have the moſt imperfect, not to ſay falſe ideas of our conſtitution. Many of our hiſtorians and ſeveral writers, generally ſtiled celebrated ones, Blackſtone and De Lolme in particular, have given us a high varniſhed picture of the conſtitution; but this contains only the bold and beauteous features of *what it was*, and *what it ought to be*; not what it really and *bona fide* is at *preſent*. Thoſe gentlemen have each publiſhed a romance on the conſtitution; and we muſt be as blind enamorato's as ever Don Quixote was, and as enthuſiaſtically devoted to our *miſtreſs* the conſtitution, as he was to the divine charms of his *dulcinea del Toboſa*, whom he nor any one elſe had ever ſeen; before

before we can venture to pronounce her the most consummate paragon in the world, and throw down our gauntlets in defiance to all the valorous knights in Christendom, to prove the contrary.

It has ever been a great misfortune attendant on most sciences, except the mathematics, that theory and practice have too often disagreed. This must arise from a defect in the system, or in the mode of carrying it on. They either make use of wrong words to express their ideas or render them confused and indeterminate, by affixing and allowing different meanings to the same word. This is unluckily, in a peculiar manner, the case in politics, at least in this country. I have frequently had a dispute of more than an hour's continuance, with a friend, on the constitution; and have at last discovered by a mere accidental expression, that he was all the time meaning the *government*. The law of the land, and the judge who puts it in force, are not more distinct and different; and yet the absurd custom of using one for the other, which has too long fatally prevailed, renders it always difficult, and sometimes impossible, to convince men of their error.

Blackstone and De Lolme tell us, that the great strength and perfection of the constitution consists in the just and exact equilibrium of each of the three powers, which constitute the legislature; and its beauty and efficacy, on the mutual checks which each branch has upon the other: by which it is said by them, to be a beautiful mixture of democracy, aristocracy and monarchy; so equally blended, that each one is effectually guarded against all attempts of the other two, to injure, impair, or destroy its separate and particular interests, rights and privileges.

I have carefully perused the best Historians of my own country, and those of other nations likewise, who appear to understand our constitution *full as well*, to say the least of them, as those of our own. have dedicated many days, and some few nights, to the consideration of the literary labours of the gentlemen above mentioned; and I must confess, that from Mr. Blackstone's own shewing in particular, when I view the *whole* of his work, and compare one part with another; it appears to me, that our boasted constitution so far as I can comprehend it, instead of the equal mixture above described; is neither more nor less, than a downright *aristocracy*; which rules with sovereign sway, both Prince and people.

I may be mistaken, "*humanum est errare*—error is "the lot of mankind," but if I do err in this respect, it is not wilfully. My error, if it is one, arises from comparing facts with theory. Those facts, I will through your valuable medium, lay before the public; and as I said before, "let each man judge for himself."

I am gentlemen,

Your very obedient servant,

Middle Temple, ALGERNON SYDNEY.

Sept. 8, 1792.

Interesting Political Facts, since the Year 1740.

The Minister, Sir. Robert Walpole, having become exceedingly unpopular, and the leaders of several parties having united against him, he had not character and interest sufficient to secure a majority in the new parliament, which was elected in the Spring of 1741.

In

In this parliament which met on the 4th of December, 1741. Mr. Pitt was re-elected for Old Sarum. The first question which the Minister lost, was that of chairman of the committee of priveleges and elections; Dr. Lee being chosen by a majority of four, against Mr. Earl, who had been supported by Sir Robert. After losing some questions on the decisions of the contested elections, he saw there was a confirmed majority against him; and therefore on the 3d of February 1742, he resigned his employments, and was created Earl of Orford. At the same time the parliament by the King's command, adjourned to the 18th of the same month.

Although the Minister was personally departed, his influence was not extinguished; he still possessed power sufficient to enable him to capitulate with his opponents for his safety.

With his usual penetration, he prudently selected from among his oponents those who were the most eager for power, to commence his negotiation with. His view in making this selection was judicious. Those chiefs or heads of opposition, to whom he made no communication of his designs, the moment they heard of the negotiation, became jealous of their friends; and a schism amongst them was thereby created, which was the thing Sir Robert Walpole most wished; because in their united state, they had power to crush him, but when divided, he knew they could not hurt him.

The negotiation began by the *Duke of Newcastle* requesting to see Mr. PULTENEY *privately* at Mr. Stone's (his Grace's secretary) at Whitehall. Mr. PULTENEY replied, that he would rather see the Duke at his own house in Piccadilly; and desired his Grace to fix the time

time; and added that *Lord Carteret* must be present at the conference. The same evening was agreed upon; and the *Duke of Newcastle* with *Lord Hardwicke*, went to Mr. Pulteney's, where they found him with only *Lord Carteret*. They said they came from the King with proposals; that it was his Majesty's desire, *Mr. Pulteney* should be placed at the head of the treasury. *Mr. Pulteney* excused himself, and proposed *Lord Carteret* for that situation. The conference ended, however, without any thing being settled. But information of the meeting was in a few hours spread all over the town. A thousand conjectures were formed.

It was this *private* meeting, and *another* which happened two days afterwards, of the same persons at the same place, which *caused* the *division* in the opposition. Between Lord Carteret and Lord Cobham there was no intimacy—but the contrary. The selection of Lord Carteret for these *private* conferences, which were to lay the foundation of, and to fix the boundaries of the new arrangement, was therefore a sort of *marked exclusion* of Lord Cobham, whose parliamentary friends (Mr. Pitt, Mr. Lyttleton, the three Grenvilles, Richard, George and James—Mr. Waller, and several others) deserved consideration; whose personal character was high, and whose reputation had been assailed, in being turned out of the army.(2) Lord Cobham was not of a temper to see these transactions with indifference. His friends felt their share of the contempt that was shewn to him; they gave him the most cordial assurances of attachment; and they immediately formed a separate party. They were in a short time joined by the Duke of Argyle, who, though he had taken the ordnance in the first moments of the change, he quickly resigned it, and returned to his old friends; who were in a few weeks joined by all

all those who saw that the change of Ministry was only to be partial, inadequate and imperfect; that the nation as well as themselves had been deceived.

Sir Robert Walpole (now Earl of Orford) did not approve of the nomination of LORD CARTARET for his successor at the Treasury; (3) and as Mr. Pulteney had declined that post, he managed the King to insist upon LORD WILMINGTON for it. LORD WILMINTON had been Sir Robert's President of the Council in 1732.*— It was some triumph to his opponents, to see him so soon baffled in his arrangement. The DUKE OF ARGYLE observed to him on the occasion, at a large meeting of their friends, at the *Fountain Tavern*, in the Strand,†. "that "a grain of honesty was worth a cart-load of gold."

The

* To this appointment Sir Charles Hanbury Williams alludes in a beautiful stanza. Lord Wilmington had, upon the *accession* of Geo. II. been offered the Treasury, *if* he would undertake to *increase* the civil list, from 700,000l. to 800,000l. but he was timid and declined the offer: upon which, the offer was next made to Sir Robert Walpole, who accepted it, and upon that circumstance alone became Minister.

Why did you cross God's good intent?
He made you for a president:
Back to that station go;
Nor longer act this farce of pow'r
We know you miss'd the thing before,
And have not got it now.

† This meeting was held on the 12th of February, 1742. There were near 300 Members of both Houses of Parliament present.— Amongst them were the following:—Dukes of Bedford and Argyle— Marquis of Caernarvon—Earls of Exeter, Berkshire, Chesterfield, Carlisle, Aylesbury, Shaftsbury, Lichfield, Oxford, Rockingham, Halifax, Stanhope, Macclesfield, Darnley, Baltymore, Granard—Viscounts Cobham, Falmouth, Limerick, Gage, Chetwynd—Lords Ward, Gower

The Earl of Harrington, who had been Sir Robert's Secretary of State, was made Preſident of the Council. Lord Cartaret accepted of Lord Harrington's ſeals; and Mr. SANDYS was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, with a new board of Treaſury. A new board of Admiralty, with the Earl of Winchelſea at the head, were all the alterations of any conſequence that were made.

(4) The diſappointment of the nation at this trifling change of a few men, was greater than can be deſcribed. Many of the moſt reſpectable parts of the community were provoked and exaſperated to the uſe of the bittereſt language which could expreſs their execration and abhorrence of the junction that was thus formed between Mr. PULTENEY and the friends of the late Miniſter.

Gower, Bathurſt, Talbot, Strange, Andover, Guernſey, Quarendon Percival—Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Charles Mordaunt, Sir Erafmus Phillips, Sir Robert Groſvenor, Sir Edward Dering, Sir Roger Burgoyne, Sir John Hind Cotton, Sir Henry Northcote, Sir Wm. Carew, Sir Miles Stapylton, Sir Hugh Smithſon, Sir Wm. Morris, Sir John Ruſhout, Sir Michael Newton, Sir Roger Twiſden, Sir Robert Long, Sir Charles Wyndham, Sir Jermyn Davers, Sir James Daſhwood, Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Sir Cordel Firebrace, Sir Edward Thomas, Sir Francis Daſhwood, Sir Jacob Bouverie, Sir John Chapman, Sir Abraham Elton, Sir John Peachy, Sir William Courtney, Sir James Hamilton—Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Sandys, Mr. Gybbon, Mr. Doddington, Mr. Waller, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Fazakerly, Mr. Melliſh, Mr. Alderman Heathcote, Mr. Bance, &c.——The purpoſe of the meeting was to conſider of what was expedient to be done in the preſent critical conjuncture. *But it was too late; the arrangements were ſettled before the meeting was called.*

It is to this meeting that Sir Charles Hanbury Williams alludes, in one of his Odes to Mr. Pulteney; where, invoking the Muſe to diſplay his hero's merit, he ſays,

Then enlarge on his cunning and wit,
Say, how he harangued at the *Fountain*,
Say, how the old patriots were bit,
And a mouſe was produc'd by a mountain.

Notes on the foregoing Facts.

IF the Reader will attentively conſider the foregoing facts, they may perhaps ſtrike him with the ſame, or nearly the ſame obſervations, they do the writer of this.

It appears that the Miniſter was very *unpopular*—perhaps no one, either before or ſince, was ever more deſervedly ſo. It ſeems he was turned out by "the leaders of ſeveral parties having united againſt "him;" but ſtill, though theſe leaders of parties forced him to reſign, he was able "to capitulate with them for his ſafety;"—therefore, however criminal he might be in the eyes of the *people*, or in the eye of *juſtice*, no matter to their virtuous repreſentatives, "theſe "leaders of parties," what became of the Miniſter and his crimes, ſo that they got the *loaves and fiſhes* which he had long *monopolized* and was now obliged to give up.

(1) *When divided he knew they could not hurt him.* The crafty ſtateſman well knew the game he had to play—"*divide et impera—divide, and conquer.*" This is the game ſucceſſive Miniſters have always played off on the people. They ſet them a quarrelling before an election about *Whigs* and *Tories*, *High Church* and *Low Church*, *Church* and *State*; get in their own adherents by this very *diviſion*, and then laugh at the fooliſh *people* for *ſix years* to come at leaſt.

(2) *His boſt reputation had been aſſailed by being turned out of the army.*—Lord COBHAM had been ſome ſhort time before deprived of his regiment, becauſe *he voted againſt the Miniſter*: this very Sir Robert.—There were two motions in conſequence of this highly laudable and ſalutary. The firſt was, for "a Bill to make military officers inde-"pendent of the Miniſtry" (a thing abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity of our liberties); the other, moved by Lord Carteret, for "an "Addreſs to know who adviſed the removal of the Duke of Bolton: "an

"and Lord Cobham from their regiments." Both these motions were rejected by that *virtuous* Minister's *corrupt majority*. Nevertheless he was able "to capitulate with his opponents for his safety."—Would the people have suffered him to escape with impunity, and a *title*, had they been his judges? *Credat Judæus!* Yet the people are told they are *fully and adequately represented*.

(3) *Did not approve of Lord Carteret for the Treasury*—This shews the *excellence* and the *freedom* of our government indeed! A degraded Minister, discarded from the service of his Royal Master, because he was obnoxious, not only "to the leaders of parties in the House," but to *the whole Nation*, on account of his *infamous* conduct, and *unconstitutional proceedings*—with the dread of an impeachment almost palsying every limb—is not only able "to capitulate with his opponents for "his safety"—but also "*to manage the King to insist upon Lord Wil-*"*mington for the Treasury.*" Lord Wilmington! The very noble personage whose *fears only* had prevented him from increasing the civil list 100,000l. per annum. The virtuous Sir Robert was more bold; he jumped at the *Treasury*, and without either dread or remorse, clapped the saddle on the *asses backs* immediately. (When James I. came to the Crown of England, on the death of Queen Elizabeth, *Cecil*, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, told him, "*that he should* "*find his English subjects like asses, on whom he might lay any burden,* "*and should need neither bit nor bridle, but their asses ears.*")——At the same time that I admire Sir Robert's gratitude for his friend Lord Wilmington's timidity, which put *him* in possession immediate of the *golden fleece*, it becomes a nice question of discernment, Which deserved most at the hands of the *people* for attention to their *interests*—this *managed King*, or this *matchless*, *managing Minister?*

Reader, I entreat thee to cast a careful eye on the facts above mentioned, and the Notes attendant thereon, and then tell thy self what share (according to thy private, cool, dispassionate opinion) the *people* has in any of these important transactions.

(4) *The disappointment of the Nation at this trifling change of a few men.* The disappointment of the *Nation* must always be the same, so long as that nation, consisting of ten millions, *or more*, shall tamely suffer themselves to be represented by men, returned for that purpose by considerably less than 4000 real, effective voters—a considerable majority of which are the actual property of the Aristocracy, viz.

the

ON A REFORM IN PARLIAMENT.

(From Mr. Cooper's reply to Mr. Burke's invective.)

BY an EFFECTUAL reform however, I do not mean the paltry manœuvre of disfranchiſing the boroughs and adding to the county members; nor the equally objectionable meaſure, of admiting only taxable houſholders to vote, although formerly I had doubts upon this ſubject. But it cannot be denied that by this means, the larger part of the Community, the moſt important part of the Community, the moſt oppreſed, the moſt induſtrious part of the Communtiy, thoſe who having the moſt reaſon to complain, complain the leaſt; the Cottager, the Mechanic and the Day-labourer, (or as that inveterate enemy of human kind Mr Burke would call them, the Swiniſh multitude) are placed in perpetual ſubjection to a Corporation, an Ariſtocracy of property, more or leſs extended. I do not mean this. It is impoſſible to defend the ſyſtem of disfranchiſing a fellow Citizen, becauſe he is not ſo rich as his more favoured

the Nobility and ſome wealthy Commoners; and afterwards unbluſhingly told, that theſe men ſo returned, are a full, equal and adequate Repreſentation of the whole *People* of Great-Britain, to bind them in all caſes whatſoever of *life*, *liberty* and *property*.

ALGERNON SYDNEY.

voured Neighbour. Under any ſtate of Society, property always has had and will have, full as much influence as it ought;, and it is groſs ignorance in politics to add ſo many artificial to the natural inequalities among men. Neither am I prepared to believe that public ſpirit and independence is excluſively confined to the rich. So far as my experience goes, the direct contrary is the fact; and I almoſt ſuſpect "that is as eaſy for a camel to go through the eye of a needle," as for a man of large property to be a thorough Patriot. I am not prepared to believe that public ſpirit is not among the poor man's virtues; I know and confeſs the temptations he is ſometimes under to ſacrifice his political opinions for his daily bread; but ſo far as I have been able to judge, it is not for want of principle that the poor give way, but from want of knowledge: kept as they are in the moſt deplorable ignorance of their political rights; encouraged to work hard, and to drink hard but to think little and to read nothing; no wonder they ſhould barter their Birth-right for a meſs of Pottage, when they know too well the value of the one, and know nothing about the other. Suppoſing however, that the want of independence may be a crime attached to poverty; is it not evident that the way to create it if it does not exiſt, and to confirm it, if it does, is to take for granted its exiſtence? Alas! among other robberies committed upon the poor, they are robbed of their good fame, and their honeſt character, by proud and privileged Law-givers: "depart (it is in fact ſaid by the ſmall part of a nation to the larg-"er), depart ye wretches, ye ſwiniſh multitude, ye "ſcum of the earth! ye are guilty of that epitome of "all the crimes of the Decalogue, ye are convicted of "poverty! what rights can ye pretend to, who have "not a penny in your pockets? Away to your diſmal "habitations, and your ſcanty fare, go work and be con-

"tented

"tented." How oppoſite are the ſentiments of ſcripture and thoſe of modern Politicians. The Bible (in the text above quoted) declares that riches are an obſtacle in the way to the kingdom of Heaven; while among European legiſlators, poverty and virtue are incompatible! Degrade a man in his own opinion, ſtigmatize him by legal ſuſpicion, take for granted that he has no character to loſe, and you go the ſure way to work to make him in reality what you believe him to be. We have done ſo by the Jews. On the contrary let him know that you place confidence in his integrity, that he *has* a character to loſe by improper behaviour, and that you expect as a matter of courſe, that he will act as he ought; the chances are, that he will feel his own dignity, and juſtify the expectations you entertain of his good conduct. Laws make manners. It is a crime, aye, and a foul crime againſt human nature, ſyſtematically to debaſe in the eye of the public, and in their own opinion, ſo large a portion of mankind as the poor unhappily form. *

Moreover,

* The pernicious conſequences of partial and unjuſt laws are finely repreſented by the Marquis of Beccaria (in his Eſſay on Crimes and Puniſhments, p. 110) in the perſon of a robber or aſſaſſin, whom he ſuppoſes to reaſon with himſelf thus: "What are theſe laws "that I am bound to reſpect, which make ſo great a difference be"tween me and the rich man? He refuſes me the farthing I aſk of "him, and excuſes himſelf, by bidding me have recourſe to labour, "with which he is unacquainted. Who made theſe laws? The Rich "and the Great who never deigned to viſit the miſerable hut of the "poor;—who have never yet ſeen him dividing a piece of mouldy "bread, amidſt the cries of his famiſhed children, and the tears of "his wife. Let us break thoſe ties, fatal to the greateſt part of "mankind, and only uſeful to a few indolent tyrants. Let us attack "injuſtice at its ſource. I will return to my natural ſtate of indepen"dence. I ſhall live free and happy on the fruits of my courage "and induſtry. A day of pain and repentance may come, but it

will

Moreover, thoſe who have little, deſerve to have that little the more carefully protected, the leſs a man poſſeſſes, the leſs he can ſpare from his narrow ſtore; and at any rate, even the poor are poſſeſſors of the moſt invaluable ſpecies of property, life, liberty, and labour. To infringe upon theſe directly or indirectly, without the conſent of the owners, is neither more nor leſs than tyranny in the law that enacts it, and ſlavery in the object who is compelled to ſubmit to it.

Neither can it be truly ſaid that the poor man pays no taxes; for he expends the produce of his labour in the moſt productive articles of modern Taxation, the neceſſaries of life. The fire with which he warms his frozen limbs, and dreſſes his ſcanty morſel—the candle that enables his family to toil at the ſpinning wheel, or the loom, during thoſe hours which the middling claſſes devote to relaxation from buſineſs, and the great to the zenith of their pleaſurable career—the ſmall beer that waſhes

" will be ſhort, and for an hour of grief I ſhall enjoy years of " pleaſure and liberty. King of a ſmall number as determined as " myſelf, I will correct the miſtakes of fortune, and I ſhall ſee thoſe " tyrants grow pale and tremble at the ſight of him, whom, with " inſulting pride, they would not ſuffer to rank with their dogs and " horſes."

There ſeems ſuch a congeniality of ſentiment between this enlightened, accompliſhed and humane Italian, and our ingenious and worthy Countryman Mr. Cooper, that we could not reſiſt the opportunity of exemplifying how two *good men* born in different Countries and influenced by the difference of Education, Climate, Manners and even Religion may think exactly alike upon the ſame ſubject. This is alſo another proof of the juſtice of Mr. Paine's axiom, " that every Religion is good, which teaches Man to be good."—May *England* never want a COOPER and a PAINE to aſſert her rights, maintain her privileges, and defend her Liberties—nor *Italy* " a BECCARIA."!

waſhes down his homely repaſt—every morſel of his food, every article of his apparel, and even the ſcanty furniture of his cottage are all affected by the extravagance and miſmanagement of thoſe who govern. The more taxes are required, the more hours he muſt labour to ſupply his wants, and the more diſtant his proſpect of obtaining the comforts and conveniencies of exiſtence.

How little the intereſts of the poor are taken care of, and how neceſſary it is that the voice of the poor man ſhould be heard with reſpect and attention in the Houſe of Commons; the numerous incloſure bills are pregnant inſtances, where, as in the fable of Nathan the prophet, "the poor man's lamb is ſeized to encreaſe the numerous herds of his richer and more powerful neighbours."—Whereas inſtead of dividing the commons and waſtes among the rich, natural juſtice and good policy would teach us to diſtribute them among the poor.* But we take good care to fulfil with the moſt ſcrupulous orthodoxy that text of ſcripture "unto every one that hath "ſhall be given, and he ſhall have abundance, but from "him that hath not ſhall be taken away, even that "which he hath."

A ſtill more flagrant inſtance of cruelty and injuſtice towards the poor, is the practice of *impreſſing*. The labour of the poor man conſtitutes the whole of his wealth, and his domeſtic connections almoſt the whole of his happineſs. But on a ſudden, on the dubious authority of a preſs warrant, he is cut off from his peaceful habitation

* There is a very important book too little noticed, "An Eſſay "on the Right to property in Land," by Dr. Ogilvie, 8vo.

on and domeſtic ſociety, and forcibly dragged on board the floating priſon of a tender: he is compelled to labour in the dreadful ſervice of murdering his fellow creatures at the command of his ſuperiors, and paid ſuch ſcanty wages, not as he can earn or deſerves, but as the niggardly ſyſtem of government finance thinks fit to allow. His family mean while, who look up to him for comfort and ſubſiſtence, ignorant of his misfortunes, are anxiouſ-expecting his wonted return; perhaps their homely repaſt for the night depended upon his earnings for the day; but his uſual hour of return to his family is gone by; each paſſing footſtep, each noiſe of diſtant ſimilarity is eagerly liſtened to in vain. Hope ſtill draws out the lengthened evening till a ſleepleſs night of lamentation and deſpair ſucceeds the dreary melancholy hours of ſucceſſive diſappointment and fruitleſs expectation. The next or ſucceeding day brings the mournful tidings of his deſtiny, and leaves the widowed wife (perhaps the pregnant mother) to eke out a comfortable exiſtence under the accumulated preſſure of want and labour, and ſorrow and diſeaſe.

Innumerable are the caſes of this nature, that muſt of neceſſity attend the practice of impreſſing for ſoldiers and marines. But the miſeries of the lower claſſes of ſociety are borne in torpid ſilence and patient reſignation. The feeble voice of ſuffering poverty can ſeldom extend beyond the humble limits of her own habitation, ſtill leſs can it penetrate the joyous manſions of the great, or intrude on the pompous occupations of the Stateſman.—otherwiſe it might truly ſuggeſt, that even if Wars *be* neceſſary, this tyrannical ſyſtem of violence and robbery is not ſo. It is the offſpring of ſtate-parſimony alone. Why not add a fourth or an half to the common wages, to induce Volunteers * ? Why not double the pay ?—Why not ? Becauſe the overgrown fortunes of the rich

Landholders, the Monopolizers of waſtes and commons, would experience an almoſt imperceptible diminution. While, by the good old faſhion of dragging away the poor by means of preſs-gangs, no taxes are laid upon the wealthy, and a due portion of the ſwiniſh multitude, the ſcum of the earth, are periodically ſwept away as food for powder.

(to be continued.)

* We cannot help aſſigning in ſome degree a reaſon in the way of Anſwer to the above queries. If you propoſe to modern Miniſters to encourage induſtry and good behaviour, or even the courage and gallantry of our brave and intrepid Countrymen by rewards, they will anſwer, "thoy have no FUNDS." Yet they can find wherewith to reward thoſe who do their dirty work for them. They can buy Boroughs, maintain an uſeleſs army of Soldiers, another of Taxgatherers, and a third of Place-men and Penſioners—but not one farthing to increaſe the pay, nothing as an *extraordinary ſtimulus* on *extraordinary occaſion*, to our honeſt bold Tars, who form the only defence that is to be *ultimately* relied on for the preſervation of this Iſland Had the French Fleet in the days of *Deſpotiſm*, been greatly and decidedly ſuperior to ours, they would at any time have landed Men ſufficient in point of numbers to ſurround any *ſtanding Army* we could have brought into the field. The only dread the French ever had of invading us, was our Fleet, which might prevent their men from getting away from an Enemies Country:—and in ſuch ſituations without a fleet to ſecure a retreat, in caſe of accidents, and to furniſh the neceſſary ſupplies;—the idea of an Invaſion is, and ever was, *abſurd in the extreme*. On the contrary were their fleet decidedly ſuperior, we could not fail being ſubdued in time. Yet theſe men who are our beſt reliance in the hour of need, are treated the worſt of any of their ſpecies;—and degraded from time to time as vilely as the vileſt of Felons and Murderers.

The Editors.

CHARACTERISTICS OF A PATRIOT.

THE first essential ingredient necessary to form a *Patriot*, is, *impartiality*: for if a person shall think himself bound by any other rules but those of his own reason and judgment, or obliged to follow the dictates of others who shall appear the heads of the party he is engaged in, he sinks below the dignity of a human creature, and voluntarily resigns those guides which nature has given him to direct him in all spheres of life.

This is but too much the misfortune of the country we live in. For let either Whig or Tory, when in power, grow wanton in the abuse of it, or endeavour to maintain themselves in the enjoyment of it by illegal and unwarrantable measures: those amongst them, who by the influence of their consciences, shall be prevailed on to oppose such steps as they judge wicked and dangerous, are stiled by the leading men of the party they were engaged in, (and consequently reputed by their numerous train of *sycophants* and *followers*) *deserters of their friends*, because such honest men refuse to be what they esteem, *betrayers of their country*.

Ambition and *avarice* are two vices which are directly opposite to, and incompatible with the character of a *patriot*; for though an increase of power, or of riches, may be the proper reward of honour and merit, and the most

most honest statesman, may with justice accept of either; yet, when the mind is infected with a *thirst* after them, all notions of truth, principle, and independency are lost in such minds, and by growing slaves to their own passions, they become naturally subservient to those who can indulge and gratify them.

In public affairs, it is the duty of every man to be free from *personal prejudices*; neither ought we to oppose any step that is taking for the good of our country, purely because those that are the contrivers and advisers of it are obnoxious to us. There are but too many precedents of this nature, because those that had the direction of affairs were their enemies in *private life*.—This ill way of judging may be attended with dangerous consequences to the common weal.

Intrepidity and *firmness*, are two virtues which every *patriot* must be master of, or else all the other talents he is possessed of are useless and barren. A man may be honest, just and righteous; but if he is fearful and timorous, he will stagger when these great qualities are most needful to be exerted for the good of his country, and he sinks into a *lukewarm Patriot*. Some men of integrity have been prevailed on to remain quiet and inactive; to avoid the reflections cast on them by *prostituted tongues*, and the *hackney scribblers* of each party. We have heard of considerable men, in late reigns, who have retired into the country, and left the power of Government in the hands of others, for fear, if they opposed the measures then pursuing, they should be branded with the odious names of *Jacobites* and *disaffected persons*. Such men as these, who tho' honest in *theory*, yet fear to be so in *practice*, should consider, that of all the duties which nature first required, and revealed religion has

since

ſince confirmed, none is more ſtrong or more neceſſary, than what we owe to our country. Whoever, therefore, when he has formed a judgment on any ſubject relating to the Government, yet dreads to declare it by his actions, in that ſtation of life where he is naturally called upon to do it, becomes by his inactivity a party to the very meaſures his reaſon blames, and his conſcience condemns.

In England, this puſillanimity is more to be warded againſt than in moſt other countries; for whenever there has appeared an ill deſigning Miniſtry, one of their chief views has been to traduce and terrify thoſe who have had the courage to adhere inviolably to the liberties of the ſubject. This method has been generally purſued, and the ſituation of affairs here, has always furniſhed the *tools* of a Government, with means to oblige their *Maſters*, and obey their commands, in this particular. When the Tories have been in power, thoſe who did not give ſupplies, or anſwer their intentions, were inſtantly called foes to the Church, and Republicans, and the Whigs never fail to ſtile their Antagoniſts, *foes* to the *State*, and *Jacobites*. But a bold and daring *Patriot* will ſcorn theſe little ſlanders, nor ſuffer them to obſtruct his *loyalty* and *integrity*.

It is incumbent on every perſon who lives in a common wealth, to promote the welfare of it, as much as his ſtation of life will permit. Thoſe, therefore, who act in a little ſphere, ought to exert their zeal with as much ſincerity as thoſe of greater figure or power. Such as can have no other opportunity of publiſhing their thoughts, but by communicating of them to the world in print, would be wanting on their duty ſhould they neglect taking that method of informing their fellow-ſubjects

low-ſubjects of matters which perhaps otherwiſe might eſcape their knowledge, tho' neceſſary for them to be acquainted with.

The *liberty of ſpeech*, in Parliament, is the greateſt jewel that adorns our Government, and frequently has put a ſtop to the deſigns of bad men, when they were attempting the ſubverſion of the Conſtitution.

The *freedom of the Preſs* is another bulwark of our liberty, and there needs no greater argument to prove it than the frequent attempts that have been made to deſtroy it, under pretence of reſtraining it.

ANECDOTE.

THERE is always a ſomewhat, where human nature even in the moſt feeble ſpirits, vindicates to itſelf its unalienable right. The following Anecdote illuſtrates this.

"IN the mad times of Sacheveral, when many ſeem-
"ed willing to go all lengths in obedience to authority;
"a man of ſenſe took ſome pains to give a lady, a
"friend of his, juſter notions than ſhe had, of the li-
"mits of obedience. 'Suppoſe' ſays he, 'Madam,
"that the King ſhould ſeize by a *Quo warranto*, your
"huſband's eſtate, and make him and yourſelf and chil-
dren

" dren beggars; would you think reſiſtance unlawful?
" 'I ſhould have much cauſe of complaint,' ſays the lady
" 'but' (raiſing her pretty eyes to heaven) 'we muſt
" not reſiſt the Lord's anointed.'—'But Madam I will
" put a harder caſe ſtill. Suppoſe the King ſhould force
" your ladyſhip into his bed, don't you think your huſ-
" band might lawfully promote an aſſociation for extir-
" pating ſuch a brutiſh Tarquin?' The lady, with down-
" caſt eyes, and a countenance covered with a roſy
" bluſh, anſwered; 'The caſe you now put, Sir, is
" undoubtedly harder than the former. But as the
" whole ſin ſhould be the King's, and Kings are anſwer-
" able to God only, I do not think my huſband could
" lawfully do any thing towards vindicating his honour
" by violence.' The gentleman knowing that the lady
" was, as all the votaries of *paſſive obedience* are, ſtaunch for
" the eſtabliſhed church, and bitter, if a lady can be bit-
" ter, again the Diſſenters, reſolved to put her one
" queſtion farther, which he did as follows: 'Give me
" leave, Madam,' ſays he, 'to aſk you once more; ſup-
" poſe the King ſhould order your ladyſhip to go to
" meeting?' 'What' (ſays ſhe, riſing in a lovely paſſion,
" which enlivened every feature, with eyes ſparkling,
" lips quivering, and boſom heaving) 'me to a wicked
" ſchiſmatical Preſbyterian meeting!' (Theſe opprobri-
" words ſhe had learned from the parſon of the pariſh)
" 'I would kill him,' (clenching her little weak, ſoft
" hand, which made the gentleman think he ſhould have
" the pleaſure of a box on the ear, of which however
" he was diſappointed) 'if I were to die for it, ſooner
" than he ſhould make me enter the door of a conventi-
" cle."

If a weak, delicate woman, could be thus rouſed in defence of what ſhe called her religious liberty, ſurely a man ought to ſuffer emaſculation, as ſoon as to yield himſelf a voluntary ſlave.

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday, October 16.

ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen, *July 31, 1792.*

AS you have been so obliging as to accept of my help in your most valuable publication, I sit down with pleasure to communicate what has been long on my mind. I am, by profession, concerned in the most weighty matters of the gospel. Divinity being my province, you will naturally expect my observations will chiefly be confined to that subject. No man in the world can more cordially wish for a speedy reform in these nations than I do. As religion is so connected with the state in England, it is impossible to reform the one without the other. The church as by law established, may be considered as the soul of the state. While the soul is degenerate, it is not possible for the body to be incorrupt. If once the church could be purged from her corruption, the state would of consequence be speedily brought into a better condition

condition. My design in this letter, is to consider the principles and conduct of primitive preachers, 'till the days of Constantine. If you approve of my plan, I will in my next give you an account of the corruption and disorder that have been since the days of that Emperor in the christian church; assigning what I think is the principal cause of the evils complained of. And in a third letter prescribe the remedy, and press to a speedy application of it while there is hope of a cure.

When our blessed Redeemer first made his appearance in this world, it was in very humiliating circumstances; he was born in a stable, and laid in a manger. Only shepherds and the Eastern Magi attended him in his low estate; his early days were spent in obscurity. It is supposed he wrought at the business of his reputed father 'till he appeared in public. He was, in public, deeply humble before God and man; obeyed the will of his father and his God in every thing; made it his meat and drink to comply with his pleasure; placed all his confidence in God, and acted under his special direction; was exceedingly upright and holy in all manner of conversation; declared from the beginning his kingdom was not of this world; taught the spiritual meaning of the law in his sermon on the Mount, and was himself a living comment of every thing he advanced in that discourse; revealed the nature and necessity of the new birth; of conversion of heart, and holiness before God; pressing all that heard him to close in with the offers of the gospel; he called old and young, rich and poor, to a speedy repentance. He warned the scribes and pharisees of their danger while they played the hypocrite before the people. He did not fail to instruct and encourage the worst of characters when they came to him. He spoke to the understandings and consciences of all

that

that heard him. He went about doing good continually; whoever sent for him, let their condition be what it might in life, he went with the greatest pleasure, rejoicing to help the afflicted and oppressed. He spent much time in private devotion, pouring out his soul to God for blessings on himself and on the people. He used great plainness of speech to those in exalted stations, exposing their crimes, and warning them of the danger they were in. The truths he pressed on the consciences of the rulers of Israel, irritated them to such a degree, that they vowed vengeance against him. They used a variety of means to seduce him. It was fear of the people, who respected him for the good they received at his hand, which kept them back from executing their purpose against him, 'till the hour and power of darkness commenced. While they cursed him, he blessed them. While they sought his destruction, he sought their salvation. Their fury only inflamed his zeal for their welfare. He rejoiced to render good for evil to all his adversaries.

As he came to abolish death, and bring life and immortality to light by the gospel; he saw it necessary to call others to assist him in the ministry. He did not go to the jewish academies, but chose men from the lowest stations in life, to assist him in his work. Though these men were not possessed of much human literature, yet they were blessed with a good understanding, and improved exceedingly under the teaching of their lord and master. They had no need of extraordinary erudition to explain and enforce the doctrines they taught. They were to testify to the people what they had seen and heard. To shew sin in its native deformity, with the consequences that attend living and dying in it, pressing on all that heard them to escape from it for their life.

They

They were to explain the nature of their repentance, and call on every perſon that attended their miniſtry to repent or periſh. They were to point out the Lord Jeſus as the lamb of God which taketh away the ſin of the world, and exhort the weary and heavy laden to believe in him that they might find reſt for their ſouls. They preached up holineſs and conformity to God. Preſſed on the people to take up their croſs, deny themſelves, and follow their Redeemer. In a word they explained and enforced the doctrines of the goſpel with great clearneſs to the underſtandings of all that heard them.

When they firſt became diſciples of Chriſt they were not enjoined to ſtudy Ariſtotle, Homer, &c. &c. to qualify them for their great work. They did not in thoſe early days of Chriſtianity need much metaphyſical knowledge to unfold to their hearers what concerned their ſalvation. They were not called upon to explain the abſurdities of the Athanaſian and Nicene Creeds. The thirty nine articles and one hundred and forty-one canons of our national Church were not in being at that period. A thouſand things which are now maintained with warmth, and looked upon as eſſential to the happineſs of mankind, were never heard of in their day. Thoſe have been found out by men wiſer than the founder of chriſtianity himſelf, and have been eſtabliſhed by means which he never deſired.

The law and the prophets were until John the Baptiſt. John was ſent to prepare the way of the Lord. His diſpenſation intervened between the diſpenſation of Moſes, and the diſpenſation of the Lord Jeſus. When the latter was fully eſtabliſhed, circumciſion, ſacrifices, oblations, tythes, &c. &c. ceaſed. That religion, which had long been a yoke of bondage, gave place to the religion of Jeſus: the religion of faith and love.—

The

The divine right to tythes only belonged to those that were under the levitical priesthood. When that was abolished they ceased. Our Lord never named to his disciples that they had a right from God to the tenth part of the produce of the earth. They never considered themselves as having any right to any man's property, on account of their being ministers of Christ. Two ways opened for supplying their wants. The first to labour with their hands when they were not required to be acting in public, that they might, by their honest industry, administer to their own necessities, and the necessities of their families. The same method of having their wants supplied, was to accept of the provision that should be freely given to them by the people. Though they were the ministers of Christ, they had no right to demand any such things as were necessary to support nature.—They had no human or divine law by which they could compel the people to give them such supplies as they required. When the Lord Jesus sent them out at first, he said to them, "into whatever house you enter, salute the inhabitants, by saying, Peace be to you. If they receive you, continue eating and drinking such things as they shall give you. If any refuse to accept you into their houses, shake the dust from your feet as a testimony against them." In this passage we have not a word of constraint. If the people whom they saluted approved of them and their doctrine, they were to eat and drink with them: but if they were determined to accept of neither, they were not authorized to take any steps that would be hurtful to their persons and property, but to leave the matter wholly to the determination of providence. When our Lord was about to send them out a second time, their number being increased to seventy, he asked the twelve if they had lacked any thing in their last

laſt journey; they told him they had not, their wants had been fully ſupplied. At one time he ſent them without purſe or ſcrip; at another, he deſired thoſe who had money or ſcrip would take it to help them in their way. After the day of Penticoſt we find the apoſtles were of the ſame opinion on this ſubject. Several of them wrought with their own hands to ſupply their own wants. The apoſtle of the Gentiles declares they that preach the goſpel ſhould live of it. A man called to their work has a right to lead about a wife or a ſiſter to be ſupplied where he goes. But he obſerves this is to be *given freely* by the people. They had no claim on any other ſuppoſition than their labours being acceptable and bleſſed to them. If any man under a cloak of religion and under pretence of being a preacher ſought proviſion for himſelf or family this way, as ſoon as the wickedneſs was diſcovered the Chriſtians were forbid to receive him in to their Houſes, and charged not to wiſh him God ſpeed. The true workman was worthy of his hire, but the man who entered on the work with viſible ſigns of his not being called of God, was to be denied the proviſion others received.

We find a ſpirit of intolerance ſoon ſhewed itſelf in the firſt diſciples of our Lord, which he exceedingly deteſted and exclaimed againſt. When they ſay a man caſting out devils in their maſter's name they forbade him, for this reaſon, becauſe he did not follow them. He was not of their ſect or party, tho' he appears to have been employed in the ſame work. Our Lord charged them not to forbid any man becauſe he did not follow them in every thing. The man they forbad caſt out devils in his name and therefore could not be looked on as their enemy, though he did not walk with them. They ought to give him full liberty to act as he was perſuaded

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in his own mind. What our Lord here advanced is worthy of being attended to by persons of every denomination. If Ministers of the Gospel of various sorts are useful to the people, let them tolerate each other, though they cannot follow Jesus in the same way.

We are told where the inhabitants of a certain city refused to admit the Lord Jesus, the disciples wished to have permission to call fire from heaven to destroy them at once. Their conduct was so contrary to the nature and design of their mission, that he could not suffer their motion to pass without a very severe reproof. He told them they did not know what spirit they were of. He was come to save men's lives and not to destroy them. He ever discovered his displeasure against any measures that were contrary to love; and always severely reproved those that proposed them.

After he had suffered on the cross for the redemption of the world, and rose again for the justification of mankind, he commissioned his disciples afresh to preach the gospel; they were to preach the good tidings of salvation to all. To accept into the Church by baptism all who should be converted by their ministry. To teach them all things which he had commanded, were to begin their work at Jerusalem. After they had tarried at the place appointed till the promise of the father was accomplished, they were filled with the spirit and spake in divers languages the wonderful works of God. From this period we are called to judge of their principles and conduct. The Gospel dispensation was then fully opened. Every thing fixed accordingly to the appointment of God. They then became the ambassadors of Christ, and besought sinners in his stead to be reconciled to God.

It is evident from this time they were true believers in the person and doctrines of the son of God. They were truly converted from the error of their ways. They were new creatures in Christ Jesus. The graces of the spirit of God were planted in their hearts. Love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, fidelity, meekness and temperance were manifest in all their life and conversation. Their heart was filled with love to God and all the world. They wished to declare the good tidings of great joy they had received to all people. A dispensation of the gospel was committed to them, and a dreadful woe of God was pronounced against them if they did not preach it. Being filled with zeal guided by divine knowledge, they went every where publishing the word of God to the people. In the synagogues, in schools, in private houses, in the market-place, in lanes and streets of cities, &c. they preached to the people. Every place was consecrated where the people could properly attend their ministry. They were exceedingly abundant in their labours. They were willing to spend and to be spent for the glory of God and the salvation of the people. They helped them in body and spirit to the utmost of their power. When their lives were in danger, they continued boldly to disclose the word of God. When they had been beat and scourged most cruelly, they rejoiced to think they were worthy to bear reproach in the cause of God. They were faithful to God and their trust, not counting their life dear to them, if they could but finish their work with joy, and the ministry which was committed to them. Many of them actually sealed their doctrine with their blood. They died boldly maintaining the truth to the last, declaring in the midst of torture their love to God and all the world. Their temporal wants were supplied in the course of the ministry, either by their own labour or the

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free donation of the people. They had no ſtated revenue nor paſaces to live in, in thoſe early days. Silver and gold they often had none; nor had they frequently a place where to lay their head after hard labour.

Yet in the midſt of poverty and want they were content and happy. Their labours were crowned with ſucceſs. Many were converted to God by their word. They ſaw of the travel of their redeemer's ſoul and were ſatisfied.

The immediate ſucceſſors of the apoſtles and miniſters of the goſpel 'till the days of Conſtantine, were much of the ſame ſpirit.* They were in general men fearing God and hating covetouſneſs. The ſlighteſt acquaintance with eccleſiaſtical hiſtory will give any perſon to ſee how near they came to the ſoldiers of Chriſt Jeſus. Many of them died in defence of the truth. In the midſt of perſecution and reproach they rejoiced. Their work was attended with ſingular advantages in the midſt of many afflictions. In a word, they glorified God in their day and generation. They were the happy inſtruments of converting thouſands to chriſtianity.

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* We feel ourſelves rather inclined to doubt whether our valuable well informed Correſpondent, has not taken in rather too large a ſpace of time here. Tho'—"a ſlight acquaintance with Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory" will ſhew how nearly many of theſe worthies reſembled the apoſtles in excellence and piety, yet the ſame ſource of information alſo proves that many others departed from the ſimplicity of the goſpel, invented myſterious creeds, fomented diſcords, and were at leaſt, the indirect cauſe of ſubſequent bloody perſecutions. The candour of *Independent* will diſpoſe him to pardon the above hint, which only has reſpect to the time when corruptions originated in the chriſtian church. We know that after the days of Conſtantine, groſs and numerous corruptions aroſe, an account of which we ſhall be very glad to have from our very reſpectable correſpondent.

The Editor.

In these primitive days we find true simplicity and godly sincerity among ministers and the people. We have no mention of the legion of names and titles which dignify the clergy of catholic and protestant churches. Not a word of divine or human Right to tythes and offerings. No intimation that God Almighty wills that crowned heads should be head of his Church. That archbishops and bishops should sit in parliament to regulate the temporal affairs of nations. That some of them should have 20,000 pounds a year, and others according to their station, for being called bishops. That these men and a thousand others, should have a right to exact from the people large revenues, and be exempt from labouring for their salvation. I cannot expatiate here. I hope to enlarge on this subject in my next, I will only add, by what we can learn of the conduct of our Lord and his apostles with their immediate successors, they sought the glory of God and the good of souls. They were disinterested in all their ways. They could say in truth we seek not yours but you.

Wishing for a more extensive circulation of your work, and for its success in every sense,

I am, Gentlemen,

Your affectionate Servant,

INDEPENDENT.

Reflections on the French Revolution,

By Mr. J. Johnſon.

A Feſtive Commemoration of ſo important an event as the French Revolution was certainly highly worthy a free people, and would have done peculiar honour to the Britiſh nation, if that feſtival had not been interrupted by the ſcandalous diſorders at Birmingham. Surely the emancipation of twenty-four millions of our fellow creatures was a triumph to philanthrophy; its commemoration therefore was calculated to excite ſentiments of the moſt generous and liberal kind, to unite men of all parties, and chriſtians of all perſuaſions; the moſt brutal and beſotted populace could alone have conſidered ſuch a meeting as dangerous.

It is a remark generally true, that the people ſeldom act but by the impulſe of their ſuperiors. How far this obſervation may hold in the preſent caſe, I will not determine; but what I can confidently aſſert is, that there conſiſts in moſt of the countries on the Continent, a plan to diſcredit the Patriotiſm of the French, by ſuch falſe reports and miſrepreſentations as have produced the diſaſters at Birmingham.

It really ſeems as if all the Governments on this ſide the water* had concerted together to calumniate the

(* *This piece was written on the Continent.*)

French Conſtitution, in order that they might with greater ſafety overturn it, for that Conſtitution is of a nature to inſtruct the people, and to inſpire them with a ſentiment of their own importance.

It is a truth that Government was made for the ſake of the people, not the people for the ſake of Government; but on the concealment of this truth depends the exiſtence of arbitrary power in ſome countries; and of certain political abuſes in others.

We will ſuppoſe then, that beſides the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the French free, our Engliſhmen that reſorted to thoſe meetings had alſo a ſecondary object, that of communicating to each other their ſentiments on the abuſes of our own Government.—Was this a crime in the ſight of adminiſtration? Was it for this that all the treaſury Prints were hounded upon them, and a ridiculous cry raiſed to miſlead and inflame the people, as if no man could ſtand up for the purification of our Government, without being an enemy to his King!

Would to heaven that ſuch laudable views actually exiſted; in that caſe we ſhould ſoon have no cauſe to complain of what the moſt profligate ſtateſman dare not openly defend:—Party and corruption would be baniſhed our ſenate, and the real ſentiments of the nation be uttered by thoſe, who now only *inſult* the people when they ſtile themſelves their *Repreſentatives*.

He muſt be blind indeed, who can neither ſee the groſs abuſes which proceed from our preſent *mock repreſentation*, nor the fear that ſome men have, leſt the example of the French ſhould lead us to reform it.—In vain a great man endeavours to aſſume, on certain occaſions the mark of popularity—in vain he votes for a Parliamentary

liamentary reform, and the repeal of the ſlave trade; theſe efforts I repeat are vain, for where is the man with plain common ſenſe, who can perſuade himſelf, that he who can carry all his meaſures by a majority of two thirds of Parliament, cannot alſo carry ſuch popular points as theſe, if he really wiſhed it.

It is an obſervation in which the honeſteſt ſtateſman and the ableſt politicians have concurred, that human wiſdom never yet gave birth to any human inſtitution which time was not able to corrupt. It is on this principle that Lord Bolingbroke argues for that ſpirit of patriotiſm which ever ardently attached to the public weal, ſeizes every favourable occaſion to revive good and genuine principles, and which, he juſtly obſerves, is the only* means of prolonging a free Conſtitution.

This reflection might be carried ſtill further. It might be ſhewn that the ſtrange propenſity in man to pervert whatever is excellent in its nature, hath not been merely confined to the maſterpieces of human ſagacity. Chriſtianity, tho' of divine origin, hath not been able to exempt itſelf from abuſe. Our religion has had its revolutions, like States and Governments; and neither Luther, Calvin, nor any of the reformers, would have had occaſion for that zeal, which ſome now pretend to blame

* Lord Bolingbroke borrowed this maxim from Machiavel; but his Lordſhip ſuppoſes what Machiavel did not, that all Governments were founded upon good principles. This is evidently falſe, ſince many owe their exiſtence to violence; ours however took its origin from Saxon inſtitutions, as the beſt writers aſſure us, and its principles were free. If a reference therefore to the firſt principles of any government be a means of prolonging that government, we have ſurely great reaſon to attach ourſelves to thoſe of our conſtitution.

blame on political* occasions, if mankind had not been in all ages prone to corruption. But how many innocent victims would have been preserved from the stake —how much blood spilt in religious wars, would have been saved, had the christian world followed the precepts recommended by Lord Bolingbroke unto the political: had our ancestors taken frequent and favourable opportunities to recur to the true and genuine principles of their religion, instead of suffering themselves to be led blindly and by degrees quite away from the true spirit of christianity.

The greatest blessings enjoyed by mankind require care to preserve them; the most useful and salutary plants for want of culture will degenerate. Do we prize either our religion or our liberty, we must study to preserve the purity of those principles on which they are founded. This care is absolutely necessary, for its neglect has ever proved fatal. There is then a species of cultivation necessary to preserve our social happiness, and without which it will not long subsist. If we enjoy a free Constitution, and neglect to cherish those principles on which it is established, they will become at first degenerate, and at last quite corrupt. The deviation is gradual, but great in the end; as great as the difference between the humble Saint Peter and his haughty and arrogant successors; or if you will, between the ancient Member of Parliament, paid by his Constituents to represent their sentiments, and the corrupt senator who, in the present day, sits by the purchase of a Borough.

When

* If any thing be praiseworthy, it is a zeal for the welfare of one's country. If cowardise be peculiarly base in any instance, it is when a man sees political abuses, and dares not speak of them, or does it in such a manner as if he feared to avow what he said, like one that propagates scandal.

When either Church or State have reached a certain degree of depravity, there is no relief but in a total revolution; for to use the words of Lord Bolingbroke, "We cannot mend our Government in a state of corruption; we must constitute it anew—because (adds he) to preserve liberty by new laws, whilst the corruption of the people continues and grows, is absolutely impossible; but to restore and to preserve it under old laws, and an old Constitution by re-infusing into the minds of men the spirit of the Constitution, is not only possible, but easy to a patriot King." (Idea of a patriot King; p. 133.)

Let us hope that our deviation from constitutional precepts is not yet so great, but that it is possible to make this *re-infusion* recommended by the noble author to his *patriot King*: perhaps it was the intention of the Societies of the 14th of July. Be that as it may, this is certain, that no absurdity can be greater than to suppose any numerous and respectable body of men (much less such as profess an attachment to freedom) enemies to the reigning family, a family that far from seeking support from Divine right, or any of those absurd pretensions which infatuated the Stuarts, owes the British Crown to principles of liberty alone, and has proved itself highly* worthy of

* It is true that in the reign of George the third, an unjust war was undertaken to force our fellow citizens to pay taxes without being represented; but in this, perhaps his Majesty has as little to do as the meanest of his subjects; it is a misfortune of, but not a reproach to his reign; and posterity will be too well informed on the subject, to suffer its execration to fall elsewhere than on the Minister that advised, the Parliament that voted for, and the army that vainly tried to execute that iniquitous measure. Another circumstance of later date, the writer would wish to place to the account of levity or misrepresentation. It has been reported even on the continent

of diſtinction by the moſt ſcrupulous attachment to free principles; happy would England be, if her rotten boroughs and other crying abuſes, had no other ſupporters than the illuſtrious Houſe of Hanover.

We eſtabliſh Societies for the encouragement of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; ſhould we not do better to form one for the encouragement of Patriotiſm? Is not the national Government more important than the national wealth? Vain is our induſtry if our ſenate is corrupt, or if miniſters have the power, in ſpite of the ſentiments of the people, to* embroil the Nation in ruinous meaſures—What ſignifies filling the political ſponge only to ſqueeze it.

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continent, that a ſpeech was lately made in the upper Houſe in favour of *Slavery*, and that it fell from a Prince of this illuſtrious Houſe.

* It is notorious that, of late, wars have been determined on in the Cabinet, and the Nation only applied to for ſupplies. This is contrary to the ſpirit of the Conſtitution. Upon which occaſion Mr. Cockburn expreſſed himſelf to this effect:—"I am old enough to remember the begining of the firſt great war againſt France; and I remember as ſoon as the Dutch applied to us for our aſſiſtance, King William immediately laid the caſe before the Parliament, and took "their Advice as to what was proper to be done in that emergency, "before he came to any reſolution. Upon the breaking out of the "ſecond war, the late Queen did the ſame; and I muſt ſay that I "think every King of this Nation ought to follow theſe examples. "If they expect the aſſiſtance of Parliament, they ought to take the "advice of Parliament, and our Hiſtory will inform us that when "they have done ſo, they have generally done well, and when they "have done otherwiſe, they have had but little ſucceſs."—This ſpeech was made againſt the adminiſtration of Sir Robert Walpole, that corrupter of the Engliſh Conſtitution, and author of the Syſtem above alluded to. See Rhalp's uſe and abuſe of Parliaments. Vol. 2. p. 481.

It is impoſſible to deny that miſ-government which hath fallen upon the nation, nor to miſtake the ſource from whence it flows: it is ariſtocracy * that has inſinuated itſelf into our Conſtitution, and corrupted its principles; after arrogating to itſelf a third part of our Government, it has ſwallowed up the other two.—It is Ariſtocracy that buys the commons, that reigns in the upper houſe, and fills the cabinet. Ariſtocracy tells the King theſe are your miniſters, and the people, theſe are your repreſentatives: the King of our ariſtocrats is the King E———d;—he reigns in the Cabinet and in both houſes of Parliament: the Auguſt aſſembly of the nation is no more than a tool in his hands, inſtead of going there to hear the voice of the people, and to conform his meaſures to its dictates, he goes there to announce to them his commands. What need have we for a Parliament, if it muſt pin its faith on the ſleeve of the miniſter? If its ſole functions are to ſanction thoſe meaſures which itſelf ſhould dictate?

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* *Ariſtocracy* is a ſtranger to the genuine principles of our Conſtitution; there was no diſtinction of laſt among the Saxons; they were all equal with regard to each other; valour and wiſdom alone gave perſonal diſtinction. Our upper houſe was at firſt a houſe of Repreſentatives, it was the Witteneagemot, or aſſembly of wiſe men; the wites were choſen in every diſtrict from amongſt the moſt ancient and diſcreet perſons. Sir William Pelyt calls them Eoldermen or Aldermen, that is, old Men. He ſays the *Anglo Saxons* call'ed thoſe in their language Ealdermen, which in latin were named *Comites*, and by the Danes, *Carles*; but ſo extenſive was this word, that we read of *Aldermanni Regis, Aldermanni Civitatis*, Comitatus, Burgi, Caſtelli, Hundredi five Wapentachii; ſo according to the ſtrict word they had whole regiments of Earls, the greateſt title which ſeldom, if at all, deſcended hereditary till the confeſſors time, and after William 1ſt. became King, the word Ealdermen began to change, and in room of Aldermanni regis, Comitatus &c. we find Barones regis, Comitatus &c. *Ancient Right of the Commons.* p. 108.

Some men are bold enough to call this Conſtitutional Government; but if it be ſuch, it is a new Conſtitution unknown to our anceſtors, and repugnant to the ſpirit of our beſt writers on the ſubject *

Addreſs and Declaration of the Derby Aſſociation.

At a Meeting of the Society for

POLITICAL INFORMATION,

HELD AT THE TALBOT INN, DERBY, JULY 16, 1792;

The following Addreſs, declaratory of their Principles, &c. was unanimouſly agreed to, and ordered to be printed.

To the Friends of Free Enquiry and the General Good.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

CLAIMING it as our indiſpenſible right, to aſſociate together in a peaceable and friendly manner for the communication of thoughts, the formation of opinions, and to promote the general happineſs, we think it is unneceſſary

* See what Ralph has ſaid at the concluſion of his volume, on the abuſe of making Parliament a tool to govern by, firſt introduced by Sir Robert Walpole; ſee alſo Lord Bolingbroke's Obſervations on the ſame Man and the ſame principle, in his remarks on the Hiſtory of England, publiſhed under the name of Humphrey Oldaſtle Eſq. a cowardice that may be conſidered as a reproach on that great man's memory.

neceſſary to offer any apology for inviting you to join us in this manly and benevolent purſuit; the neceſſity of the inhabitants of every community endeavouring to procure a knowledge of their *Rights*, their *duties* and their *intereſts*, will not be denied except by thoſe who are the ſlaves of prejudice, or the intereſted in the continuation of abuſes. As men who wiſh to aſpire to the title of *freemen*, we totally deny the wiſdom and the humanity of the advice,—"to approach the defects of Government with *pious awe and trembling ſolicitude*."

What better doctrine could the *Pope*, or the *Tyrants of Europe* deſire; We think therefore that the cauſe of truth and juſtice can never be hurt by temperate and honeſt diſcuſſions; and that cauſe which will not bear ſuch a ſcrutiny, muſt be ſyſtematically or practically bad. We are ſenſible that thoſe who are not friends to the general good, have attempted to inflame the public mind with the cry of "danger," whenever men have aſſociated for diſcuſſing the principles of Government; and we have little doubt but ſuch conduct will be purſued in this place: We would therefore caution every heart, to avoid being led away by the proſtituted clamour of thoſe who live on the ſources of corruption. We pity the fears of the *timorous*, and we are totally unconcerned reſpecting the falſe alarms of the venal.—We are in the purſuit of TRUTH, in a peaceable, calm, and unbiaſſed manner; and wherever we recognize her features, we will embrace her as the companion of happineſs, of wiſdom, and of peace. This is the mode of our conduct; the reaſons for it will be found in the following declaration of our opinions; to the whole of which, each member gives his hearty aſſent.

DECLARATION.

1. That all true Government is inſtituted for the general good, is legalized by the general will; and all its actions

actions are, or ought to be, directed for the general happineſs and proſperity of all honeſt citizens.

2d. That we feel too much not to believe, that deep and alarming abuſes exiſt in the Britiſh government, yet, we are at the ſame time fully ſenſible that our ſituation is comfortable, compared with that of the people of many European kingdoms; and that as the times are in ſome degree moderate, they ought to be free from riot and confuſion.

3d. Yet we think there is ſufficient cauſe to enquire into the neceſſity of the payment of ſeventeen millions of annual taxes, excluſively of poor rates, expences of collection, &c. &c. by ſeven millions of people; we think that theſe expences may be reduced, without leſſening the true dignity of the nation or the government; and therefore wiſh for ſatisfaction in this important matter.

4. We view with concern the frequency of wars.—We are perſuaded that the intereſts of the poor can never be promoted by acceſſion of territory, when bought at the expence of their labour and blood,—and we muſt ſay in the language of a celebrated author,—"We who are "only the people, but who pay for wars with our ſub-"ſtance and our blood.—will not ceaſe to tell Kings, or "'governments,' that to them alone wars are profitable: "that the true and juſt conqueſts are thoſe which each "makes at home, by comforting the peaſantry, by pro-"moting agriculture and manufactories; by multiply-"ing men, and the other productions of nature;" that then it is that Kings may call themſelves the image of God, whoſe will is perpetually directed to the creation of new beings. If they continue to make us fight and kill one another, in uniform, we will continue to write and ſpeak, until nations ſhall be cured of this folly.

We

pressions. We will therefore do our duty to procure this reform, which appears to us of the utmost importance.

6. In short, we see with the most lively concern, an army of Placemen, Pensioners, &c. fighting in the cause of corruption and prejudice, and spreading the contagion far and wide; a large and highly expensive *military establishment*, tho' we have a well regulated militia; the increase of all kinds of robberies, riots, executions, &c. tho' the nation pays taxes equal to the whole land rental of the kingdom, in order to have its property protected and secured; and is also obliged to enter into separate associations against felonious depredators; *a criminal code of laws* sanguinary and inefficacious; *a civil code* so voluminous and mysterious, as to puzzle the best understandings; by which means justice is denied to the poor on account of the expence attending the obtaining it; Corporations, under ministerial or party influence, swallowing up the importance, and acting against the voice of the people; penalties inflicted on those who accept of offices without conforming to the violation of their consciences and their rights; the voice of free enquiry drowned in prosecutions, and the clamours of the pensioned and interested; and we view with the most poignant sorrow, a part of the people deluded by the cry of the Church in danger, fighting with the weapons of savages, under the banners of prejudice, against those who have their true interest at heart; we see with equal sensibility the present outcry against *reforms*, and a proclamation (tending to cramp the liberty of the press, and discredit the true friends of the people) receiving the support of numbers of our countrymen; we see the continuation of oppressive game laws, and destructive monopolies; we see the education and comfort of the poor neglected, notwithstanding

We are certain our preſent heavy burdens, are owing in a great meaſure, to cruel and impolitic wars, and therefore will we do all on our part, as peaceable citizens, who have the good of the community at heart, to enlighten each other, and protect ourſelves againſt them.

5. The preſent ſtate of the REPRESENTATION of the PEOPLE, calls for the particular attention of every man, who has happineſs ſufficient to feel for the honour and humanity of his country; to the defects and corruptions of which we are inclined to attribute unneceſſary wars, &c. &c. We think it a deplorable caſe when the poor muſt ſupport a corruption which is calculated to oppreſs them; when the labourer muſt give his money to afford the means of preventing him from having a voice in its diſpoſal;—when the lower claſſes may ſay,—"We "give you our money, for which we have toiled and "ſweat, and which would ſave our families from cold "and hunger; but we think it more hard that there is "nobody whom we have delegated to ſee that it is not "improperly and wickedly ſpent; we have none to "watch over our intereſts: the rich only are repreſented. "—The form of government ſince the revolution is in "ſome reſpects much changed for the worſe;-by the "triennial and ſeptennial acts, we loſe annual parlia-"ments: beſides which, the wholeſome proviſions for "obliging privy councellors to ſubſcribe their advice "with their names, and againſt placemen and penſioners "ſitting in parliament, have been repealed." It is ſaid, that the voice of the people is the conſtitutional controul of parliament, but what is this but ſaying, that the repreſentatives are naturally inclined to ſupport wrong meaſures, and that the people muſt be conſtantly aſſembling to oblige them to do their duty. An equal and uncorrupt repreſentation would, we are perſuaded, ſave us from heavy expences, and deliver us from many op-

preſſions.

ing the enormous weight of the poor rates; we ſee burdens multiplied—the lower claſſes ſinking into poverty, diſgrace and exceſſes, and the means of the ſhocking abuſes encreaſed, for the purpoſes of revenue; for the ſame end exciſe laws, thoſe badges and ſources of oppreſſion kept up and multiplied; and when we caſt our eyes on a people juſt formed into a free community without having had time to grow rich, under a government by which juſtice is duly adminiſtered, the poor taught and comforted, property protected, taxes few and eaſy, and that at an expence as ſmall as our penſion liſt, we aſk ourſelves, "Are we in England?" have our forefathers fought and bled and conquered for liberty? And did they not think that the fruits of their patriotiſm would be more abundant in peace, plenty, and happineſs? Are we always to ſtand ſtill or go backward? *Are our burthens to be as heavy as the moſt enſlaved people?* "Is the condition of the poor never to be improved?" Great Britain muſt have arrived at the higheſt degree of national happineſs and proſperity, and our ſituation muſt be too good to be mended, or the preſent outcry againſt reforms and improvements is inhuman and criminal. But we hope our condition will be ſpeedily improved, and to obtain ſo deſirable a good is the object of our preſent aſſociation an union founded on principles of benevolence and humanity, diſclaiming all connection with riots and diſorder, but firm in our purpoſe and warm in our affections for liberty.

7. Laſtly——We invite the friends of freedom throughout Great Britain to form ſimilar ſocieties, and to act with unanimity and firmneſs, *till the people be too wiſe to be impoſed upon; and their influence in the government be commenſurate with their dignity and importance.*

THEN SHALL WE BE FREE AND HAPPY.

Two honourable Facts relating to the Conduct of the celebrated Wm. Pitt, Esq. when Paymaster of the Forces.

"WHEN he was appointed to the office of Pay-
"master of the Forces, he found that it had been custom-
"ary to have 100,cool. by advance, generally lie in the
"hands of the paymaster, which in the time of some of
"those that presided before him in that office, used to be
"subscribed in government securities, which brought
"3 or 4,cool. per annum, more or less into their pri-
"vate purses. And in our memory there happened a
"conjuncture, when this money so subscribed into the
"land tax, was called for upon an extraordinary emer-
"gency, for the use of the army: but being locked up
"in the Exchequer, and all public funds bearing a large
"discount, it could not be sold but at such a great loss
"as would have been of the utmost damage to the sub-
"scriber. What was the consequence?—The payment
"of the army, in the time of war and rebellion was
"stopped, when there was the greatest occasion for pub-
"lic credit, and punctuality in the payment of those
"troops, on whom our *whole* depended.

"But when Mr. Pitt went into that department, he
"placed whatever sums of money, belonged to the Of-
"fice, in the Bank, where they might be ready for the
"public service, without ever appropriating any part of
"it to his private use, as had been the custom of former
"times; he never subscribed one shilling into the funds,
"nor ever availed himself of any interest arising from
"public

"public monies at his diſpoſal, but was ſatisfied with, "and touched no more than the legal appointment.

"The next fact is—that when the parliament grant- "ed ſubſidies to the King of Sardinia and Queen of Hun- "gary, payable at his office—Half per cent or more, "uſed to be taken on the whole ſubſidy in the moſt repu- "table times, and by thoſe of the moſt approved cha- "racters, as a *perquiſite of office*: this Mr. Pitt refuſed, "which would have come to a large ſum, as the grants "at that time to both thoſe powers was very conſidera- ble.—When the King of Sardinia was told this, he could not help expreſſing his ſurpriſe, at ſuch an inſtance of greatneſs of mind, and diſintereſtedneſs and therefore ordered his agent to offer the ſame ſum, as a royal preſent to Mr. PITT, who had before refuſed it as a perquiſite. His anſwer to this was, that as the Parliament had granted thoſe ſums for ſuch uſes he had no right to any part of the money; that he did no more than his duty in paying it *entire*: and hoped the refuſal of the King's preſent upon that occaſion would not give offence. When his Sardinian Majeſty heard this, he ſaid, ſurely his Engliſhman is ſomewhat more than a man." *

* Bluſh, bluſh, and hide your heads ye venal tribe of politica *purgers*, who daily and hourly ſqueeze and drain the Coffers of your country, to their laſt Guinea, to pamper your pride and ſupport our extravagance!—Willing and deſirous to make our publication ne record of honourable and praiſe-worthy actions, we, with infi- te pleaſure, have inſerted the foregoing intereſting and noble facts, hich redound ſo highly to the honour of one of the firſt character s r inflex ble integrity and ſplendid talents this country could ever aſt of. We are happy in the opportuniy of holding up the exam- e as worthy the imitati n of future Miniſters; and of ſaying to h, "*Go thou and do likewiſe.*"

☞ The

ON THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

(*Continued from Page 15.*)

JOHN, properly surnamed Lack-land, brother to Richard the first, succeeded to the throne with a disputed title. And the English did now, what they had never failed to do, at the beginning of every reign since the conquest, insist upon the restoration of their ancient mode of government. And which the Kings, on their part, had as often bound themselves and their posterity, by the most sacred oaths, imprecations and solemn charters, to restore; but which they never regarded longer than while they obtained a power to break them. However, the English by this means, kept up a title, to their Saxon privileges and franchises, and the Norman King's thereby acknowledged their title to be just.

There are three things observed as principal events of this King's reign. The first was his war with the King of France, the second, his contest with the Pope; and

☞ The above-mentioned William Pitt, Esq. is not the present Gentleman of that name—but his illustrious father, afterwards Earl of Chatham; of whose *integrity, talents* and *patriotism*, every lover of his Country's welfare, ought to say with the Poet;

——————— *Quem semper acerbum*
Semper honoratum (sic Dii voluistis) habebo. Virgil.

Which ever till I step into my grave
I shall in sad, but kind remembrance have. *The Editor.*

and the third, which was his greatest misfortune, his quarrel with his people. By the first, happily for England, he lost all his Norman and French dominions, and with them his support. For these provinces had always since the conquest, furnished the Kings of England with a foreign army, to keep the English in obedience, and submission to their tyrannical power; without which, all their pretended right of conquest, would have availed them nothing. By his quarrel with the Pope, he lost the benefit of that enthusiastic regard, which the superstition of the people hath generally entertained, for the sentiments of the clergy. For the Church in this case, found it her interest to discharge his subjects from obedience to his person; and exposed him as a prey to all his enemies.

The Barons thought this a proper opportunity to declare themselves; and therefore sent the King word, that before they went over with him to the wars in Normandy, they expected he should restore to them their privileges, pursuant to his promises before his coronation. And in an assembly of the Barons, held at London, Cardinal Langton informed them, that, before he gave the King absolution, he had caused him to swear that he would restore the Church, the nobility and the commonalty to their rights and privileges. But as difficulties might occur, in the particulars to be required of the King they might have recourse to a charter, granted by Henry the first, of which he had fortunately found a copy, notwithstanding the pains taken to carry it into oblivion.

The Barons resolved to make this charter the ground of their demands upon the King; and immediately entered into an association, and bound themselves by an oath, to stand by each other; and use their utmost endeavours, to obtain the re-establishment of their ancient rights

rights; and particularly the elective power of the people. This was the firſt aſſociation that was ever made in England, in defence of the rights and privileges of the Conſtitution againſt the King.

They ordered a committee to attend the King at London, with a petition praying the re-eſtabliſhment of their ancient rights and privileges. John, in order to gain time, deſired they would ſtop for an anſwer till the following Eaſter. As ſoon as Eaſter was come, the nobility and gentry met at Stamford, with a powerful army; in which were two thouſand knights with many horſe and foot, armed with divers weapons. The king was at Oxford, in expectation of their coming, but hearing of their numbers and poſture of defence, did not think fit to expoſe his perſon in a conference with them. And, therefore, he ſent the Earl of Pembroke to know, what the laws and liberties were which they mentioned in their petition; upon which they delivered a long memorial of the laws and cuſtoms, obſerved in the times of the Saxon Kings; and at the ſame time, declared, "that if "the King would not confirm them, they were reſolved to "compel him by force of arms."

John had no ſo ſooner read this memorial, than he ſwore a great oath and ſaid, "that he would never grant "his ſubjects ſuch liberties, as would make himſelf a "ſlave."—And for the better ſecurity of his perſon, he retired to the tower of London. The King's anſwer convinced the Barons they had nothing to expect but from force; for which they were much better provided than the King. Therefore, having previouſly concerted meaſures to get poſſeſſion of the city of London, they amuſed the King with the ſiege of Northampton and Bedford, till they knew the ſucceſs of their negociation in

town,

town, and to their great ſatisfaction, there arrived in a few days, an account that one of the gates of the city was to be put into their hands.

Upon this intelligence, they put themſelves in motion; and two forced marches brought them to Aldgate. This gate being opened to them, they entered the city at break of day, before the King, who was in the tower, had the leaſt notice of their approach. The King finding a general defection, and that, in his preſent condition, there was no remedy but compliance,—ſent the Earl of Pembroke to inform the Barons, that he was ready to grant their demands. And after a ſhort negociation, it was agreed, That the King and the Barons ſhould meet on a day prefixed, in a meadow called Runnemede, to conclude this affair.

The day being arrived, the Barons came in great numbers to the place appointed, while the King came attended only by five or ſix Lords. Here the Barons tendered the King two charters, one called the great charter of liberties, or MAGNA CHARTA; and the other the charter of the liberties of the foreſts. Theſe two charters were then ſigned by the King, and witneſſed by all the Lords ſpiritual and temporal then preſent; ſealed with the great ſeal, and confirmed by the King's ſolemn oath. And the King appointed twenty-five Barons, and veſted them with a power to ſee theſe charters duly executed. He likewiſe granted letters patent directed to his Sheriffs, empowering them to take the oaths of all his ſubjects, that they would punctually obſerve the two charters: and, if neceſſary compel the King alſo to obſerve them. And laſtly ordered that the Barons ſhould keep poſſeſſion of the city of London; and that the Cardinal Archbiſhop Langton,

Langton, who was a great friend to the cauſe, ſhould keep poſſeſſion of the tower of London.

The King being heartily mortified at ſeeing himſelf thus ſtripped of his tyrannical power, retired to the Iſle of Wight, with a few followers, that he might with more ſecrecy take proper meaſures to recover his authority. And, inſtigated with pride, revenge, malice, and deſpair, he reſolved rather than ſubmit to reſtore the ancient Conſtitution and Government, to ſee England buried under her own ruins. But finding no remedy in himſelf, having neither men nor money, he choſe to follow the example of William the firſt; and once more offer the lands of England, as a prize to any adventurers that would fight for them.

To execute this plan, he ſent over ſome of his followers, into France, Flanders and Germany, to engage volunteers in his ſervice. He empowered them to offer and make titles in form, of the confiſcated eſtates of the rebel Barons, as he called them. And in a ſhort time he had the ſatisfaction to ſee vaſt numbers arrive from Brabant, Flanders, Normandy, &c. all ſoldiers of fortune, ready to venture their lives for an eſtate. He likewiſe ſent his complaints to the Pope, and begged the protection of his holy arm. And as the wicked, tyrannical invaders of the common rights of mankind, have ſeldom failed to meet with the protection of the Church, the Pope abſolved John from his oath, annulled the two charters, and excommunicated the Barons.

The thunders of the Church, and the new army of foreigners from the continent, would undoubtedly have reduced the Barons to a very low condition, had they not foreſeen the ſtorm, and provided for the danger. The

Barons

Barons applied to the King of France, for protection against their enemies; and offered in return to set Louis the Dauphin of France, upon the throne of England, upon condition he would execute the charters granted by King John. The King of France granted their request, and sent an army, and seven hundred sail of ships commanded by his son Louis, which effectually broke all the measures of King John. For finding it impossible for him to prevent the French from landing, he retired to Winchester without much further resistance; and after wandering about for some time, upon the eastern coast, fell sick and died, after making his will, and leaving his son Henry heir to his title and estate.

Henry the third who was a minor of ten years old, and the first infant King that ever reigned in England, had the good fortune to be governed by the Earl of Pembroke, who was a man of temper, judgment, courage, and conduct, and Henry's fast friend and protector.

The Earl saw clearly that the Barons would never give up their charters; but would defend them either against Henry, or Louis the Dauphin of France, to whom they had offered the crown, which ever fortune should give them, for their King. The Barons had no particular objection to Henry; their only object was the restoration of their rights and privileges, in the establishment of their charters. Hence the sentiments of each party, being known, there remained little obstruction to an agreement. The Barons on their part acknowledged Henry to be King of England; and agreed to join their forces with his, to drive Louis out of the kingdom. And the King on his part confirmed and established the charters of the King his father, to them and their posterity for ever.

All

All troubles being happily ended, the Engliſh impatiently expected the performance of this agreement, which was honeſtly and faithfully executed by the noble Earl, and had he lived, in all probability it would have been ſtrictly fulfilled. He ſent expreſs orders to all the ſheriffs in the kingdom, to ſee the two charters of King John duly obſerved; and to puniſh with ſeverity all the violators thereof.

And as the firſt ſtep to the effectual execution of theſe charters, was to reſtore *the elective power of the people*; by ſummoning what the Saxons called their Wittena-gemot, or aſſembly of the wiſe and prudent men of England, or what we now call the Parliament of England. Accordingly the Earl of Pembroke, who was choſen regent of the kingdom, ſent letters to all the Barons of the realm ſingly; and to the cities, boroughs, towns, ports, and freeholders, to elect deputies to repreſent them in parliament agreeable to the direction of the great charter of liberties. Which letters of ſummons are to be found at this day, amongſt the records in the tower, upon what is called the clauſe roll, for the year 1218. And the annals of Waverley likewiſe ſay, that the wiſe men of England, a parliament met at London after Michaelmas in the year 1218, and revived the liberties of England, according to the charter of King John.

Thus the people of England at length recovered their elective power in parliament; which they had enjoyed under the Saxon Kings, for ſix hundred years before what is called the conqueſt: after having been held in cruel ſlavery and bondage for one hundred and forty ſeven years; that is, from William the firſt to the reſtoration of their elective power, in the ſecond year of the reign of Henry the third.

Which

Which great event ought to be held in commemoration for ever, by a day of public thanſgiving, feſtivity, and joy! as a perpetual memorial of that great deliverance. And may the Engliſh nobility and gentry be for ever inſpired with the ſpirit of our ANTIENT BARONS; and teach their poſterity this one everlaſting truth; THAT THE POOR MAN'S ANNUAL ELECTIVE RIGHTS, ARE THE RICH MAN'S BEST SECURITY: a truth which the Barons of England, demonſtrated by a dear bought experience of one hundred and forty ſeven years.

BOROUGH REPRESENTATION.

CHESTER CITY.

Political Character.—ALthough the number of electors is above 1000, its repreſentation is entirely at the diſpoſal of the Earl of Groſvenor, whoſe brother and ſon are the preſent members, and whoſe family have poſſeſſed the ſame influence, except in one or two inſtances at the revolution, ever ſince the reign of Charles the 2d. This influence is created and preſerved by ſecuring the corporation, which appears to be not immaculate for more than a century, and by obtaining a leaſe from the crown of a number of tenements in this city. The members of the corporation, letting theſe from year to year only, as his Lordſhip's agents at low rents, operate ſo far on their fears and neceſſities, as to controul their independence. To ſecure their own houſes, they

they care not whom they ſend, to reſide in the houſe of the nation. Thus they never reflect that their indifference to the choice of their members, makes them eventually pay in taxes much more than they ſave in their rents. They ſhould therefore be reminded that this barter of privilege for a local tenement, is only exchanging their national fabric, the conſtitution, for a contemptible hovel.

Ancient Repreſentation.—This city, being the capital of a county palatine, did not ſend members to the national parliament before it was granted the privilege by charter, given the 34th of Henry the 8th.

Right of Election—was determined Dec. 2, 1690, to be in the freemen. *Number of Voters* are 1000. *Patron*, Earl Groſvenor.

ST. MICHAEL, OR MITCHELL, CORNWALL.

Patronage.—This borough is now the joint property of Lord Viſcount Falmouth and Sir Francis Baſſet, between whom a ſtrong conteſt for ſuperiority aroſe at the general election in 1784, ſince which, the ariſtocratic owners have avoided the cauſe of future conteſts, by each contenting himſelf with ſending one member. *Patrons*, above mentioned. *Number of Voters*—42.

HELSTON, OR HELLESTON, CORNWALL.

This conſiderable borough contains about 400 houſes, and was incorporated by charter, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Right of Election—is in the Mayor, ſix Aldermen, and ſworn Freemen of the corporation.

Numbe

Number of Electors—were 70; but they are now reduced to 36.

Patron.—Duke of Leeds.

ST. IVES, CORNWALL.

Ancient Repreſentation.—This borough firſt ſent members to parliament in the reign of Queen Mary.

Number of Voters—were, according to Willis, 150; but they have ſince decreaſed to 130.

Patrons.—The Duke of Leeds, Earl of Buckinghamſhire, and William Praed, Eſq.

TREGONY, Do.

Political Character. This is an inconſiderable village without trade, commerce, or manufactory. The elective influence was ſome time conteſted between Lord Falmouth and Sir Francis Baſſet, as were the boroughs of Mitchell and Truro; but the parties having agreed to ſend one member each for the former, Lord Falmouth, who was Lord of a great part of the ſoil of this borough, ſold his property, and with it transferred his intereſt to Sir Francis Baſſet, conditionally, that Sir Francis ſhould withdraw his oppoſition, and transfer his intereſt at Truro to his Lordſhip. Matters being thus ſatisfactorily arranged, Sir Francis diſpoſed of the whole to Mr. Barwell, the Nabob, who is now the ſole proprietor of the borough.

Right of Election—is in all the houſeholders who boil the pot, or, in other words, provide for themſelves, whether they live under the ſame roof or not. (March, 1695.)

Number

Number of Voters, were fluctuating when Lord Falmouth and Sir Francis opposed each other; for then every poor wretch who belonged to the parish was sought, and caused to boil a pot in the borough, in order to qualify them as voters. But since Mr. Barwell has possessed the sole influence, the number is diminished from 150 to 100, which is now decreasing by degrees.

Returning Officers—are the Mayor and Potreve.

Patron.—Richard Barwell, Esq.

Can any thing prove more strongly, than the transactions relating to this borough—"that the rights of Englishmen—their elective "franchises are bought and sold,—and trucked and bartered away "like stalls, or cattle at a fair?" Injured people! How long will you suffer yourselves to be ranked with, and treated like, 'the 'beasts that perish"! *The Editors.*

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday October 30, 1792.

ADDRESS
FROM THE
LONDON CORRESPONDING SOCIETY
TO THE
INHABITANTS OF GREAT BRITAIN,
On the Subject of
A Parliamentary Reform.

Unbleſt by Virtue, Government a League
Becomes, a circling Junto of the Great,
To rob by Law; Religion mild, a Yoke
To tame the ſtooping Soul, a trick of State
To maſk their Rapine, and to ſhare the Prey.
What are without it Senates, but a Farce
Of conſultation deep, and Reaſon free;
While the determined Voice and Heart are ſold?
What boaſted Freedom, but a ſounding Name?
And what Election, but a Market vile,
Of Slaves ſelf-bartered?

Thomſon's Liberty.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

OF every rank and of every situation in life, rich, poor, high, or low, we address you all as our brethren, on a subject of the highest importance and most intimately connected with the welfare of every individual who deems liberty a blessing, who partakes in the prosperity of his country, and who wishes to transmit as much of either as he possibly can, to posterity.

Uninfluenced by party pique or selfish motives—no ways affrighted at the frowns of power—not in the least awed by the evidently hostile preparations of a much alarmed aristocracy; we, the *London Corresponding Society*, united with a view of obtaining a *thorough Parliamentary Reform*, anxiously demand your serious and most collected attention to the present *vitiated* state of the British government; we entreat you to examine coolly and impartially the numerous abuses that prevail therein, their destructive consequence on the poor, and their evil tendency on all—as also the rapidity with which these abuses encrease, both in number and magnitude.

We next submit to your examination, an effectual mode of putting a stop to them and of thereby restoring to our no less boasted than impaired constitution, its pristine vigour and purity; and we thereunto warmly solicit the junction of your efforts with ours.

This great end however, we believe attainable, solely, by the whole nation (deeply impressed with a sense of its wrongs) uniting, and as it were with one voice, demanding of those to whom for a while it has entrusted its sovereignty, a restoration of ANNUALLY ELECTED PARLIAMENTS; UNBIASSED AND UNBOUGHT ELECTIONS;

TIONS; AND AN EQUAL REPRESENTATION OF THE WHOLE BODY OF THE PEOPLE.

Leaving to the Enemies of Freedom, all violent tumultuous and unconstitutional proceedings, we invite you to peaceful, well regulated and neighbourly meetings, wherein, industrious, worthy Citizens, may, as honest men, as good Patriots, in a reasonable and sensible manner, laying aside prejudice, seriously and earnestly take into consideration their rights, and the welfare of the present and succeeding generation.

As men can never barter away the rights of their posterity—as encroachments on liberty or property cease not to be grievances from their being customary and of long standing—and as a grievance is not the less felt for being denied by those who cause it—feeling grievances enormous,—seeing our liberties encroached upon, and endeavoured to be entirely purloined from us—as also, that our plaints are derided by government, and ourselves unlawfully menaced by those in power; we call upon ye all, Britons, to remember your privileges as such, and to assert your rights as men—to pay all proper regard to your native freedom, and to consider that, being the property of no one man, nor of any set of men, it is highly disgraceful for you to suffer yourselves any longer to be thus enslaved, and disposed of as cattle in a fair; as irrational beasts in a market, to the highest bidder.

Laying aside all pretensions to originality, we claim no other merit, than that, of re-considering and verifying what has already been urged in our common cause by the Duke of Richmond, Mr. Pitt, and their then honest party, years back; now differing from them, we support with candour and zeal, (thereby proving ourselves

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no courtiers) the banner of truth, already diſplayed againſt the oppreſſors of mankind; and we take a pride in acknowledging ourſelves a part of that uſeful claſs of citizens, which placemen, (penſioned with the extorted produce of our daily labour) and proud nobility, wallowing in riches, (acquired ſomehow) affect to treat with a contempt too degrading for human nature to bear; unleſs reconciled to it by the reflection, that though their inferiors in rank, and fortune; we equal them in talents, and excel them in honeſty.

Still, friends, and fellow citizens, poſſeſſed of ſouls far ſuperior to the evil ſpirit influencing theſe oppreſſors, theſe debaſers of mankind, inſtead of hating, we contemn them; and our motive is not vengeance, but redreſs.

A conſtitution we are ſaid to poſſeſs; we are willing to believe it.—If good, it allows redreſs to a complaining people;—if excellent, as many aſſert, it muſt naturally point out the means thereof.——Let it therefore be publicly, and carefully examined——if it is really what it ought to be—it cannot be too well known;—if faulty—it cannot be too ſoon amended;—nor can that be done by a more competent judge, than the thus collected ſenſe of the whole nation.

It is the right of every individual to be well acquainted with the laws that bind him;—but how is the peaſant, the mechanic, the manufacturer, to obtain that neceſſary knowledge?—His time fully employed in labouring hard to provide a ſcanty meal for his family, and in earning wherewith to ſatisfy the frequent and peremptory demands, of ſurly tax-gatherers;—he has no leiſure for ſuch intricate, political reſearches; and even was he, by ſtealing that leiſure from his labour or his ſleep

to

to acquire the desired insight—still with spirits depressed by his sufferings, with fears encreased by the clamorous threats of the pensioned, all devouring locusts in office, the sore oppressed subject, feels the remedy to be far out of his reach; and dreads the consequence of being even supposed to know how greatly he is wronged.—— Such being the forlorn situation of three fourths of the nation, how are Britons to obtain information and redress? Will the court, will ministry afford either?—Will parliament grant them?—Will the nobles or the clergy ease the peoples' sufferings? No. Experience tells us, and proclamations confirm it, that the interest, and the intention of power are combined, to keep the nation in total ignorance!

The only resource then, friends and fellow citizens, will be found in those societies which, instituted with a view to the public good, promote a general instruction of our rights as men; expose the abuses of those in power; and point out the only constitutional, the only effectual means of forwarding a public investigation, and obtaining a complete redress, for a people, in whose great good nature, originated their present difficulties.

We will not hurt your feelings by a minute detail of our common grievances; you cannot be ignorant, friends and fellow sufferers, how generally power, place, pension, and title, are the rewards of men, whose services to the Court have been of the greatest prejudice to the country; you painfully feel the consequences in encreased taxes, a great part of which are most vilely squandered:—a heavy National Debt, begun with a design of forming a powerful and monied court party, continued with nearly the same view, unto its present enormous bulk, and from its

its commencement militating againſt our liberties;—too viſible are the numerous encroachments on our rights—too common the inſolence of office; the venality of magiſtracy; the perverſion of the laws; the letting looſe the military on every occaſion; and thoſe occaſions too often eagerly ſought. The ſubject's complaints derided—the one part of the nation turned into ſpies and informers againſt the other—the——but wherefore more? Is here not enough to prove, beyond a doubt, that while it is ſaid we have the beſt Conſtitution, the mildeſt Laws, the freeſt Government, we are in fact ſlaves!

Yet, Fellow Citizens! numerous as are our grievances, and cloſe rivetted as weighty, the ſhackles on our freedom, reform one abuſe and the others will all diſappear.—If we once regain an annually elected Parliament, and that Parliament to be fairly choſen by all the people, will again ſhare the Government of their country; and their then unbought, unbiaſſed ſuffrages, muſt undoubtedly ſelect a majority of honeſt members; while the very few unſound ones that may accidentally obtain ſeats, will, from the conſideration of their annual dependance on the people, think it highly adviſeable, to continue the diſguiſe that procured them their election; and at leaſt wear the maſk of honeſty;—a maſk, neither at all times neceſſary, nor at all times worn in a ſeptennial Parliament.

Let no man imagine himſelf unconcerned in the propoſed reform—let no one think ſo meanly of his ſituation or abilities, as to ſuppoſe his coming forward will be of no ſervice to the cauſe of liberty! Numbers, union, and perſeverance, muſt in the end, be crowned with ſucceſs; while, compared with the ſmall efforts of each individual, aſſociating and thereby countenancing

tenancing the demand of the nation, to be reſtored to its conſtitutional rights; how great will appear the advantages reſulting therefrom?

An honeſt Parliament!
An annual Parliament!
A Parliament wherein each individual will have his Repreſentative!

Soon then ſhould we ſee our liberties reſtored; the preſs free, the laws ſimplified, judges unbiaſſed, juries independent, needleſs places and penſions retrenched; immoderate ſalaries reduced, the public better ſerved, taxes diminiſhed, and the neceſſaries of life more within the reach of the poor; youth better educated, priſons leſs crowded; old age better provided for, and ſumptuous Feaſts, at the expence of the ſtarving poor, leſs frequent.

Look not upon this, dear countrymen, as an enthuſiaſtic viſion; but rather let us together, take a calm and reaſonable review, of ſuch an honeſt Parliament aſſembled: let us in idea curtail their ſeſſion unto even the ſhort duration of three months in one year; or ſixty-four meetings for doing the annual buſineſs of the nation: ſtill five hundred honeſt men meeting ſixty-four times with both intention and capacity to ſerve their country, muſt do ſomething, muſt employ their time ſome how. Conteſted elections none, or very few, and ſoon determined; party debates, none, the intereſt of the people being one. Long ſpeeches much diminiſhed; honeſt men ſeeking reaſon, not oratory; no placemen in the ſenate, corrupt influence dies away, and with it all tedious, obſtinate, miniſterial oppoſition to meaſures calculated for the public good:—deteſting chicanery, oppreſſion, and injuſtice of every kind, this honeſt

Parliament,

Parliament, finding that the laws wanted simplification and arrangement, would set about it, however destructive their labours might prove to the sordid interest of an ambitious judge; a prostituted council, a packed jury, or a vile herd of pettifoggers, trading justices, bailiffs and runners.

Finding that a most extraordinary waste of public money had taken place, under the different pretences of places, pensions, contracts, armaments, subsidies, secret service money, &c. our honest and annual Parliament would, after narrowly scrutinizing the same, retrench every sum needlessly or wickedly laid out.

Recalling to their minds that wise and wholesome provision of the 12th of William III. Chap. 2. enacting that; *all resolutions taken in the privy council shall be signed by such of the privy council as shall advise and consent to the same.* They would call for an immediate renewal of that long suspended law; and by so doing, all destructive secret influence would be rooted up, and the people could then, at all times discover, who were their friends, and who their foes.

The People's Parliament, finding that under various pretences, grants of common Land had been obtained by sundry persons, no ways to the benefit of the Community, but very much to the distress of the poor; the same would be soon restored to the public, and the robbed peasant again enabled annually to supply his distressed family, with an increased quantity of bread, out of the profit arising from the liberty regained, of grazing a cow, two or three sheep, or a brood of geese thereon.

With detestation would that Parlament view any man, enjoying the emoluments of six or seven places, either needless

needleſs and overpaid, as requiring altogether but one officer; or elſe their ſeveral duties neglected, and the public thereby deprived of that ſervice, for which they pay their money.

Numerous other reforms, would undoubtedly take place, even in the firſt ſeſſion of a Parliament ſo elected; dependent only on their electors the people; untorn therefore by faction, undivided by party, uncorrupted by miniſtry; and uninfluenced but by the public good —every tranſaction would tend to reform, and a ſtrict œconomy, its natural conſequence, might ſoon enable us to reduce our taxes; and by the integrity of Parliament, that reduction would light upon ſuch objects, as beſt might relieve the poor. This to the people would prove an advantageous and a novel ſeſſion; and to an honeſt Parliament, not a tireſome one.

Therefore Britons, Friends, and Fellow-Citizens, with hand and heart unite, claim what is your right; perſevere and be free; for who ſhall dare to withſtand our juſt demands!—Oppreſſion, already trembling at the voice of Individuals, will ſhrink away and diſappear, for ever, when the nation united, ſhall aſſert its privileges, and demand their reſtoration.

Signed by order.

M. MARGAROT, *Chairman.*
T. HARDY, *Secretary.*

London, Auguſt 6, 1792.

ON THE AFFAIRS OF FRANCE.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen

IT is rather aſtoniſhing to me that the people of this country ſhould be continually jarring with one another about French politics: ſome taking the party of La Fayette, others that of the Jacobins, and in the conteſt forget their own grievances. I am, Gentlemen, but a very plain man, and was always given to underſtand that I could not think ſo well for myſelf, as others: I therefore placed implicit confidence in the opinions of great men; but now that I begin to read and digeſt matters, I find it quite the contrary. Such being the caſe, I venture to give my opinion, and ſincerely wiſh, that my advice may be followed. I would recommend to every Patriot to endeavour to reform the minds and morals of the people, and teach them to know their rights as men, and to act with that propriety and decorum, which is the characteriſtic of a good citizen. I would adviſe every well-wiſher to his country to ſtand forward and recommend that reform which he thinks neceſſary, inſtead of diſputing whether the one or the other party in France are in the wrong. If La Fayette is or is not a Traitor, that will not diminiſh the

the number of members sent by old Sarum, nor give one to the town of Manchester. What have we therefore to do with him? Supposing a man labours under a severe sickness, and that his neighbour is in the same situation, can you think he would be such a fool as to quarrel with himself to know what kind of sickness his neighbour's was? Would not he endeavour to get cured himself? This is just the same with respect to the situation of this Country. No impartial man can deny the fact of its pretent defective Representation, nor the necessity of reforming it. It is therefore our duty to endeavour to gain this great and desirable end, which can only be done by opening the eyes of the people, and letting them see things in their true light: and when once they are informed of their *true* interest, the matter is settled and done directly. It appears to me that it would be more laudable in the well informed to do this, than to lose their time in disputing about the French.

In God's name, let La Fayette go quietly to the King or Queen of France, and let the Jacobins dress their King in a red cap, but let us turn our thoughts to the good of our Country. Let us endeavour to check that luxury and dissipation which is so prevalent among the higher Classes, the indulgence of which renders them the needy suppliants of a Court. Let us also use equal pains to remove the licentious humour of the common people, and encourage the habits of order, decency and sobriety among them. Thus, will all ranks become reformed in their *morals*—the first step towards any useful political reformation; and then we may hope that all will unite and support Mr. Grey in his patriotic enndeavours to gain a reform in the representation of the people. These, Gentlemen, are my sentiments which I beg you will

will publiſh, if you think them worthy of it; and in the mean time I remain

Your's reſpectfully,

A PATRIOT.

Nottingham, July 1, 1792.

WE have inſerted the above letter becauſe it is evidently the production of a well meaning, but as we think of a miſtaken writer. Politics is a ſcience which depends as much upon fact and experiment, as any other ſcience whatever. How are we to know what forms of government are beſt, but from an examination of the civil governments that have exiſted, and that do exiſt? America, at an enormous expence of blood and treaſure, has made one moſt important experiment in Government, of which the world has already reaped the benefit, by a diffuſion of political knowledge unknown in former times. At a riſque equally great, France is making another trial of the ſame kind: and from the facts that occur in the origin, the progreſs, and the completion of theſe momentous events, future legiſlators will be enlightened, and enabled to foretel what *may* be done, from what *has* been done. But of all the periods or experiments, in legiſlation, that which intervenes between the commencement and the completion, is the moſt important: for the byeſtanders of other nations, ſee clearly who are the men, and what are the characters, that in ſimilar ſituations are to be truſted or diſtruſted.—What is the true tendency of meaſures, which carry an inſidiuous, or dubious complexion; and what are the motives to action of the agents in theſe eventful ſcenes. To us, it ſeems ſtrange that a friend to a reform in our own country ſhould really think the preſent attempts to re

form

form in France, insignificant, unjustifiable, or uninteresting. To us it is only a proof, that a writer who thus thinks, does not yet know how to read the most important lesson in the theory and practice of politics that the world has yet seen. To us, it appears neither more nor less, than wilfully to reject knowledge of the most immediate application, and perversely to close the eyes upon the light which now breaks upon the world. But supposing for a moment, that no immediate benefit could be derived from an attention to the facts and agents in the reform of the French constitution; is it possible for any friend to the liberties of man, to be uninterested when the lives and liberties of 25 millions of his fellow creatures are at stake, and struggling against the iron arm of oppression—surrounded by open enemies from without, and betrayed by insidious friends from within? Why would this writer wish for a reform in his own country? We hope and trust from motives of benevolence, to others as well as himself; he believes the state of mankind will be bettered by it here. But is his patriotism and benevolence *confined* to the narrow circle of his own connections, or to the spot upon the globe which Great Britain occupies? If it be, so is not ours: we know that God has made of one blood all the nations of the earth, and that *Princes and Despots* only, have separated the interests of Frenchmen and Englishmen. We glory in wishing well to the cause of *liberty* all over the world, and we shall continue to present to our readers every argument that may be drawn from the occurrences in France, Poland, or elsewhere, from which they may be enabled to gain knowledge and experience, against the period of discussion of the reform in our own government.

THE EDITORS.

ON PARLIAMENTARY QUALIFICATIONS.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

" IF it were probable that every man would give " his vote freely, and without influence of any kind, " then upon the true theory and genuine priciples of li- " berty, *every* member of the community, *however poor*, " ſhould have a vote in electing thoſe delegates to whoſe " charge is committed the diſpoſal of his property, his " liberty, and his life. But ſince that can hardly be " expected in perſons of indigent fortunes, or ſuch as " are under the immediate dominion of others, all po- " pular ſtates have been obliged to eſtabliſh certain qua- " lifications; whereby ſome who are ſuſpected to have " no will of their own, are excluded from voting, in " order to ſet other individuals, whoſe wills may be " ſuppoſed independent more thoroughly upon a level " with each other." [*Black. Comment. V.* 1. *p.* 171]

I have cited the words of the great apologiſt of the Engliſh Conſtitution, as authority, the moſt reſpected among the advocates for parliamentary qualifications. Since the learned commentator wrote, the doctrine has been ſanctioned by the conſtitutional laws of the American and French revolutions. Nations, by excluding

women

women, unjuſtly confine political liberty to one half only of their ſubjects. So contracted have hitherto been the views of all legiſlators, that the natural and political rights of women, as rational creatures, ſeem never to have been, in any degree, objects of their contemplation. But, avoiding here the diſcuſſion of female liberties, and ſeveral privileges, and preſuming only on the acknowledged rights of men, I proceed to offer ſome remarks on the *expediency* of pecuniary qualifications, which are *avowedly* a poſitive reſtraint on claims naturally juſt.

Where men reflect with the leaſt attention on the ſubject, it is univerſally confeſſed, that the proper deſign of all governments is *the welfare of the whole*; and it is generally allowed, *the beſt government is that which produces the greateſt quantity of good to the community, with the leaſt encroachment upon the individual.* Hence we derive a ſtandard by which we can eſtimate the value of any particular inſtitution. The queſtion in the preſent caſe is, whether the advantages gained from the uſual ſpecies of qualifications afford an equivalent for the injury done by the treſpaſs on the *right* allowing *every* man to vote for his delegate in the legiſlature? Should it, upon enquiry, be found that the profeſſed object of the regulation, (the interruption given by it to venality) is a meaſure productive of leſs *good*, than the *evil* occaſioned by privileged electors, it will be readily acknowledged that the law ought to be annulled: much more then will the neceſſity of its abrogation be apparent, ſhould it be proved that—eſtabliſhing qualifications of electors, *encourages* inſtead of *ſuppreſſing* the corruption of parliamentary elections—

Suppoſing all the other trifling objections to an *equal* repreſentation in parliament to be deſtroyed, except that

which

which arises from the idea, that property has such an influence, as to require, that the exercise of the right of election should be confined to a certain number of individuals with certain qualifications in respect to property—will this too bear examination?—I exclude all consideration of particular kinds of property—whether a forty shilling freehold rent—the freedom of a corporation—the possession of an old cottage, or of the mark where an old cottage once stood—as indefensible absurdities;—and keep to the abstract—a qualification of some value.

The pretended use of a qualification is founded on the notion, that a vote is marketable; that a man may be tempted to dispose of his rights for pecuniary gratifications. This implies that a man's vote is worth purchasing; and consequently that a seat in the legislature being bought (and the natural consequence, a voice there sold) that a qualification is established.—The question then occurs in this distinct form;—is it more probable that corrupt means will be employed in procuring a seat in the legislature with or without a qualification?—With a qualification there will be *few* people to be bribed by a certain sum of money—the value of a seat in the legislature:—without a qualification *many* people will be to be bribed by the same sum—it is *easier* to bribe few than many, with the same sum, under the same penalties—therefore a corrupt seat in the legislature may be more readily obtained by a partial and qualified, than by an equal and just representation.

Perhaps an example may set the conclusion drawn in a better light.

On a rude calculation, let it be supposed that there are 8,000,000 of people in Great Britain—that (about

1-26th)

1,26th) 300,000 of these vote for members of parliament, and send 600 representatives to parliament; one representative to 500 voters—that each seat in parliament is worth 5000l. then each vote will be worth 10l.——But suppose that about one fourth of 8,000,000 should be allowed to vote, under the idea of an equal and just representation—(excluding ideots, lunatics, infants, and even all females, who, in strict right, ought not to be excluded) the number of voters will be 2,000,000, and a vote worth 1l. 10s.——300,000 voters distributed to 600 members of parliament allows 500 electors to each—251 are a majority of 500—2,000,000 voters to 600 delegates gives to each about 3,333, of which 1667 constitute the majority—In the one place a candidate, *subject to all the usual penalties*, has to bribe 251 persons, in the other 1667—under similar circumstances, it is easier to bribe 251 persons, with 10l. each, who are supposed to be more careful of their reputation, and more to be depended on for secrecy, than to bribe 1667 persons with 30s. each, who have not equally strong motives to be tenacious of their fame.

According to the hypothesis above, (which may be wrong as to numbers and quantities, but, I presume, not so as to *principle*) every man *disqualified* by the law, is robbed at every election of 30s. which is given to those who by that means have it in their power, whenever it suits their inclination, the more effectually to oppress the people injured. That this has frequently been the case: that the *qualified* rich have often enjoyed the partial favour of the law, when the *unqualified* poor have suffered exclusively its most galling severities, is sufficiently obvious in many cruel provisions of the *game laws*; in the numerous duties on the *necessaries* of

of life (which are virtually nothing but *poll-taxes* masked under names less provocative); and, beyond all abominable, in the tolerance of *press warrants*, by which the *persons* of the *poor* are *enslaved* to *defend* the *property* of the *rich*—the *all* of *want* sacrificed to preserve the *exuberance* of *wealth*.

The ostensible reason for repressing mercenary votes at elections is to prevent wealth enjoying the honours due only to merit—lest money should, by *indirect* means, require that sway in the legislature, which justice can openly bestow on desert alone. A cure is attempted by changing the weakness of an *indirect* for the strength of a *direct* influence on the body politic. Every man, the advocates for parliamentary qualifications allow, is possessed from nature of a right, which they think in the hands of a poor man would become pernicious to society, because his rich neighbour might wheedle the right from him and use it to the destruction of the state; and that therefore the law, for the good of society, should deprive the poor of this noxious claim. So far the reasoning may be plausible; but the fallacy will become apparent, when the necessary consequence is considered; that—the rights of which the poor are bereft must immediately devolve upon the rich—who are by this means *directly* possessed, without trouble or solicitation of what it was the sole design of the measure to remove beyond their reach.

Qualifications, privileges, prerogatives, are grievous monopolies, where the profits to the engrossers are in exact proportion to the dearth they occasion among the people. The generality of mankind have a tendency to promote their own ease and interest, and, for that purpose, avail themselves of what advantage, they possess

to

to appropriate all the good they can to themſelves, and, to load others, as much as poſſible, with what ought to be their own ſhare of the burthenſome evils of ſociety. Qualifications, privileges, prerogatives, to encreaſe the inſolence and oppreſſion of monied ambition, fraudulently withdraw that birthright, which to the children of nature might inſure the civility, if not conciliate the reſpect of the favourites of fortune: They rob the poor, and enrich the wealthy: They ſtrengthen the ſtrong and weaken the feeble; exalt the high and depreſs the low; in ſhort, they contribute to indulge that barbarous propenſity to rapine in the individual, which it was the chief object of civil aſſociation to correct.

I fear, Gentlemen, I may treſpaſs on your indulgence and on the patience of your readers—the importance of the ſubject muſt be my excuſe.——A confidence in the ſoundneſs of the argument; and a notion of its novelty; with a hope, perhaps flattering, of its value, induce me to ſolicit the publication thro' the channel of the Patriot, as the beſt vehicle of political information. Indeed the Patriot ſeems admirably well calculated to awake the attention of the people to the ſtate of public affairs: it appears to be an excellent organ of inſtruction, and well adapted to promote the grand deſideratum of all the true lovers of their country, the amendment of the Conſtitution.——————Receive, Gentlemen, with candour, the humble attempts of one who wiſhes to advance the welfare of his country by pointing out, the *injuſtice* and *inexpedience* of a prevailing maxim in politics, to ſome of your more able correſpondents. Their rhetoric, by diffuſing conviction among the people, may enforce a reformation of the ſtate. Conſcious of my own want of powers to perſuade, I aim only at demonſtration—Not accoutre'd for victory, I remain content

tent with pointing out a flaw in the armour of tyranny to champions better equipped for the defence of freedom.

Yours, &c.

WM. DRUTHIN.

September 10, 1792.

We cannot too highly praise the very ingenious as well as forcible manner in which our excellent Correspondent *Druthin* has managed the foregoing argument. We hope we shall soon hear from him again; and have no doubt but our numerous Readers will one and all hail the Patriot, on the acquisition of so great an additional strength to the phalanx it has long been able to boast of Champions in the cause—the glorious cause of Liberty, that Goddess so renowned!

The Editors.

ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

THE Corporation of the city of London have lately addressed the King on the success of our arms in India, under Marquis Cornwallis—I beg leave to offer the following remarks to their consideration, thro' the medium of the Patriot.

IT has been fashionable from the beginning of the war lately terminated in India, to stile Tippoo an

usurper.

uſurper. Hence we were led to believe that if ſucceſs ſhould crown our arms, we were to ſignalize our victory by an act that would have raiſed our character all over India to the higheſt pitch, and eſtabliſhed our dominion in the Eaſt on the moſt ſolid baſis—MODERATION and JUSTICE.

We expected that the young King of Myſore, whom Tippoo keeps confined, would have been drawn from his priſon, and placed by the Britiſh Arms on the throne of his anceſtors—a throne which, as we ſay, has been uſurped by Tippoo.

But how are our expectations fulfilled? or rather how are they diſappointed? Britiſh Armies force the ſtolen goods from Tippoo, not for the purpoſe of reſtoring them to the right owner, but of appropriating them to their own uſe.

Either Tippoo was an uſurper, or he was not. If he was not, it was calumny on all occaſions, to brand him with that odious name. If he was, we have no more right to keep for our own uſe any part of the Myſore territories, than a Conſtable has in England to appropriate to himſelf a gold watch which he finds upon a highwayman; a watch originally acquired by felony and the right owner of which is well known.

We had no quarrel with the King of Myſore, ſhut up as he is in a priſon, he could not injure us. Why then ſhould his ſubjects be compelled to pay 3,300,000l. to the Engliſh and their allies, and why ſhould his empire be diſmembered?

Unhappy Prince! he is equally a victim, whether a black uſurper or a white one—commands in his domini-

ons;

tons; he is equally a prisoner; force is every thing, and justice nothing.

The sons of the usurper are now stiled Princes, and are received by us with as much respect as if their father was the lawful sovereign of Mysore.

From the date of the treaty of Peace before Seringapatam, Tippoo may well assume the title of King of Mysore, for we are bound to guarantee to him the sovereignity of all the territory we have left him. If he is not the sovereign he cannot perform the stipulations of the treaty; and as we have taken pledges from him and dear ones too—his own sons, for the faithful performance, it is evident that we mean that he shall have power to perform them; and consequently we ensure him sovereign power, the only one by which the alteration of provinces, and the levying of subsidies, can be effected or justified.

Whatever, therefore, Tippoo *may* be, we cannot from this day forth call him an usurper: one of the great advantages of the peace to him is, that he has lost that odious name; and by the sacrifice of one part of his dominions acquired a legal title to the remainder; that is to say, as legal a title as we can make it. *Force* sent the legal King of Mysore from the throne to a prison; *force* maintained the usurpation; and finally we see *force* is brought in aid of that very usurpation which we *affected* to detest, and is now made an instrument for legalizing it.

With respect to the policy of breaking the power of the Mysore, as we have broke it by the peace, I do not hesitate to pronounce it weak to the last degree.

The

The Mahrattas are equal to the deſtruction of the Britiſh power in India. The ſtate of Myſore might at all times be oppoſed to that people as a balance: and by holding that ſcale even between them, we have nothing to fear from all India.

The Mahrattas being Hindoos, and conſequently tenacious of the old laws and cuſtoms of their country, which forbid proſelytiſm, and impoſe upon every man as a duty to remain in the ſame *Caſte* in which he was born; and Tippoo, on the contrary, being a Mahometan, and conſequently bound by his religion to propogate it even by the ſword—it is ſcarcely poſſible that the two ſtates, ſo cloſely bordering on each other, ſhould form a laſting political connexion; ſuch a meaſure might eaſily be prevented by us; and in the jealouſy of theſe two powers of each other, we ſhould find perfect ſecurity.

But now, the power of Myſore, that is to ſay, of what is left of it to Tippoo, is ſo reduced, that he muſt be conſidered as a very ſubordinate Prince, no longer able to make head againſt the Mahrattas, and conſequently incapable of making that diverſion in our favour, without which, our power in India muſt ultimately give way to that populous, martial, and formidable nation, which, from the date of the peace before Seringapatam, may be conſidered as the paramount ſtates in India.

We know how to fight, and we know how to conquer; but nature ſeems not to have qualified us for negociators and politicians. Like the ſhort ſighted Cato the elder, we have been looking for our ſecurity in that which we fear will be our ruin. He was perpetually crying out

to

to the ſenate, *delenda eſt Carthago*. Carthage *was* at laſt deſtroyed; and the virtue and liberty of Rome did not long ſurvive the ruin of her powerful rival.

We were crying out *delendus eſt Tippoo*, and by deſtroying him, we have been doing the work of the Mahrattas, and paving their way to the empire of Indoſtan.

It is a fact that even at this moment there is no cordiality between us and the Mahrattas; the latter indeed bear the name of allies to the company; but what have they done for us? Did they not leave us to fight the gallant army of Tippoo, with our own forces only? Was a ſingle trigger drawn by a Mahratta in the ſtorm of Tippoo's camp? Did they not leave us all the danger? Yes. But have they left us all the fruits of the victory? No; they are to ſhare the plunder and ſpoil of the uſurper, as he is uſed to be called: and are to come in for their portion not only of the 3,300,000l. which he is to pay in caſh, but alſo of the provinces that are to be diſmembered from the empire of Myſore.

To ſhew that what is here advanced reſpecting the want of cordiality between us and the Mahrattas is not the ſuggeſtion of my own imagination, I will quote the very words of Lord Cornwallis himſelf as given in the laſt Gazette extraordinary.

But firſt I muſt remind my readers, that the Mahratta forces ſent to co-oporate with us, were under the command of two Princes or Chiefs, Purſeram Bhow, and Hurry Punt.

Lord Cornwallis, ſpeaking of the Nizam's and Purſeram Bhow's forces, makes the following obſervations—

tians—"The *corps* of the latter chief being the only "one amongst our allies, which is properly equipped, "or in any degree equal to the undertaking of indepen- "dent operations, &c."

Now how did this chief behave towards the Englifh? He knew they were extremely weak in cavalry, in which he himself was very ftrong, he muft have been aware then of the great danger to which our army was conſequently expoſed, from their great inferiority and Tippoo's great ſuperiortity in horſe,—which could have been balanced only by the well appointed body of Mahratta cavalry under his (Purſeram's) command. But regardleſs of his allies, and perhaps, ſecretly wiſhing that we might receive a check, or that both the enemy and we might be weakened, without any loſs to the Mahrattas, this chief withdrew from our army, carrying with him all his forces, and went upon a ſeperate expedition againſt Simoga, in which be it ſaid, by the way, it ſo happened that the brunt of the war in that quarter, fell almoſt excluſively upon a detachment of our troops ſerving in the Mahratta army.

Lord Cornwallis wiſhed very much to have detained Purſeram and his cavalry to co-operate with our grand army; but he could not prevail. That this occaſioned remonſtrances to the Court of Poonah, the ſeat of the Mahratta government, will appear from the following extract from Lord Cornwallis's Letter in the ſame Gazette, which will ſerve alſo to ſhew what opinion the noble Lord entertains of the diſpoſition of the Mahratta Chief towards the Engliſh.

"I.

"I have received information from Mr. Malet, that "Purseram Bhow has been positively ordered by the Poo- "nah Government, to join this army immediately, and "Hurry Punt assures me that he is actually on his march "for that purpose. However, *after his late conduct, I "cannot venture to place any great dependence on him for "assistance.*"

Such was our ally who commanded the "only corps "among our allies, which is properly equipped, or in "any degree equal to the undertaking of the independ- "ent operations."

From such allies we may well expect hostilities, when by our means the only native power in India capable of making head against the Mahrattas is destroyed.

Heaven grant that our fears on this head may hereafter be found to be groundless. But sorry I am to say, that there is too much reason for a belief that the object of them will be realized.

ALFRED.

We think the remarks and reflections of our valuable and enlightened correspondent *Alfred* extremely clear, and scarcely know which deserves most encomium, his head or his heart, in the display of perspicuity and sentiment, which pervades the whole of the foregoing Letter—but our gorge rises at the recollection of the scenes which our Countrymen have acted in India—their whole proceedings appear to us to be "black and all black" and we fear that India will one day be to this country, what Persia was to Rome.

The Editors.

ON THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

Continued from Page 69.

NOTwithſtanding the great charter had reduced the power of the crown within the bounds of a legal authority, and re-eſtabliſhed the elective rights of the people; yet there was a vaſt exceſs of power ſtill remaining in the crown, which conſtitutionally belonged to the people, or their immediate repreſentatives; all which, at the reſtoration of the conſtitution, were left in the power of the crown, excepting thoſe towns that had obtained charters from ſome of the kings, and purchaſed back the privilege of being governed by magiſtrates of their own election.

The vaſt quantity of land that had now got into the hands of the crown, being diſtributed to the favourites of the king as fiefs, was a great additional ſtrength to the prerogative; and many places of honour, profit, truſt, and power, which had formerly been in the gift of the people, now operated againſt themſelves. We may add to this, that under the Saxon kings there were only two ſuperior courts of law, which were both eſtabliſhed by Alfred the Great, after the union of the ſeven kingdoms into one. Theſe were the Court of Common Pleas, and the High Court of Chancery; though perhaps

haps called by other names, and revived with the conſtitution.

But William the firſt, eſtabliſhed three new courts of Law, whoſe rules and genius were better adapted to his arbitrary mode of government. Theſe were the Court of King's Bench, the Court of Exchequer, and the Spiritual Court. Theſe three courts were begot by the tyrannical union of the king and clergy, and made the inſtruments of the arbitrary impoſitions of both; and though theſe courts have been much reſtrained, yet they ſtill retain a great deal of that arbitrary ſpirit, from whence they were engendered; and the clergy ſtill hold their place in the legiſlative authority, always ready to unite with the crown, to oppoſe every further attempt of the people to recover either their civil or religious liberty.

Theſe numerous ſources of power, gave the crown many advantages, which were always employed to counteract the efforts of parliament. Hence it was with difficulty that the elective power of the people was able to ſtand its ground, againſt ſuch of our kings as were inclined to eſtabliſh an arbitrary government; which often involved the kingdom in a civil war, for want of contriving ſome milder method of reſtraint, than that which was preſcribed by the barons, of making war upon the king: for after they had once found by experience, that oaths* would not bind kings, it was in vain to truſt them any further.

To

* It is a very melancholy reflection, that hiſtory is but one continued record, of the truth of the above obſervation, reſpect-

To remedy this evil, they ought to have established a new mode of assembling the parliament, when the king would not do his duty in that respect; which is nothing more

ing the *oaths of kings*. All well governed states have endeavoured by the severest and heaviest penalties, to make perjury dreadful, and detestable, in the eyes of the people; and the consequences of any private individual being convicted of it, are truly deplorable; but what avail the stern dictates of the strictest laws, when the chief magistrate, the executive power, especially appointed to put these laws in force; and who ought to make them respected, and obeyed, as much by *his own example*, as by their precept—makes a constant practice of breaking them without shame or scruple, whenever it suits his convenience, his whim, or his particular interest. The people, of course, think there can be nothing *really binding* in oaths; that they are engines of *state craft*, or of *priestcraft*, invented, and introduced, to keep the vulgar and lower orders, "the swinish multitude," in awe and obedience, and nothing else; and thus, by the force of example in the highest magistrates—Perjury, the most detestable and horrid of crimes (because the great Creator is made a party in the transaction, by being solemnly called to witness, and to punish it), is become common as the most trivial of offences: and how should it be otherwise? We might as well expect every parish in the kingdom, to be preached into habits of sobriety, by the weekly sermons of a priest, who is known by all his parishioners, to retire from the pulpit, to a certain and constant scene of drunkenness.

When we recollect the repeated and wanton perjuries of a late and neighbouring Monarch, within the short space of the last two years; we can neither wonder at, nor pity his present situation; and cannot help applying to him the words of our immortal bard:

"——— Man, proud man!
"Plays such fantastic tricks before high heav'n,
"As make the angels weep."

The Editor.

more than adminiſtering the conſtitution to his people. He ſhould in that caſe, be entreated by earneſt petition, of ſome body of men appointed for that purpoſe, to aſſemble his parliament: and if the king after this, ſhould not iſſue his writs in forty days, then this body of men ſhould be empowered to give orders to the proper and uſual officers, in the king's name, to aſſemble the parliament; which ſhould be as good in law, as if he himſelf had given the proper orders for ſo doing. For the whole nation ſhould not loſe the benefit of the conſtitution, through the obſtinacy, or ill-judged opinion of a king, who ſhall refuſe to execute the duty of his office.

This medium is much more expedient, than a civil war: for all the conteſts we have had with our kings, have always been with ſuch, as were remarkable for their weakneſs of underſtanding, or obſtinacy of temper; and at the ſame time, were governed by ſome *traitorous* favourites, who perſuaded them to act againſt the intereſt both of themſelves, and their people; and therefore a power of this kind, would be very happy for both king, and people; and till ſome ſuch power as this be eſtabliſhed in our ſtate, the people of England will be obliged every now and then, either to have recourſe to arms, or to endure many hardſhips, as often as they ſhall have the misfortune to be governed by a weak prince; for it is an hundred to one but ſuch a king will be governed by a knave. It is an abſurdity to ſuppoſe, that a king who has a deſign upon the liberties of the people, will call together a body of men that he knows would be both able and willing to counteract his deſigns; neither would ſuch a king diſſolve his parliament,

liament, if he chose their continuance, as a mode to rob the people of their elective rights.

There were two alterations respecting the elective power of the people which must be noticed. The first is, that after the restoration in the reign of Henry the Third, many of our boroughs which used to send members to parliament, were not then incorporated; and, therefore, had no chief magistrates to represent them in parliament, as was usual in the Saxon times. And even those that had obtained charters, were never afterwards represented by their chief magistrates; but both were left at liberty to elect any other honest, wise men, they thought qualified to execute their trust; so that from this time, the member of parliament for a city, or borough, was detached from the chief officer of that city; but they still continued the principle of electing a new House of Commons every year. However this has given some of our modern kings, an opening to introduce a new mode of restraining the elective power of the people; that is, by continuing parliaments longer than one year.

(To be continued.)

BOROUGH REPRESENTATION.

TRURO, CORNWALL.

Political Character—THE influence in this Borough was, for ſome years, warmly conteſted between Lord Falmouth and Sir Francis Baſſet: the latter gained the victory by *one vote* in 1780, and the former by the ſame majority, in 1784; but in conſequence of the agreement reſpecting Tregony, Sir Francis diſcontinued his oppoſition in this Borough; it is now underſtood to be entirely at the devotion of his Lordſhip.

Antient conſequence and repreſentation.—Truro is one of the moſt conſiderable Towns in Cornwall. The quarter ſeſſions for the weſtern diviſion of the County being held here, bring a great reſort of company. Its great antiquity appears from its being called Truergue in doomſday-book, and having had a fair or market ſo long ſince, as 30 Edward I. and from that period it has regularly ſent Members to Parliament.

Right of Election.—In 1660,* this queſtion was ſtated:—"whether the Mayor and four and twenty, or "all

* 8. Journal 69.

"all the freemen of this Borough, have the right to "elect." The house decided in favour of the select number. The dispute being revived in the year following, received the same determination.* In 1689, the same dispute arose, and was stated in the Journals;† the question was, "whether the right of election was in the "*populace*, or select number." The house decided that the word *populace* meant the greater body of the freemen, in contradistinction to the select number. Their decision was like the others, in favour of the select number.

Number of Voters, 25.

Returning Officer—the Mayor.

Patron of the Borough—Lord Falmouth.

PENRYN.

Political Character.—This is a scot and lot Borough. The number of house-keepers paying to Church and poor, are about 140. The property is divided between the Earl of Mount Edgecumbe and Sir Francis Basset; but the latter has at present the greatest part: and the majority of the electors are in his interest.

Right of Election—is in the Mayor, Portreve, Aldermen, and inhabitants at large who pay scot and lot.

Number of Voters—are about 140.

Returning Officer—the Mayor.

Patron—Sir Francis Basset.

FOWEY

* 8 Journal 30. † 10. Vol. p. 141.

FOWEY.

Political Character.—It is one of the feodal tenures belonging to the Prince of Wales as Duke of Cornwall. The property is principally in the Earl of Mount Edgecumbe, and Philip Rashleigh, Esq. who are under the necessity of uniting their interests, in order to carry the point of elective influence. A powerful and expensive opposition was made to their joint interest at the last general election by Lord Shuldham and Sir Ralph Payne, who were supposed to have the good wishes of the Prince himself; but after several law suits on abstract points, it was finally determined, by a Committee of the House of Commons, the last session in favour of Lord Valletort, son to the Earl of Mount Edgecumbe, and Philip Rashleigh, Esq.

Right of Election—is understood to be in all the inhabitants paying scot and lot.

Number of Voters—63

Returning Officer—the Portreve chosen by a jury of the Prince's tenants.

Patrons—Earl of Mount Edgecumbe, and P. Rashleigh, Esq.

ST MAWES.

Political Character—The influence of this Borough was in the late Lord Nugent, and Hugh Boscawen, Esq. But the Marquis of Buckingham succeeding to the estate and patronage of Earl Nugent, has since had the address to possess himself of that of Mr. Boscawen's likewise.

Ancient

Ancient repreſentation.—This place which is only a Hamlet conſiſting of a few houſes chiefly inhabited by fiſhermen, ſent no members until 5 Eliz. The Portreve is the chief magiſtrate and the *right of election* is in him, and the Burgeſſes reſident in the place.

Number of Voters—ſomewhat leſs than 22.

Returning Officer—the Portreve.

Patron.—Marquis of Buckingham.

OPPRESSION.

THERE is a ſtory related in the Adventures of a Guinea, of a poor man, who being conſtrained by hunger to kill a deer in the foreſt of a German Prince, and being caught in the fact, was condemned by the petty tyrant to be tied upon the back of one of thoſe animals, which was let looſe in the foreſt; at the ſame time it was prohibited, on pain of death, to give him the leaſt help or aſſiſtance.

Though this ſtory participates in the height of colouring, which diſtinguiſhes the whole work, yet the ground of it may poſſibly be very true; and to ſupport this ſuppoſition we ſhall give an anecdote of a ſimilar caſt, the authority of which may be relied on.

At a village called *Gunterſhlum*, ſituated on the upper Rhine, in the County of Leiningen; a poor peaſant was apprehended by the officers of the county in the act of taking ſalmon. This man was an excellent diver, and made a practice of taking them with his hands only. His ſentence was to be confined for life, in the caſtle of Harlenburgh, the ancient reſidence of the houſe of Leiningen, who ſtiled themſelves "Counts by the grace "of God."

The keeper of this Baſtile being allowed the work his priſoners could do for the bread and water which he was obliged to find them, ſet this peaſant to different labours, but found, in the long run, he was good at nothing but at fiſh catching. It was determined to take advantage of this talent; the wretch was led regularly to the river, where a chain with a great log to it, being detached from his foot, he was to dive till he caught the ſupply of fiſh wanted for the Count's table; after which his leg reſumed its ornament, and he was conducted back again to the caſtle.

Thus did this human being, more reſembling in his way of life, and in his treatment, *a tame Otter* than *a man*, continue to ſubſiſt till a few years ago; the faculties of his mind ſunk down by degrees, into that ſpecies of inſtinct, which brutes have in purſuit of their prey; —this was the only inſtance of ſagacity he preſerved, and which had not his form betrayed him, might have made him paſs, like Lazarillo de la Tormes, for a new and curious animal of the amphibious kind.

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday November 13, 1792.

ADDRESS OF THE STOCKPORT SOCIETY.

Stockport, August 25, 1792.

AT A MEETING
OF SEVERAL OF THE
INHABITANTS OF STOCKPORT,
AND ITS
NEIGHBOURHOOD,
CONSISTING OF
Yeomanry, Farmers, Manufacturers, Mechanics, and Labourers,
IT WAS UNANIMOUSLY RESOLVED,

THAT we do form ourselves into a Society, to be called THE FRIENDS OF UNIVERSAL PEACE AND THE RIGHTS OF MAN; for the express purpose of informing ourselves in, and diffusing as far as possible, a neglected, but highly useful branch of knowledge, the science of POLITICS; a science which no man of letters, or any person that boasts the heaven-born blessing, Liberty, should be ignorant of.

It interests persons of our descriptions, to be rightly informed of the nature of Civil Government, more

than any class of men whatever; because it is our labour that is the support of every state.—Without labour, man could not exist.—Where lies the great burden, the weight of industry, but upon us? It is by prodigious labour, that the earth is forced to produce the necessaries of life; it is by an equally painful application, that all kinds of manufactures are produced; the conveniences, the luxuries of life, all come from us. It is our labour that supports Monarchy; it is our labour that supports Aristocracy; it is our labour that supports Priesthood; and it is our labour that supports ourselves. —Have not we, then, a right to enquire? Or rather, does not the chief right belong to us?

Here the enemies of enquiry and reform, will doubtless insinuate, that we wish for levelling principles to be cultivated, and that we mean to oppose ourselves as a body to the rich and powerful; but we answer, far be such thoughts from us; we entertain no such ideas; we well know, that the wealth of individuals, in every state, will be vastly disproportionate.—Our design is to shew, from incontrovertible facts, that we are of some service in the State; that we have RIGHTS that have been long lost; and that we are not the "*Swinish Multitude*" Mr. Burke calls us.

Conscious of the rectitude of our intentions, and regardless of the threats of the venal, and the interested, we will inquire into grievances with a determined and manly freedom. Possessed with these ideas, we cannot but exclaim——What a multitude of ages has the bulk of mankind been buried in more than Gothic darkness, with respect to a science that so nearly concerns them! ——We wish to ask one plain question: Was the human race formed to be possessed by Governments like herds

herds or Cattle; or are Governments to be formed by the PEOPLE, for their mutual advantage? Or, in other words, Who are servants, the PEOPLE, or Governments? For the decision of this question, we appeal, not to worm-eaten volumes, (though of ever so remote antiquity), nor to the sword of a conqueror, nor to a musty roll of parchment—but to the gift of HIM whom all nature obeys—REASON. This is our high tribunal, the pride, the glory, the ornament, the excellence of human nature, and the strong ground from which we will never be forced.

Although we profess ourselves to be Citizens of the World, and wish Peace and Liberty to all the human race; yet the particular object of this society, will be a civil and modest enquiry into the nature of our own Government. It has long been held out to the world, that the English Nation is a free People: But who are they that have made the assertion? They are only two descriptions of men, the ignorant and the interested. But to trace this assertion to its source, and discover what perhaps will not be very difficult—the truth; we will enquire who are the English Nation? And surely it cannot be supposed, that a few interested persons comparatively speaking, who are fattening on the spoils of the Public, can with any degree of propriety be called the English Nation; because they do not amount to the fiftieth part of it.

It is a truth unanswerable, that men of our descriptions compose the great body of the people: we produce every thing useful and valuable in life; we may therefore, with great propriety, be called the English Nation. But are we fairly, fully, and equally represented in Parliament? Will the most hardened Sycophant, or hungry Placeman,

Placeman, maintain it? It is a notorious truth, that a Majority of the Houſe of Commons is elected by leſs than four Thouſand Voters; whereas if the repreſentation were equal, (and we ſincerely hope it ſhortly will be) nearly that number would elect every ſingle Member. Not one twentieth part of the Commons of Great Britain are Electors. Many of the Boroughs are private property, and many of them are under Ariſtocratical influence. Old Sarum, that does not contain three houſes, ſends two Members to Parliament; and Mancheſter, Birmingham, and Sheffield, containing more than two hundred thouſand inhabitants, ſend none.—Are theſe the bleſſed privileges, the glorious prerogatives, and the boaſted liberties of the Engliſh Nation?

We paſs over at preſent the intricacies, and inequalities of the law, and the corruptneſs of its practice; the unhappy diviſions fomented by ſtatutes that ſeparate one citizen from another on account of their belief; the enormous waſte in penſions, and ſinecure or uſeleſs places, and vaſt unmerited ſalaries: we paſs over many other preſſing and unreaſonable grievances.

With the ſame mild and peaceable ſpirit of enquiry, let us take a ſurvey of ſome of our National Bleſſings. We have a National Debt of upwards of £.370.000,000 ſterling, an annual burthen of £.17,000,000 Taxes: beſides the expence of collecting. More than one-fourth of our earnings, gained by honeſt labour and the ſweat of our brows, is forced from us, to ſupport we know not what, and without our conſent. To ſupport unneceſſary armaments, a uſeful body of men, who ſpread our Commerce to every quarter of the globe, are deprived of the firſt of all bleſſings—Liberty. We are called by the favourite Writer, "the Swiniſh Multitude,"

and

and we are treated with "contempt."——We aſk, What would be the mighty difference to a man of ſmall fortune, betwixt living in England, or in Pruſſia, Turkey, or the Mogul's Empire, if Trial by Jury, and the Liberty of the Preſs, were aboliſhed? Let every man anſwer the queſtion for himſelf.

We abhor and deteſt all riots and tumults: we are the friends of peace; our only armour is reaſon, which we will never quit upon any conſideration: we only wiſh in conjunction with our fellow citizens, for an equal Repreſentation of all the Commons of Great Britain; and till this is done we will never deſiſt from our well meant endeavours to procure this indubitable right—the want of which is probably the ſource of every other National grievance.

Thus, with the ſincereſt wiſhes for peace, and warmed with the animating fire of freedom, we have collectively and individually agreed to the following reſolutions:

R. 1. That all men are born free and equal with reſpect to their rights.

R. 2. That the ſovereignty of every nation ought to be veſted in the people; it is their birthright: all power is derived from them; and every attempt to govern without their conſent, is as wicked, as it is unjuſt.

R. 3. That the people of Great Britain are not fully, fairly and adequately repreſented in parliament; and that a ſpeedy and effectual reform is neceſſary.

R. 4. That every man in Great Britain who pays taxes, has an undoubted right to be an elector.

R. 5. That it is necessary that some peaceable and effectual method to collect the voices of the people be adopted; and the elections annual.

R. 6. That war is the height of wickedness and barbarity; and that if governments were rightly constituted, its existence would be annihilated.

R. 7. That religion is a private right of the mind; therefore there ought to be neither Test laws, nor Toleration, but—UNIVERSAL LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.

R. 8. That the rules of morality are indispensably necessary to every nation of the globe; but, we embrace, as brothers and as friends, (provided that their morals be good) all the human race, without distinction of country, religion, sect or party.

R. 9. That the liberty of the press ought to be held inviolable in all nations.

R. 10. That the tribute of our warmest thanks is due to those great writers, who have signalized themselves in the important cause of liberty—writers (though we mean not to exculpate them singly from defects and mistakes) whose labours have extended political science far beyond what the most illustrious sages of Greece and Rome could ever attain—they do honour to human nature; we earnestly recommend them to the perusal of our fellow citizens.

R. 11. That it is with inexpressible pleasure, that we have lately seen a new periodical publication make its appearance, intitled the PATRIOT; it is founded on the true principles of liberty, and does its Editors the high-

est

est honour; the work is cheap, and we think we cannot do our country better service, than to recommend it to every friend of freedom.*

R. 12. That it is with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction, we behold the encreasing number of societies in this nation, to obtain a parliamentary reform; and we are no less pleased with the peaceable order, unanimity, and perseverence by which they are conducted: we beg leave to add our humble endeavours to theirs in the common cause and hope that in the end our labours will be crowned with success.

N. HIBBERT, *President.*
JOHN ANDREW, *Secretary.*

THE DISINTERESTED FAMILY.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

IT may excite no degree of resentment, though it will perhaps create a blush of shame, in the countenance of honest JOHN BULL, when he recollects how he has been humbugged by the *patriotism* of the Duke of Richmond, and the *disinterestedness* of Mr. Pitt. Of the first, let the boroughs of Seaford and Queensborough make mention; and the second may be collected from the following list of Places, Sinecures and Titles, conferred on his own family since he has been minister.

PLACES

* We are proud of the good opinion this Society entertains of the PATRIOT. Our endeavours will be exerted to render it desirous of so high a compliment, as their public recommendation of it.

The Editors.

PLACES DURING PLEASURE.

Mr. Pitt, Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, ſalary per annum, £.4000

Ditto, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 2000

Couſin of Buckingham, three years Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, ſalary 20,000l. per annum, 60,000

Couſin Grenville, Secretary of State, ſalary per annum, 10,000

Brother Chatham, Firſt Lord of the Admiralty, ſalary per annum, 5000

Couſin Pitt, the General, Commander in Chief in Ireland, per annum, 3000

Brother-in-law Townſend, a Lord of the Admiralty, per annum, 1000

PLACES FOR LIFE.

Mr. Pitt, Warden to the Cinque Ports, per annum, .4000

Couſin Grenville, Remembrancer of the Exchequer in Ireland, 3000

Ditto Keeper of the Parks, 3000

Brother-in-law Elliot, Remembrancer of the Exchequer in England 3000

Father-in-law Sydney, Chief Juſtice in Eyre, per annum, 2000

TITLES CONFERRED ON THE FAMILY.

Couſin Temple, Marquis of Buckingham.

Couſin Grenville, Lord Grenville.

Father-in-law Townſend, Viſcount and Baron Sydney.

Father-in-law Elliot, Lord Elliot.

Uncle

Uncle Pitt, Lord Camelford.

Brother Chatham, a Knight of the Garter.

Cousin Buckingham, ditto.

Cousin Pitt, the General, a Knight of the Bath.

Lord Forteſcue, who married one of the Cousin Grenville's a Viſcount and Earl.

Lord Carysford, who married another Cousin Grenville, an Earl.

Mr. Neville, who married another Cousin Grenville, the Barony of Braybrooke, in reverſion.

In all, *ſixty thouſand a year* in ſalaries, beſides patronage and perquiſites; one Marquiſate, two Earldoms; one Viſcount; four Baronies; two blue Ribbons, and one red ditto. In addition to which, the Earl of Chatham has 4000l. per annum, ſettled by act of Parliament on the title; the Dowager Counteſs of Chatham has a penſion of 3000 per annum more. And the Marquiſs of Buckingham holds the ſinecure place of Teller of the Exchequer, which having obtained previous to paſſing the Civil Liſt Reform Bill, is, 14,000l. per annum more making in all EIGHTY ONE THOUSAND POUNDS a year; but as theſe three laſt, were granted before the *diſintereſted, immaculate, heaven-born miniſter*, came into power, I do not bring them to the account of his *diſintereſtedneſs*.

Lord North was ſeverely reprobated, and with great juſtice, for attaching to himſelf and family ſo enormous a ſhare of the ſpoils of his country.—What ſhall we then ſay of the *immaculate* Mr. Pitt, who has monopolized three times the amount of Lord North's places, and ſtill ſeems ready to devour as much more!

A few more such men as Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Rose, and Jack Robinson, would swallow up the whole country. We may well exclaim with the late honest Sir Charles Turner, "*Lord have mercy upon the poor! all their earnings go to support the minister's friends.*" ! ! ! ! ! !

Well may the above *virtuous* and *immaculate* minister and his enriched and ennobled relatives cry out "*we are very well as we are*"—"*we want no reform*"—"*Innovations are dangerous*"—But do not the very circumcumstances of this voracious family's being gorged in this truly gluttonous manner with the riches and spoils of a people groaning under the oppressive weight of such accumulated taxes, as no country on the face of the earth ever before was able to bear with—do not these circumstances I say most absolutely and indisputably prove the very greatest necessity for a reform in parliament. It is impudently asserted that the nation can bear those taxes. What a barefaced argument! Are then the people of this nation because they have hitherto shewn themselves a liberal and generous people, for ever to be kept down by the weight and pressure of exorbitant taxation? that such men as Mr. Pitt and his coadjutors may wallow in wealth, and amass princely fortunes and honours, to be uniformly exerted towards enslaving the very country, among the citizens of which most of the persons mentioned in this shameful list, were but the other day in very moderate and middling circumstances! Away with such scandalous impositions—they are too glaring, too infamous, to be longer borne with patience.

When, O Britons! When will you open your eyes, to

to the miseries, which without your watchful care, and speedy exertions, are preparing for you, and will soon burst on your heads? Nothing but a Reform in Parliament can possibly save you from beggary, and slavery; and if you do not obtain that necessary measure very soon—I fear you will have reason to curse your supineness, torpor and apathy, as long as you live; and be obliged to descend to your graves, with a dreadful certainty of not only having, but O shame! of *deserving too*, the eternal execrations of your immediate descendants, and of all posterity. And indelible disgrace to the name of Britons! you will even in your life-time become the scorn, the mock, the contempt, and derision of surrounding nations.—And instead of those titles hitherto bestowed on us by envy, of a *surly*, *haughty*, *imperious brave* and *hardy* people—*the only free nation on earth*, which was very lately the case:—we shall be entitled but to the one epithet of *abject slaves*; and from our former high towering and pre-eminent station, while all the other states in Europe are ardently climbing the steep, and noble cliffs of liberty—we shall become the ANTIPODES to every thing that is great and glorious.

Stockport, Sept. 1, 1792. ALFRED.

ON THE PROCLAMATION.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

WITH fear and trembling I ſit down to a you a few words of advice, and to aſſure you that ne ther I nor any of my family have had the leaſt peace mind, ſince the appearance of the Proclamation in ou pariſh; and indeed it is not much better with moſt my neighbours; ſome of whom very innocently hav contributed to the increaſe of my apprehenſions.

On Sunday laſt, many of theſe honeſt folks, know ing that I had been educated at a grammar ſchoo came to me to deſire I would inform them what *ſeditio* was, for that they were ſorely afraid of offending th proclamation without any intention; and would there fore be obliged to me, knowing as how I was a ſcholar if I would ſet them right. This compliment to m ſcholarſhip, has been my bane: for I was going to con feſs the truth, and own my ignorance, when my curſe vanity ſtept forward, and like a Will o'the Wiſp led m into the quagmire, in which I have been ſtruggling eve ſince.

Inſtead therefore of ſpeaking the truth, as I ought t have done, for which I may perhaps, for any thing

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know to the contrary, be liable to a perfecution for fedition; my vanity making me blind to every recollection of the *holy day*—turned me as it were topfy turvy, and not having the fear of God before my eyes, but being inftigated I verily believe by no lefs a perfonage than the D——l himfelf, I told them if they would fit down, I would let them into the rights of it immediately; and well knowing that I was really as ignorant of what it was, as our cart-horfe;—I begged their pardons for a few minutes, till I went to—*recollect myfelf.*

Now you muft know, firs, that whenever I am at a *very great* lofs about any thing I cannot cleverly make out, I always retire to a certain place, that fhall be nameleis for the preient; and on this occafion being feated, and having pulled the newfpaper out of my pocket, I began to read the proclamation very ferioufly:—when it inftantly occurred to me that our excifeman a few days before, had been explaining to me the effects of *fomentation* in porter and ale, and that when the *fomentation* fubfifted, the *fedition* always went to the bottom; efpecially if you put a little bullocks blood into it.

I inftantly put up the newfpaper, and with all the importance of a man of fuperior edification; I appeared among my expecting neighbours, and having put on as knowing a look as poffible, I informed them, that what they were fo much at a lofs for the knowledge of, was a new regulation in the *Excife*; and was intended to ftop the *fedition* in ale and porter, from caufing fo great a *fomentation*:—with this explanation they were perfectly well fatisfied; and begged to know what the feditious writings meant, though they bleffed God that they could not read written hand!—Thefe I aflured them, were the

excisemens's books, in which they took a particular account of the *fomentation*, and told them that our exciseman had particularly informed me only the week before that such liquors were never fit to be drank till the *fomentation* was entirely gone off, and the sedition subsisted. My friends thanked me, and took their leave very much pleased with my superior understanding, and with many thanks for my information.

Far different, sirs, was my situation on their departure; for their questions had stirred up a certain spirit of curiosity in myself, which would not let my ignorance lie still, till it was satisfied; and how to do this puzzled me not a little.—Being left to myself, I recollected it was Sunday, that I had no dictionary in the house, and I could not think what book to look into to satisfy myself. I did not think a play book was the thing, on such a day; and was almost at my wits end, till happening to take up Milton's Paradise Lost, the first word that struck my eyes, was *sedition*; and reading a few lines, I discovered the d——l himself was the *first founder* of it. I shut the book and determined never to have any thing to do with it as long as I live.

I was perfectly easy after this resolve, and continued so, till smoaking my pipe after dinner, the Latin word *sedeo*, to sit, popt unluckily into my head, and running on with it till I came to the second person plural *seditis*, it struck me full in the face as within two letters of, and of course nearly allied to the filthy word *sedition*; and I sprung from my chair as if there had been a rattlesnake under it. However a few moments thought soon made me easy on this head.—I ordered all the chairs and stools up into the garret, and having double locked

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the door, and put the key into my pocket; I have ever since made my family eat their victuals, and rest themselves, according to the customs and manners of the *Medes* and *Peruvians*, I read of at school, who always eat cross legged on carpets, and having no carpets, I have substituted bed quilts.

But, sirs, what gives me the greatest concern of all is, what I particularly want your advice about; for I believe you printers, are such masters of language, that you know every thing. You must give me leave to tell you, sirs, that I am by trade a wine merchant, as well as a dealer in porter and ale; and the excise man not being well versed in the *nature* and *brewing* of wine, as of the other more ignoble liquids, has never given me any insight into this business: but what puts me most to a nonplus of any thing, is, that as I import my own claret, and am almost out;—I am at a terrible loss how to get any more:—and I shall be obliged to you to put me in the right way—I was thinking once to write to the head man of the custom-house, and enclose him a letter to my cousin, Dennis O'Carrol, that I deal with at Bordeaux; in which he will see that I have ordered claret that has no *sedition* in it: but then how can that be? The World, the Herald, and the London Packet, (for I always take in the tip-top papers, and I am told these are all read at St. James's) all say, that France is the *land of sedition*; and as the scripture tells us that every land brings forth according to *its kind*; I am afraid all French wines and brandies, must of necessity be so impregnated with the qualities of the land they spring from, that there will be no getting any thing of this sort, entirely free from it; and therefore I doubt, we must give up this branch of trade, great as it is, notwithstanding the commercial treaty. Besides the proclamation

clamation seems to forbid all foreign correspondence, though I should think there is no harm in such a thing, if one sends one's letters to the head man at the custom house, for him to read, and see that there is no seditious contraband orders in them; and if we give him leave also, to publish them in all the news papers with our *names at full length*, so that *every body* may see what one says.

I am also in a kind of a quandary as to eatables, as well as drink. The excisemen says that ale and porter can never be good *without* fomentation and sedition, but if we get them as *clear* as we can, why we must put up with a little; for if we all give over drinking them, we shall ruin the excise; and then as that is a great favourite of the minister's, we may be persecuted for that. Now I was thinking that your butchers being bloody-minded fellows, might put some *sedition* into the meat. I have often seen them blow something into veal, and as I do not know what it may be, I have ordered my wife to send home no veal till these perilous proclamation times are over, for I am determined to have no *sedition* in my family if I can help it; but I am most puzzled about *bread* of any thing; for *that* we cannot do without; and who can tell but the baker may be full of *sedition*, and may knead it into the bread by way of making it heavier? In short, gentlemen, I am so fearful, and doubtful what to eat, or what to drink; that I do not know what to do. And then I am so much afraid of a justice of *peace* popping his head into my house, to see what he can spy, for fear he should inform the minister, what we had for dinner, and how it was cooked, and so expose us plain country gentlemen, (who have never more than one dish and a pudding) to great men's scorn and contempt; for we are told that ministers never sit down

down, but to four or five courſes, and as many ſcore of their *particular friends*, to dine with them; and we would not wiſh them to know of our nakedneſs.

Talking of this, ſirs, the World of Monday laſt ſays, "This day, Mr. Dundas has a large party of *miniſterial* members to dine with him."—Pray, ſir, what are theſe *miniſterial* members I know no more of *them* than I do of *ſedition*; and am afraid I ſhall be forced to go to ſchool again to learn how to get ſafely through life, without that fear and trembling I have lately had of the perſecution of a Proclamation; and beg it as a favour, that you will give me your advice on all theſe heads, for at preſent I am very uneaſy.—I am afraid to go to church, or any other *public* place, for fear of being ſeen in a crowd, and ſo much in dread of being ſuppoſed to belong to the Humane, the Conſtitutional, or the Royal Society, or any other; that if I ſee three of my moſt intimate friends ſtanding together in the ſtreets, I ſkip by them like a lamplighter for fear I ſhould be ſaid to encourage meetings.—In ſhort I ſpeak to nobody but in my own houſe—and there—mums the word—as ſcrub ſays in the play—"Some ſay one thing, and ſome another; but for my part, I won't open my lips till there's a peace."—I tremble to look into the newſpapers for fear of another proclamation; there was one in the laſt night's which made my heart jump into my mouth as ſoon as I ſaw it, but as it was only to hinder our naval officers from robbing our neighbours on the high ſeas, *one cold ſweat* was all I had on that account; and I am now tolerably got over my ſhaking fit, only my hand trembles whenever I write *ſedition*.—Pray my dear gentlemen let me hear from you

you soon, and administer a word of comfort and information, if you possibly can, to your very humble and fearful servt. to command.

June 2, 1792.

MARMADUKE MEANWELL.

We are in duty bound to apologize to Mr. Meanwell, for not giving his favour a more early insertion—the truth is, it was unluckily mislaid and did not turn up till since our last number went to press. We therefore make all the attonement in our power by inserting it immediately; and beg leave to assure Mr. M——that if his nerves have recovered their tone since the dread he was thrown into by the proclamation, we shall be glad on all occasions hereafter to hear from him, and promise to take more care of his future favours.

The Editors.

ON PRUSSIAN ALLIANCES.

THE wisdom of our present rulers soon after the conclusion of the American war, was employed in forming alliances, by which this country was to be rescued from the danger and calamity of being obliged in future to contend alone with powerful confederacies.

In the progress of this business, the old system of politics, so long pursued in England was abandoned, and a new order of things was seen to start up.

Our

Our former politicians considered Russia and Austria as the powers with which it was most advantageous for us to be connected, and many reasons might be urged to prove that it was right.

Russia, an immense empire without manufactures, afforded us a most advantageous market for ours; her interests in no case clashed with those of England; and therefore we might the more safely enrich her by purchasing from her the naval stores so necessary for the support of our maritime strength, as the riches that she gained by us were not likely to be employed against us; which would not have been the case if we had enriched Sweden, who, for a great series of years, was the ally, and even the pensioner of France.

The power of Austria was a balance for that of France; and therefore it was always desirable that we should have it on our side. Austria, from the extent of her dominions, must be a powerful ally to us, whilst two circumstances would always prevent her from being a dangerous enemy to this country. In the first place, having no navy she could not attack us; and in the next, her dominions being interfected by those of other powers, she must depend in a great measure upon us for the protection of some parts of them.

Thus it would appear, that to a statesman searching for useful alliances for Great Britain, Russia and Austria would naturally occur.

It has sometimes been suggested that our Ministers would have preferred an alliance with those two powers; and that it would have been effected had they found a disposition

disposition towards it in the courts of Vienna and Petersburgh.

Ministers best know how true this is; but to those who are not behind the curtain, it must appear strange, that the way to procure a faithful ally, is to make him break an alliance in which he is already engaged.

This was actually the case in our negociations with Austria; for by the treaty of Reichenbach, we compelled Leopold II. to break his solemn engagements with Russia, and leave her to finish as well as she could, a war which, it is more than probable, she would never have undertaken if she had not been assured of the concurrence and support of Austria.

This was a singular mode of proceeding, and in our opinion, a precedent big with danger to alliances in general; as it shewed a disposition on our part not to punish a prince for a breach of his engagements, but to force him to break them. What reliance can in future be placed upon alliances, we will leave to men of common sense to judge.

Our attempts to court Russia into a renewal of her commercial treaty with us, were rather awkwardly made; and though authors and circumstances point out Russia as the natural ally of Great Britain, we have at this moment no connexion with her, either political or commercial, more than such as subsists between states bound to each other only by the laws of nations.

Having thus lost or renounced connexions with Austria and Russia, our Ministers turned their view towards Holland, Poland and Prussia,

An alliance with Holland, we are ready to admit, is at all times desirable, and that it never was more so than at the moment it was last formed, as the ascendency of France in that republic was thereby destroyed.

An alliance with Poland might be advantageous to us, particularly after we had been disappointed in our hopes of forming one with Russia. But if this was a part of our new system, what are we to think, when we see it at this moment so unaccountably abandoned?

Poland, with whom it was part of our Minister's system to be connected, and in whose friendship we were, according to the avowal of Lord Thurlow, in the House of Lords, to find an equivalent for our breach with Russia—unfortunate Poland is now given up by those upon whom she depended for support, and is over-run by a power whose anger we have provoked.

Here then, a great part of our famous system is destroyed, and Poland will long have to regret that she put faith in those who desert her in the moment of need.

It is impossible for us to tell whether our Ministers had entered into any engagements to assist Poland; but if they had not, they ought to have done it, and ought still, if the system of alliances laid down by us, is worth preserving or pursuing; for it is evident that if the Poles become vassals or subjects to Russia, we must find out some new system of alliance, for by such an event our former one will be destroyed; for Prussia and Holland joined with us, will not be a proper match for Russia, Poland, and Austria.

An alliance with Prussia, contrary perhaps to the dictates of sound policy, was thought a sufficient equivalent for the loss of Russia and Austria.

But

But after all, are we sure of Prussia? Can we depend upon that power for the assistance stipulated by treaty? It is devoutly to be hoped that we can; and that Frederic William will have too much honour not to fulfil his engagement with us.

But nations ought to look for better security than the mere personal honour of any individual however exalted. And there are circumstances in the conduct of that monarch towards other states, which may well create uneasiness in our bosoms.

It is evident that between this ally of Great Britain, and Russia, and Austria, who are not her allies, there is a very good understanding; and that Frederick William has resolved to give up to her fate that very Poland an alliance with whom formed part of our new political system. Whether in thus abandoning her he acts consistently with his engagements, we will not venture to determine; but we will lay those engagements before the public, who will decide for themselves.

The 6th Article of the treaty of defensive alliance between Poland and Prussia, ratified April 23, 1790, is as follows:

Articles. 6. If any foreign power shall, by virtue of any preceding acts or stipulations, or any interpretation of them, assume the rights of interfering in the internal affairs of the Republic of Poland, or its independence at any time, or in any manner, his Majesty the King of Prussia will first employ his good offices to prevent hostilities arising out of such a pretension; but if all his good offices should fail of effect, and the hostilities against Poland should be the consequence, his Majesty

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the King of Prussia, considering this as a case falling within the meaning of the alliance, will assist the Republic according to the tenor of the 6th Article of the present treaty. By the fourth Article the number of troops to be furnished as auxiliaries was stipulated.

The king of Poland finding himself attacked by Prussia, called upon his Prussian Majesty in a letter, dated the 31st May last, for the performance of his engagements, and the stipulated succours.

To this letter he received an answer dated June 8, 1792, from which the following is an extract:

"Whatever be the friendship that I have sworn to your "majesty, and the interest that I take in every thing that "concerns you, you will yourself believe that the state of "things being entirely changed since the alliance, that's "contracted with the Republic, and that the present "conjuncture, *brought on by the Constitution, of the* 3d *of* "*May*, 1791—posterior to my treaty, not being applicable to the engagements therein stipulated, it does "not belong to me to resist the attack made on your Majesty, if the intentions of the patriotic party are still "the same, and if they persist in their desire of maintaining their own work; but if, retracting their steps, they "shall consider the difficulties that are rising on all "sides I shall be ready to concert measures with her "Majesty the Empress of Russia, and to explain myself "at the same time with the court of Vienna, to strive "to reconcile the different interests, and to agree in "measures capable of restoring the tranquillity of Poland."

The Russian Manifesto against Poland has told the world, that it was by virtue of preceding acts or stipulations

lations, that the Empress assumed a right of interfering in the internal affairs of Poland: this interference, therefore, to men of ordinary understanding must appear to be precisely the *casus fœderis*; but to the casuists of Berlin, it appears to be no such thing. The new constitution is stated to make a new case, not foreseen or provided for in the treaty; but whilst the king and the diet were engaged in forming and establishing it, the king of Prussia does not appear to have given them the smallest intimation, that the change of constitution in Poland, would release him from the engagements to which he was pledged by his treaty.

The Treaty specifically denied the right of any foreign power to interfere in the internal affairs of Poland, by virtue of any preceding acts or stipulations.

But the Prussian Monarch's letter above quoted, admits the right of Russia to interfere in the internal affairs of Poland, by saying, that the change of the internal constitution of the country has produced the attack from the Empress, and that he is not bound by his treaty to resist it.

This is the precise state of the case between Prussia and Poland. The people of England will therefore judge whether there appears in it any thing like a breach of treaty, and on which side it is to be found.

We have a deeper interest in this business than the public may at first perceive. Our ministers have singled out the King of Prussia for an ally, because, they no doubt, had as high an opinion of his fidelity to his engagements, as of his power. What might be our situation, if in the moment of danger we should receive not the stipulated succours but such a letter as the above? Let us hope that such a moment may never be coupled with such a declaration.

On the Subject of aſſiſting the French.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

WHILE every feeling mind has lamented the outrages of the Pariſian mob, the hirelings of ariſtocracy, have induſtriouſly heightened the horrors of the original, by the moſt impudent exaggerations. The miniſterial papers have been ſtored with tales, which could only impoſe on the moſt ſupine credulity, and every epithet of venomous abuſe has been laviſhed on the French legiſlature, as the abettors of their ſanguinary crimes. Without calumniating their neighbours, this deſperate faction would find it labour ſufficient for their ableſt advocates, to vindicate themſelves. Inſtead of circulating falſehoods, which carry with them an antidote in their own abſurdity, their own character requires them to correct an error (if indeed it be an error) which ſeems univerſal amongſt the reflecting part of the nation. Before they condemn with ſuch extreme ſeverity, theſe irregular efforts of deſperate patriotiſm, let them evince to an accuſing world that they have never uſed this ſame dangerous weapon to ravage the poſſeſſions of reſpectable and unoffending citizens, to demoliſh with gothic barbarity, the

ſanctuary of literature and ſcience, and finally to exile if not deſtroy, a man whom chriſtianity is forced to acknowledge, and philoſophy calls her own. If they diſpair to refute this charge, let them attempt another of more recent date. The public will aſcribe the mob which threatened Dr. Maxwell, to that ſame faction which lighted the flames of Birmingham, to that faction, which while inveighing againſt anarchy, are the firſt to introduce it, and who with perfidy equal to their cowardice, one moment extol the bleſſings of law, and in the next privately irritate a poor deluded rabble to violate its moſt ſacred injunctions, and brave its ſevereſt vengeance.

Events like theſe make me bluſh for my country. Patriotiſm is proſcribed in England. Would you ſecure your lives and property from ſavage violence? beware how you perform the duties of a citizen; that freedom of thought ſo glorious to our nature, cannot be indulged with ſafety. Should an honeſt zeal for public happineſs prompt you to examine our public inſtitutions; not even the ſacred voice of law ſhall ſave you. Should you dare to pry into the polluted receſſes of ſtate-craft and prieſtcraft, you ſhall be hunted by the ravenous bloodhounds of tyranny and fanaticiſm.

Thus may our enemies gratify their malice—but thus ſhall they never triumph. What are the feeble efforts of perſecution, to the unceaſing and reſiſtleſs energies of truth. Chriſtianity has overthrown their altars, which once flowed with chriſtian blood; and in the flames which popery once lighted for the proteſtants, has popery itſelf been conſumed. Nor let the friends of freedom be diſmayed at theſe ſtruggles, which are but the convulſions of expiring deſpotiſm. Our enemies

have

have fled from the field of controversy; they dare not appeal to the tribunal of reason. The victory is ours—what can avail the fury of an aristocratic cabal, against the cause of Freedom, which is the cause of man: their lilliputian efforts cannot bind down the great strength of a nation one moment, after it has resolved for Liberty, and it *will* resolve so soon as its mind is once opened to its glorious effects; nor can craft or violence prevent its seeing them, for they cannot quench the light of reason—they cannot chain down the restlessness of enquiry.

What mighty service to their cause, have they atchieved in their outrage upon Dr. Maxwell? To a contempt of the absurdity of their principles they have provoked an abhorrence of their mode of defending them. The meeting it is true was prevented, but not so the object for which it was convened. A subscription to support the patriotic Arms of France, has nevertheless begun and is now proceeding, and never surely had benevolence a nobler object, an object more worthy of Britons. Our own freedom has not been purchased without blood—many an honoured name adorns our Annals, who have devoted themselves to death, that their countrymen might live to freedom. The patriotic vengeance of Britons has been terrible to despots. If then happily we have reached the land, while France still struggles with the waves—O! let us not refuse to stretch forth our hand to aid her—O! let not my countrymen survey without emotion, those heroes whom we have taught to spurn their chains; who amid the loud menaces of tyranny dare resolve they will not be slaves, while in this glorious cause, they

"Bare their bold breast and pour their generous blood."

Surely Britons, whose glory is their love of freedom, may sacrifice

ſacrifice a few luxuries, in order to yield them ſupport. If we have the ſouls of freemen, we cannot tamely view the rights of a valiant nation trampled under foot, by a band of ſanguinary deſpots. If we have the common ſympathy of men, we cannot (without ſtriving to protect) behold that hoſt of miſeries which gather round them—No, let us then atone for our crimes againſt America, by taking to our boſom the infant Liberties of France.

H.

ON THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

Continued from page 103.

THE ſecond alteration is, that at the reſtoration of the elective rights of the people; the titles to their election, in the different cities, boroughs, towns, and ports, became various from a variety of circumſtances they found themſelves in at that time, which unhappily reduced the number of electors; one of the greateſt misfortunes that can befal a ſtate formed upon the common rights of mankind. The city of Weſtminſter in particular, and all others of the ſame nature ſtill retain the true conſtitutional right of election; where every reſident inhabitant, that pays his ſhot and bears his lot, is intitled to his election; and all others are highly injurious to the liberty of the conſtitution of this country, as they expoſe the electors to many corrupt practices.

As

As long as the foreign trade of this nation was confined to the natural productions of the earth; so long the western parts of England, and particularly the county of Cornwall, would be the most rich, flourishing, and populous part of the kingdom; because of the valuable productions of their mines, and particularly their tin; for which they had a foreign trade as ancient as the flourishing state of the cities of Tyre and Sidon, which used to import tin from Cornwall. This we take to be the reason why we find more ancient boroughs in that county than in any other. But now that trade hath extended itself into many branches of commerce, by our manufactures, and other articles of exports; the people of Cornwall have lost their superiority in numbers. So that there is now an amazing disproportion between the number of their representatives and electors, when compared with any other county in England: which has reduced their boroughs, and others in the like circumstances, to the ignominious reflection of being the rotten part of our constitution.

All towns are subject to decay by time, and change of things; such as war, and particularly by trade; which last surprisingly moves the inhabitants from one part of the country to another. By which means, many of our old boroughs are almost deserted by their inhabitants, and are fallen quite into ruin. Some of them can scarcely be called a village; and others are become the private property of *one family*, who now nominate perhaps two members to sit in the House of Commons, and call such *nomination* a free *election*, and a full and adequate representation of *the people* of that borough, amounting in many cases to several thousands.

Thus the elective power of the people hath with the boroughs been falling into decay, while many of the villages, and ſome parts of the open country, that uſed to compoſe our rural tithings, have riſen merely by trade into great opulence and magnitude; ſuch as Birmingham, Mancheſter, Sheffield, Leeds, Wakefield, Halifax, and many others. From all theſe concurring cauſes, there is not perhaps one man in five thouſand, who is now repreſented in parliament, by a member of his own election.

But, beſides the ſeveral cauſes immediately above enumerated for the purpoſe of ſhewing how greatly the elective power of the people has fallen into decay, it is neceſſary here to obſerve the violent and unjuſt curtailment it received by the ſtatute of 8. of Hen. 6. c. 7. commonly called the diſqualifying act; by which the electors for members to ſerve in parliament as repreſentatives for *counties*, were reſtricted and confined to ſuch only as had forty ſhillings a year freehold land in the county, by which means hundreds in every county, and in ſome particular counties, *thouſands* were *diſfranchiſed* of their moſt valuable and important right of ſuffrage, for no other reaſon whatſoever but the mere arbitrary will of the crown; and were thus illegally deprived and robbed of their choice of repreſentatives, who were to bind them in all caſes whatſoever of life, liberty, and property; and in this ſtate of curtailment and deprivation we continue to the preſent moment.

Religion hath always had a great influence in our political diſputes; and therefore we may remark, that after the appearance of Wickliffe, and the promulgation of his doctrines, religion began to take a new face; and many converts appeared in England, who zealouſly

defended

defended the doctrines of Wickliffe, against the church of Rome; and though the church found means to divert the blow, at that time, yet his works helped greatly to prepare the minds of men to receive the doctrines of Luther and Calvin; who gave the first fatal stroke to the papal authority, and introduced the reformation in England.

Henry the Eighth, without any design of altering the established religion, effectually destroyed the papal authority, by seizing all the lands belonging to the religious houses; which are reported to have amounted to one quarter of all the lands in England. These the king gave, and sold, to his nobility and gentry; so that they soon became divided amongst the people. And many are of opinion, this diffused property operated greatly in favour of the Commons, in the great contest between the elective power of the people and the prerogative of the crown; which happened in the reign of Charles the first. And at the same time, he cut off the Pope's supremacy; and his power of nomination to such benefices, as gave the possessors a seat in the House of Lords, and vested that power in the crown. Thus the Pontiff of Rome, lost his influence upon the legislative authority of England.

These general reflections on the history of events which affected our constitution during the long reign of Henry the Third (in which various attempts were made to overthrow the elective power of the people) as well as in the reign of several of the succeeding kings (a fatal example of which we have shewn effectually to have taken place in the 8. Hen. 6.) shall serve for the present; and we will now proceed to the Reign of Charles the first and his successors; by which we are more immediately affected.

BOROUGH REPRESENTATION.

BOSSINEY, ALIAS TINTAGEL, CORNWALL.

Political Character.—THE burgeſſes or freemen are the electors in this borough. Mr. Crewe's bill diſqualified all the eleven voters, who happened to be then revenue officers, except one, who being of ſuch ſingular importance as actually to have ſent a member for this town to parliament in 1784, demands that his name ſhould be known to have been *Arthur Wade*. Three or four more have been ſince added to aſſiſt this ſolitary elective individual in the arduous taſk of member-making. Theſe were added under the direction of the Earl of Bute, and the Earl of Mount Edgecumbe, who poſſeſs the patronage of this borough. It is not however certain that the intereſt of theſe noblemen is ſecure. Certain individuals claiming a right to be admitted to the franchiſe of borough men or freemen, under the charter, ſeem to threaten an oppoſition; and the late amendment to the Grenville Act, which opened a new avenue to the inveſtigation of borough-right, may induce ſome parliamentary adventurer to riſque a trial upon this claim.

Ancient repreſentation.—This town never ſent to parliament until the 7th Edward 6th—was made a borough by

by Richard Earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. Although it has a titular mayor and burgeſſes, it was never incorporated.

Right of Election.—All who have free land in the borough, and live in ths pariſh, are deemed freemen, and have votes at the elections of members and magiſtrates.

Number of votes.—As this is a mere hamlet of only about 20 houſes, in the pariſh of Tintagel, the number of votes have ſeldom reached to the number of dwellings. At this preſent time, they are ſaid to be not above four or five.

Returning Officer.—The mayor.

Patrons.—Earl of Mount Edgecumbe and the Earl of Bute.

LESTWITHIEL.

Public character.—The mode of election in this borough, is ſuch as dupes the electors out of privileges with which their repreſentative charter affects to inveſt them; for the ſeventeen Common Council, who have a right of voting, being annually choſen by the ſeven Aldermen, are ſure to be ſuch as will conform to the dictates of thoſe by whom they are appointed. Thus, limiting the right of this election in this manner, ſeems as if it were done to excite the contempt of the electors themſelves againſt their own franchiſes. To be veſted with power without a will, is as great an inſult to the underſtanding, as it is an injury to the intereſts of mankind: nothing can more effectually tend to induce the people to abandon even their claims to the firſt privileges of nature and ſociety, with diſguſt. The king to appoint ſeven men,

who

who were to nominate seventeen others, to choose two representatives of the people; or the Lord of the Manor to appoint two Elizors, who were to nominate twenty-two others, to exercise the same power; is such a burlesque on representation, as seems only intended to laugh mankind out of the rights they might otherwise too seriously endeavour to claim.

Right of election.—Dec. 20th, 1769. *Resolved*, That the right of electing Burgesses to serve in parliament for the Borough of Lestwithiel, in the county of Cornwall, is in the Mayor and six capital Burgesses, together with seventeen assistants annually chosen and who had a right to vote at the preceding election of Mayor.

Number of votes.—Twenty-four.

Returning officer.—The mayor.

Ratron,—Earl of Mount Edgecumbe.

CLAIMS OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

THE following extracts from an excellent little work published about ten years since by Granville Sharpe, Esq. intitled "The Claims of the people of "England", may convince the good people of this country, that to attempt a Reform in Parliament, is not to *innovate*, but to *remove innovation*.

Yours,

A WATCHMAN.

AN.

AN abstract of the CLAIMS of the people of England, and of the constitutional means of redressing public grievances, without *innovation*.

Claim 1st.—That neither the *Privy Council*, nor *secret Cabinet* for state affairs, ought to be *efficient without responsibility*.

Remedy.—Revive the following clause* of *the act of settlement by which the present Royal Family succeeded to the crown of these realms*. "That all matters and things "relating to the well government of this kingdom, "which are properly cognizable in the privy Council by "the laws and customs of this realm shall be transacted "there, and all the resolutions taken thereupon shall be "*signed* by such of the privy council as shall *advise* and "*consent* to the same."

Claim 2nd.—That *all undue influence of the crown*, ought to be totally excluded from parliament, and that a *treasury bench*, or any other *bench of placemen*, in the House of Commons, (unless duly restrained from the privilege of *voting*) is an ABOMINATION! utterly repugnant to all just ideas of a *free uninfluenced* parliament.

Remedy.—Revive a clause in the above mentioned act of Settlement: "That no person who has an office "or place of profit under the King, or receives a pen"sion from the crown, shall be capable of serving as a "member in the House of Commons."

Claim 3d. That the laws of England are the *birthright* of the people thereof; yet the greater part of the people are robbed of that birthright by an unconstitutional exclusion from any share in the legislature; so that the laws, (the most valuable property to every man) may

* This and the following clause quoted from the act of settlement were repealed a few years afterwards in the 4th year of Queen Anne (c. 8.)

may be changed, suspended or repealed, without their assent.

Remedy.—Repeal the infamous statute of 8th Hen. 6. c. 7. whereby the good people in general on *false* pretences were robbed of their BIRTH-RIGHT.

Claim 4th.—That the *representation of the people*, ought to be rendered equal.

Remedy.—Refer the enormous disproportion of *delegating* power, now enjoyed by *small* boroughs, to the decision of the *county courts*, according to ancient precedents

Claim 5th.—Restore the ancient usage of renewing the representation *by a general election every session*, as the most essential CLAIM of all others for the welfare of the kingdom.

Remedy.—Repeal the acts for *triennial* and *septennial* parliaments; and then of course the statute of 4. Ed. 3. c. 14. will recover its original efficacy, and must be construed agreeable to the usage of the times when it was deemed fully effectual; which may be ascertained by the evidence of *election writs* having been issued generally "every year once," and frequently "more often:" so that the ancient usage—sessional elections, is an unquestionable right and claim of the people.

By these *approved* and *tried* means, parliament would be rendered independent, and an effectual bar put to that infamous traffic, (for the purposes of private interest) in those boroughs, which are now commonly esteemed a mere pecuniary property, and as such have been in many instances, either notoriously bought and sold, or else holden at the disposal of single individuals, Peers and others, for the dangerous purpose of enhancing their own personal consequence! An influence disgraceful to the nation, ruinous in its consequences, and which requires a speedy and effectual reform.

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday November 27, 1792.

ADDRESS

TO THE

Unrepresented Manufacturing Towns.

FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

PERMIT me, with the affection that every man ought to bear towards his fellow citizens, and with the anxiety that every citizen ought to feel for his country, to submit to your consideration the following reasons, why, in my humble opinion, the Reform of Parliament, now in agitation, ought not to be regarded by you with indifference:

1. Being

1. Being subject to the legislation of persons whom *other men have placed over you*, it is evident that you are denied that which is the birth-right of every Englishman, and without which he is not a free man, viz. a share in the making of those laws which have power over your properties, your families, your lives, and liberties.

2. Being very deeply interested in trade, not only at home, but in all parts of the world, you ought to have in Parliament deputies well informed on the subject of commerce in all its branches, but more particularly acquainted with that which you in an especial manner commit to their guardianship, as your immediate representatives. It is not otherwise possible that your interests should be properly attended to.

3. Should you not join the public-spirited towns and counties who may petition for a reform in the national representation, there is reason to apprehend that it will be but very imperfectly amended. And if the amendment fall any thing short of making Parliament *independent* of the Crown, perhaps the only difference we may find, may be, that it may henceforth cost the nation more to purchase majorities for the Minister, than it has hitherto done; for, if corruption, instead of being made impossible, be only rendered *somewhat more troublesome*, the additional trouble, as well as the additional value of votes, must be paid for.

4. It

4. It is a truth known to you all, that a country which once loses its liberty, must shortly lose its trade also. Thus, on commercial principles themselves, you are bound to contribute your share towards the reform of Parliament, although it should be attended with some cost and labour. The fruits of your industry will prove to your children but a poor inheritance, if not accompanied with freedom.

5. So long as a *majority* of the House of Commons shall continue to be appointed by a number of borough electors, not exceeding *four thousand*, as now is the case; so long will bribery govern borough elections, corruption be the characteristic of Parliament, and an oppressive taxation be the lot of the people.

6. If the present inequality of representation and length of Parliaments be the causes of parliamentary corruption, as they undoubtedly are, we must remove the causes before the effect will cease.

7. By a *corrupt* Parliament is meant, that which, instead of being a shield against unnecessary taxation, is the *hired instrument* whereby the nation is pillaged;—that which, instead of proving a check upon the Crown, when disposed to engage in unnecessary and ruinous wars, is the *bribed tool* by which the nation was first gulled into an approba-

tion

tion of war, and afterwards drained of its blood and treaſures to carry it on:—and again, uniform experience teaches us, that whenever Parliaments are under an undue influence from the Crown, they are ever ready to betray the moſt ſacred rights of the people. Suffice it at preſent to recal to your recollection a few inſtances only. In the reign of Henry VIII. Parliament enacted, that the King's proclamation ſhould have the force of law; in the reign of William III. they made a precedent for ſuſpending by ſtatute the benefits of the *habeas corpus*; and it has ſince been ſeveral times practiſed: in the reign of George I. by means of the ſtatute, vulgarly called *the riot act*, all the *conſtitutional* means of giving ſupport to the civil magiſtrate were ſupplanted in favour of the practice of calling out the *ſtanding army*. That government, which cannot preſerve its authority without *ſuch* an inſtrument, deſerves not the name of government; and that country, in which it is an ordinary practice to ſupport the execution of its laws by a ſtanding army, *is not a free country*. But the deadlieſt wounds that freedom ever received from Parliament, were thoſe which have been given it by *the diſfranchiſing ſtatute of Henry VI. the triennial act of William III. and the ſeptennial act of George I.* for, by the joint operation of *thoſe three ſtatutes*, the very foundations of the conſtitution are removed. *Thoſe* ſtatutes not only defraud the nation of ſix parts in ſeven, both of its election and its repreſentation,

sentation, but they have effectually vitiated the remaining seventh.

8. Parliaments chosen as they now are, and continuing for seven years as they now do, will ever be composed, for the most part, of a few factions, under the guidance of particular noblemen, perpetually contending for the power and emoluments of office. The common-soldiery of these several factions, like that of all other standing armies, is made up of mercenaries from the most idle and profligate orders of the community. Who so idle, as men of pleasure, and the vicious part of our nobility and gentry? Who so profligate, as murdering nabobs, prostitute lawyers, and unprincipled adventurers, who, through the iniquity of corrupt elections, make their way into parliament, and there let out their tongues and their votes for hire?

9. Parliaments chosen as they ought to be, that is, by the whole nation in just proportion, and continuing, as they ought to do, for one session only, must of course (as corruption without doors would then be *impossible*) consist of men most eminent for virtue and wisdom from every part of the kingdom. Every district, and every town (freed from an undue influence by the *multitude* of its electors) would undoubtedly appoint for its parliamentary representative, or attorney, the person best acquainted

acquainted with its intereſts, and beſt qualified to promote them. Theſe repreſentatives, feeling that dependence on their employers which an annual election would enſure, and carrying with them into Parliament characters of value, would be doubly guarded againſt falling into temptation; beſides, their virtue would be farther ſecured, from this important conſideration, that, as no Miniſter in his ſenſes would eſteem it practicable to bribe a *majority* of ſuch a Parliament, it follows, that bribing *individuals* could be of no uſe to him.

10. But ſuch a Parliament cannot be had, unleſs we will revert to the firſt principles of our conſtitution, which we have ſo ſhamefully abandoned. Since electing a Parliament is our only ſecurity againſt an arbitrary power in the Crown, *election* itſelf muſt be not only the common right, but the common *duty* of all the people.

11. The only plauſible objection which is held forth, in order to diſcourage the *manufacturing* towns from demanding repreſentation, namely, *the loſs of time amongſt the workmen that would be occaſioned by elections*, is an idle bug-bear.

12. All the idleneſs and vice of modern elections in this country are the conſequences of that very inequality of repreſentation, and that long duration of Parliament, of which we complain. While all but the *villains* of former times, that is

while

while *all free ſubjects* had their votes, and Parliaments were choſen ſometimes twice and ſometimes thrice in a year, tumult and debauchery at elections were unknown; and there were not above *two or three* caſes of falſe returns or diſputed elections in the courſe of *two hundred and ſeventeen years*, as ſtands proved by authentic records in the Tower. In *a ſingle Parliament* of the preſent reign, the trials upon conteſted elections fill *five large volumes*; and the profligacy ſo frequently attending the choice of members is a reproach to our age and nation.—*Is it not time then to reſtore a repreſentation of all, and Parliaments of a ſingle ſeſſion; ſince they alone can inſure us peaceable and virtuous elections?*

13 Prevent the temptation to the evil you dread, and the evil itſelf will be prevented: this is a law of nature. If pariſh officers, if common-councilmen of London, and mayors of corporations, if committees for all ſorts of buſineſs, if, in ſhort, deputies of any other deſcription, can be annually or more frequently elected, without any evil conſequences, is it not an inſult to our common ſenſe to tell us, that deputies for tranſacting our parliamentary buſineſs may not be ſo elected alſo?—Prevent, I ſay, the *temptation* to the evil you dread, and the evil itſelf will be prevented. The temptation to the candidate—is the hopes of a place, a title, or what elſe he can get from the miniſter; the temptation to the borough elector—is the candidate's

didate's treat and his bribe.—*As elections of all, and sessional Parliaments*, would cut up by the roots this commerce of corruption, so they would insure you elections as peaceably and orderly, as your weekly meetings at Divine service, or in your markets. Thus, that glorious word, *election*, which is not to be found in the dictionary of any enslaved nation, would be restored amongst us to its plain and honest signification; carrying with it no other idea, than that of *a free choice of freemen, for their own benefit and happiness*.

14. But if we cannot believe history, nor place confidence in records themselves, let us, at least, trust our own senses, and observe what is the conduct of our sober and sagacious brethren of America. If representation be of no use to a trading people, and if elections are nuisances, why have the citizens of Philadelphia, Boston, and all America, secured to themselves, by their new constitution, an *equal representation* and *annual elections*, as the very essence of that constitution which they inherit in common with ourselves, and as that without which they knew they should not be a free people?

15. If you think to enjoy the benefits of representation through persons *chosen by other men*, and over whose dismission you have no power, you much deceive yourselves. Supposing a merchant had not the choice of his own clerks, nor workmen

men, nor household servants, but they were to be appointed for him by the exciseman, or by some neighbouring Lord who had an interest in so doing; and if, when so appointed, he could not get rid of them in less than seven years, let their idleness, extravagance, and dishonesty be ever so glaring, and their insolence ever so insufferable, does it need the spirit of prophecy to foretel, that his name would soon be in the Gazette, proclaiming him a ruined and miserable man? And is not that great merchant, the Nation, brought to the verge of bankruptcy by these very means?—A nation happy above others in the fertility of its soil, and the industry of its inhabitants; a nation which now possesses a district of India equal to the whole kingdom of France, and until the other day, possessed also a continent in America, is nevertheless, I say, and by the means I have pointed out, nearly reduced to the condition of a bankrupt. In consequence of losing, through supineness, the appointment of its own clerks, workmen, and servants, or in other words, its own Parliament, it is now indebted *two hundred and seventy millions of money*, and not only its lands, but *its future industry*, is deeply mortgaged for payment of the interest; whereas, had it constantly asserted its rights, it needed not at this day to have owed a shilling.

16. As the interest upon these two hundred and seventy millions is just so much to be deducted from the national industry, and as nations less taxed

may

may consequently under-sell us at foreign markets, the manufacturing towns of this kingdom are peculiarly and eminently interested in restoring purity to Parliaments. They ought also to recollect, that if it be neglected, an increase of debt, and consequently an increase of taxes, must follow; for, so long as the *cause* of extravagance remains, the *effect* will not cease.

17. Although it is granted, that, if petty boroughs and septennial Parliaments were still to remain *in statu quo*, and the only alteration to be obtained, were a mere election of *two* members for each manufacturing town, the general advantage therefrom would be trifling, and the new elections might perhaps be inconvenient; yet, *that is not what is proposed*; nor would be the consequence, if those towns, *containing an immense proportion of the whole nation*, would properly exert themselves. In conjunction with Surry, Middlesex, and the Metropolis, united in quintuple alliance, and the many other generous towns and counties which may petition, the vast weight of the manufacturing towns would no longer suffer our hopes and fears, our recovery or our total ruin, to hang in doubtful balance; but the sterling gold of reformation would preponderate, and treachery and oppression kick the beam.

18. Take a sketch of such elections as are proposed. It being found that the proportion of English

liſh electors to every repreſentative, according to the preſent number in the Houſe of Commons, is about *three thouſand*; it follows, that each town ought to be divided into diſtricts of election, containing each about that number of male inhabitants, of twenty-one years of age. By the militia liſts alone this might be eaſily done. In towns, where the whole number of electors for each diſtrict might inhabit one pariſh, there ought to be ten or twelve ſubdiviſions of them, ſo that not more than three hundred at moſt elect in one place. This would not only preſerve peace, but inſure the completion of the election in one forenoon: it would alſo ſo facilitate the attendance, that no manufacturer or mechanic need loſe an hour's labour.

19. A moment's reflection will convince any candid man, that in ſuch elections annually repeated there could be no ſuch thing as bribery; and if a ballot were added, all undue influence of wealth or authority would be guarded againſt.—Bribery and threats out of the queſtion, who could have an intereſt or temptation to promote any licentiouſneſs? It has already been ſhewn alſo, that in Parliaments ſo elected, and ſo dependent on the eſteem and confidence, and power of the people, it would be as impoſſible for a miniſter to obtain ſupport *by* corruption, as now it is impoſſible to find ſupport *without* corruption.

20. But

20. But a minister, it is said, cannot carry on the business of the nation without *a majority.* This is held to be an axiom in politics. And so it is. No maxim is more true. But it is equally true, that, in Parliaments chosen as our's now are, that majority must be had by means of *faction and bribery*; in a reformed Parliament, it must be gained by *rectitude of measures alone.*

21. A reformation of Parliament would produce a total revolution in the condition of the minister. Instead of continuing to be an haughty lord and master of the nation, he would instantly become its servant, as the word *minister* imports.—Instead of having through a corrupt majority the purse of the whole nation, at his mercy, he would find that it should not yield him an extravagant or an unnecessary shilling.—Instead of creating jobs, offices, and contra s, and squandering millions of the public treasure to gratify himself, his connections, his creatures and dependents, besides the enormous bribery within the walls of Parliament, he must correct every wasteful expenditure, and transfuse a spirit of œconomy thro' every departme of the state.—Instead of being in a condition make inroads on the liberties of the people, or make any thing law, by which he could i gratia himself with royalty, or strengthen his own har against every opposition to his will he must be co tent to act *within his own sphere*, which is to exec

the laws made by the concentrated wiſdom of the nation in Parliament aſſembled.

22. In ſuch a Parliament as muſt be the conſequence of aſſerting our right to an equal repreſentation and annual elections, it would be as impracticable for any *faction* to diſplace an able and virtuous miniſter, as for a cabal of grooms and chambermaids, in a private family, to diſplace a ſteward, whoſe reputation had been eſtabliſhed for talents and integrity, and who acquitted himſelf to the ſatisfaction of his maſter. So long as the miniſter did the buſineſs of the nation to its ſatisfaction, the repreſentatives of that nation, having no temptation to do otherwiſe, but an evident intereſt in ſupporting him, would ſupport him accordingly. Nevertheleſs, the Houſe of Commons would ſtill be the political theatre for ambitious ſpirits to act their parts in; and it ought to be ſo. It is the proper ſchool of politics; and whenever a great genius for government ſhould ariſe, and could ſatisfy Parliament as to any conſiderable incapacity in the miniſter, and of his own ſuperior talents, it would be the duty of Parliament to ſee that the nation was ſerved by the fitteſt perſon in the kingdom; and a change would take place as naturally, and as peaceably, as when a gentleman parts with one ſervant and takes another. Thus, ſo far from annual elections preventing amongſt foreign courts a confidence in our government, as ſome

some maintain, they would raise its reputation for wisdom, vigour, and permanency throughout the world: and by preserving *a perpetual harmony between the crown and the people*, and keeping always at the helm the person best able to guide it, the King of England would once more become the most powerful and glorious monarch on earth.

23. Demand then, with one voice, my friends and countrymen, for that share in making your own laws to which, by the constitution and the laws of nature, you are entitled. Pursue the only course which can ever affect any considerable reduction of debts and of taxes, or materially advance the interests of manufactures and commerce!—In short, be Englishmen! be free, prosperous, and happy! And give your posterity, the same cause to revere *your* memories, as you have to bless *those progenitors* who left you an inheritance in a free constitution!

PHILO-PATRIÆ.

The above Letter is supposed to have been written by that excellent man, and genuine Patriot, Major Cartwright; it was originally published in the year 1783, and as it so exactly suits the present times, we think we cannot do a more acceptable service to our country, than by inserting it in our work. The Signature we have affixed to it, is every way applicable to the worthy author.

THE EDITORS.

ON THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

Continued from Page 139.

IN the concluſion of this ſubject in our laſt number, we mentioned our intention to proceed immediately to the reign of Charles the firſt, but on conſideration we deem it neceſſary, as all the leading and important events of that deſpotic Monarch's ſway, had their origin in the arbitrary principles he imbibed both from the precept and example of his father, to take firſt a ſhort retroſpective view of the character and conduct of that weak and bigotted Prince, which we think will elucidate and explain thoſe which ſo fatally occurred in that of his ſon, and which deluged this unhappy country with the blood of its beſt, braveſt, and moſt patriot citizens.

On the deceaſe of Elizabeth, James the ſixth of *Scotland* ſucceeded to the crown of England by the ſtile and title of James I. By the connection of the family of the Stuarts with the Tudors, through Margaret the daughter of Henry VII. he claimed ſuperiority of title; but to the nomination of Elizabeth he owed his peaceable aſcent to the throne. This princeſs by a long reign, and many favourable concurring circumſtances, had gain an entire aſcendancy over the hearts and opinions of her ſubjects,

ſubjects, notwithſtanding that, during the courſe of her government, ſhe had exerted very arbitrary principles of ſovereignity; to which ſhe was enabled by the yet cheriſhed opinion of royal prerogative, and the continuation of the ſame religious factions which had ſupported a like exertion in the reign of her father Henry VIII. and her ſiſter Mary.

Elizabeth died on March 24, 1603, after a proſperous reign of forty-four years. Her good fortune is in nothing more conſpicuous, than in the unmerited fame it has hitherto preſerved to her. The vices of this princeſs were ſuch as could not exiſt with a good heart, nor her weakneſſes with a good head: but to the unaccountable caprice of party zeal (which has ever to this hour been the bane of this country) ſhe owes the reputation of qualities that would do honour to a maſculine mind.

Six hours after her deceaſe, James her ſucceſſor was proclaimed. Great was the impatience of the people to behold their new ſovereign; (another fatal folly attendant on Engliſhmen) no leſs impatient was their ſovereign to take poſſeſſion of his dignity. His immediate journey from Edinburgh to London followed the joyful news of his acceſſion.* The concourſe of people which idleneſs, curioſity, and intereſt had brought together during his progreſs, was ſo offenſive to him, that he iſſued out

* The following is a curious paſſage in a letter which James wrote from Edinburgh to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London, on hearing that he had been proclaimed King. "Do "all whatſoever things you ſhall find neceſſary or expedient for the "good government of the city in execution of juſtice, as you have "been uſed to do in our deareſt ſiſters time, till our pleaſure be "known unto you to the contrary." *MSS. in Britiſh Muſeum*, fol. 7021. No. 23.

out a proclamation, forbiding such a tumultuous resort. His ignorance of the laws of England, and the high idea he had conceived of his present power by the arbitrary proceedings of his predecessors, made him upon his arrival at Newark, guilty of the absurd violence of hanging a thief without form or trial.* His severity was soon after exercised on Valentine Thomas, of whom he had complained to Elizabeth that he had calumniated his conduct. This unfortunate man was in prison on this account, at the time of James's accession, who immediately brought him to a trial, and obtained his condemnation, on the pretence of a conspiracy against Elizabeth and some of her council.

The first national transaction in which he engaged was a treaty with France, extorted from him by the importunity of Rosny,† whom Henry IV. had sent into England for that purpose. The articles contained a defensive league between France and England, and offensive, if the Spaniards, who were the then dreaded power in Europe, should attempt the Netherlands. This success of Rosny was extraordinary, because James had an aversion to the Dutch from their principles of freedom. His chief counsellor at this time was Cecil, created by him successively Lord Effindon, Viscount Cranbourn,

* The manner in which he was addressed by his new subjects, did not a little contribute to give him romantic notions of his present fortune. The letter which the council wrote to him to notify their having proclaimed him King, begins with these words, "Right high, right excellent, and mighty prince, and our dread sovereign Lord."

† Afterwards Duc de Sully. It appears from Sully's Memoirs that both the Kings of France and Spain distributed large sums amongst James's ministers and courtiers to bride them to their respective interests.

bourn, and Earl of Saliſbury.* The preſent favour of this miniſter ſurprized every body; he was naturally odious to James on account of his father's enmity to Mary, and his own oppoſition, to his partiſan the Earl of Eſſex; but this cunning courtier had ingratiated himſelf by a ſecret commerce during the latter years of Elizabeth's life.

Of all the qualities which marked the character of James, there was none more contemptible than a pedantic diſpoſition which he had attained from a narrow, though laborious education. Some ſchool learning he had, the fruits of that unwearied application which is often united to mean parts; of that learning he was ridiculouſly vain; his vanity was much heightened by the flattery he had met with from the minions of his *Engliſh Court*. He was eager for an opportunity of diſplaying it to the whole nation. The opportunity was afforded him by a petition from the† puritans for a reformation of ſundry articles in the eſtabliſhed Church. James gave the hopes of an impartial debate, tho' he mortally hated all the reformers for the reſtraints they had laid upon him in his Scotch Government; reſtraints which were altogether incompatible with that fond idea he had entertained of Monarchal power. In this debate James was to preſide as judge; and an aſſembly of churchmen and miniſters met at Hampton Court for this purpoſe. From Judge he turned principal diſputant, ſilencing

* James was ſo laviſh of his favours, that in the courſe of this year he created *fourteen* peers; and from April 6 to May 20, he had made two hundred and thirty ſeven Knights. The Earl of Southampton and the young Earl of Eſſex were reſtored to their titles.

† This petition was ſigned by ſeven hundred and fifty Clergymen. *Fuller's Church Hiſt.* London 1665. b. 10. p. 7.

silencing all opposition by his authority and loquacity. The issue of the conference was an injunction to the ministers to conform. James closed his many arguments with these powerful ones: "That presbytery agreed as "well with Monarchy, as God with the Devil; that he "would not have Tom, & Dick, and Will, meet to cen- "sure him and his council;" a demonstration strong of the impartiality he had promised. The ministers were obliged to acquiesce, without other conviction than that they were mistaken in the hopes they had formed from his education. Great was the exultation and adulation of the churchmen and courtiers on this occasion. Chancellor Egerton cried out, "He had often heard that roy- "alty and priesthood were united, but never saw it ve- "rified till now." Archbishop Whitgift carried his flattery still further; "He verily believed the King spoke "by the spirit of God."*

James now tasted of all the enjoyments he most affected; surrounded with flatterers, he snuffed up continually

* James began the conference by exclaiming against the Scotch Church. "Blessed be God's gracious goodness, said he, who hath "brought me into the promised land; where religion is pure "professed; where I sit among grave, reverend, and learned men; "not as before, elsewhere, a King without state, without honour, "without order, where beardless boys, would brave us to our face." There were no small reasons for James's zeal for the English hierarchy. Many of the *Prelates* complimented him with unlimited power; while the dissenters hampered him with the doctrines of law and conscience. After he had answered the objections urged by the Presbyterian ministers with the same kind of logic, as may be found in the specimens already mentioned, he added, "If this be all your "party hath to say, I will make them conform themselves, or I will "*harrie* them out of the land, or else do worse, only hang them, that "is all."

ally the incenſe of his own praiſe.* With the reputation of buſineſs he indulged his paſſion for idleneſs. He affected to decide, by his judgement, all affairs both civil and religious; yet devoted his whole time to amuſement. His days were ſpent in hunting, or idle compoſition; his evenings in all the variety of entertainments which the ingenuity of the Queen his wife could procure him. Of the Scotch Gentry, thoſe that followed the court, or were attached to the Hierarchy, imitated much the levity and freedom of French manners: on the contrary, thoſe who were attached to Puritaniſm, affected ſeverity and reſerve. The preſent fortune and favour of James, gave many of the firſt an opportunity of indulging their taſte in a more expenſive manner than the narrowneſs of their former circumſtances would admit.† This humour coincided exactly with that of their Prince.

Among the number of proclamations that were continually iſſued from royal authority, there was one which ordained an annual feſtival in remembrance of the King's deliverance from the famous Gowry conſpiracy. This was a compliment which the Scotch preſbytery had denied him, under the mortifying circumſtance of not confiding enough in his veracity, to be certain of its reality.

The

* He was extolled as the Solomon of the age, and was the firſt King of England, flattered with the abſurd title of ſacred majeſty.

† The firſt diſguſt which James gave his Engliſh ſubjects, was the profuſion of favours that he had beſtowed on the Scotch followers. The Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Mar, the Lord Hume, Lord Kinloſs, Sir George Hume, and Secretary Elphinſton, were added to the privy council. Sir George Hume was created Earl of Dunbar, Hay was created Viſcount Doncaſter, then Earl of Carliſle; Ramſay was created Earl of Holderneſs.

The time for the expected meeting of Parliament now approached. A proclamation which came out with the writs was remarkable for the fairness of its aspect, and the perniciousness of its tendency: prohibitions that interfered with the subjects right of electing, were veiled with an appearance of candour which shaded their consequences from the eyes of the ignorant.

(*To be continued*)

ON THE

INEQUALITY OF REPRESENTATION.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

AS I consider the unequal representation of this country, the true source of all our grievances, I have at different times given to the world proofs of that inequality. In the Patriot it is unnecessary to do so, I shall therefore content myself with giving you a few extracts from some of the first volumes of the Gentleman's Magazine, which will prove that the opinions now held "by the reformers" are not the new fangled doctrines they are asserted to be by the minions of princes, the creatures of courts, or the time-serving host of bishops and placemen—Sirs, to prove, I am not too hard upon the Right Reverend Bench, I will give you a speech of the

the British Solomon's, extracted from the 5th vol. p. 539 of the Gents. Magazine, "James the first bragged, that "as long as he had the making of Judges and Bishops, "that should be both law and gospel which best pleased "him." to prove also that the representation may be altered without endangering the state, from the same page of the same volume, I beg leave to copy the following statement of our representation.

In King Henry VII. Reign,	147	Places returned	296	Members
Henry VIII. added -	32	Ditto	38	Ditto
Edward VI. ditto - -	22	Ditto	24	Ditto
Queen Mary, ditto -	12	Ditto	22	Ditto
Elizabeth, ditto - -	31	Ditto	62	Ditto
King James I. ditto -	14	Ditto	27	Ditto
Added by the Crown in 116 years -	111	Ditto	173	Ditto
Members increased since, by the authority of Parliaments, to the time of the union, including 83 years, - -			44	Ditto
Increased by the act of union, - -			45	Ditto

These alterations were it it is true made by the power of the crown, but why an alteration made by the desire of the people should produce more convulsion, than one by the power of the crown is what I cannot tell. Mr. Burke, and others, have endeavoured to divide the Whigs into new and old, the same attempt was made about the year 1733; from the Gents. Magazine, for that year, p. 357, I send you the political creed of what was then accounted an old Whig, so that if there is a division amongst the Whigs, it must be the new ones who do not support abstract principles, we shall presently see that the old always have supported them.

1. That Government was originally ordained for the good of the *governed*, and that the *supreme magistrate*,

rate, whatever he is called, is properly the *servant of the people*, when considered in their collective capacity, the superior to eve y individual.

2. That all *absolute Governments* are tyrannical usurpations on the *natural rights of mankind*, and originally founded on force, or fraud.

3. That our Government from its democratical principles is properly a royal common-wealth. *a*

4. That to preserve a proper balance in the Constitution, the utmost care ought to be taken to secure the *freedom of elections* and the virtue of our representatives. *a*

5. That liberty is the birthright of Englishmen, solemnly confirmed on many occasions, and if an attempt should be made to deprive them of it, they have an undoubted right to resist. *a*

6. That the present royal family were seated on the throne, by the consent of the people. *a*

7. That as all opposition to good measures are *factious*, so it is equally certain the opposition to bad ones, is the strongest visible sign a man can give of public virtue, and patriotism.——The articles marked with *a* are much abridged.

Now sirs, at the Revolution, many very desirable things were obtained, and the government of the country might be said to be fixed upon the principles of the above Creed; here it is, all was not done which should have been, tho' enough was, to have allowed a man to

have

have declared his attachment (with the late addreſſers) to the Conſtitution, as formed at the revolution, had they not meant ſecretly (for they had not ſpirit enough to ſpeak out) to blame the attempts now making for a reform; but ſirs, that very praiſe proves the neceſſity of reform, for I defy any addreſſer of them all, to prove that the Conſtitution is what it then was; No, Gentlemen, every man knows that the power of the Crown is infamouſly encreaſed, from a vaſt variety of cauſes, ſome of the principal of which are, the encreaſed number of Peers, the vaſt load of national debt, the great body of troops conſtantly in pay, the ſeptennial act, the exciſe laws, the vaſt privy purſe, and the India board of controul. Many other proofs might be adduced that the Conſtitution is not what it was in the latter part of the laſt Century, but till ſome of the addreſſers can prove that they all did equally exiſt then, or that they have not encreaſed the power of the Crown beyond what it ever was before, I think I ſhall be excuſed mentioning them.

I am Gentlemen,
your humble ſervant,
A NORFOLK FREEHOLDER.
Rich. Dinmore

ON A PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

WHETHER there ought to be a reform in parliament; is not a queſtion merely curious in ſpeculation, but

but unimportant in practice. Whether the nation shall choose her own representatives; is not a party question, interesting to the leaders of political factions, but of no moment to the people. The weight of the national burthens—the riot and bribery attending elections,—the profligacy of borough towns—the decay of public virtue, are in a great degree owing to the inequality of representation, and to the long duration of our parliaments. Lord Chesterfield, in a letter to his son, informs him, that wishing to make him a member of the House of Commons, he had spoken to a borough jobber, and offered five-and-twenty hundred pounds for a secure seat. "But "he laughed at my offer, (adds the Earl) and said there "was no such thing as a borough to be had now, for that "the rich East and West-Indians had secured them all, at "the rate of three-thousand pounds at least, but many at "four-thousand, and two or three that he knew, at five-"thousand." (Letters, vol. 4, page 269; quoted by Flower in his remarks, page 206.) Since the time of Lord Chesterfield, it is said that the prices of seats in parliament is greatly raised. No one acquainted with human nature will suppose that a number of men, of whom some have laboured too much for their property to be careless about it, and others too little to have a deal to spare, will throw away five or six thousand pounds every seven years, or oftener, for *nothing?* They must have the hope of being in some manner indemnified. And from whence can they be indemnified, but from the public purse, that is from the sweat of the husbandman, and the honest industry of the manufacturer? It signifies nothing whether they be reimbursed by contracts, by offices, or by direct douceurs in money. If it be by means of contracts and offices, it is a proof that the profits and the pay of the contractors and servants

vants of government are too great. Were these no more than the fair gain of their business, and the just reward of their diligence, they could never afford to purchase them so dearly. The public therefore trades and hires at a disadvantage. Consequently the money which is expended to procure seats in parliament, together, no doubt, with a considerable *interest* for that money, is for the most part, a clear loss to the public, whilst as a necessary consequence, violence is offered to all that is sacred in morality and religion. This is not mere speculation. There are facts to confirm it. Dishonourable as such facts are to the agents in the shameful transactions, they will sometimes find their way to the public eye. Would to God, that they made a deep impression upon the heart of the public: if they do not, ruin both here and hereafter, will be the consequence. I have just been reading an account of anecdotes of the late Lord Chatham, and of the principal events of his time. In relating these, the author speaks of that department which is called the *management of the House of Commons*; a confidential department unknown to the constitution. "In the public accounts it is immersed under the head of secret "service. The business of the department is to distribute with *art* and *policy* amongst the members who "have no ostensible places, sums of money for their "support during the session, besides contracts, lottery-"tickets, and other douceurs. It is no uncommon thing "at the end of a session for a gentleman to receive five "hundred or a thousand pounds *for his services*"—In the memoirs of the Marchioness of Pompadour (observes this author) we are presented with a very interesting anecdote, written to Cardinal Fleury, by an *English Minister* of that time. "I pension (writes the minister) *half* the parlia-"ment to keep it *quiet*. But as the king's money is not

"sufficient,

"sufficient, they to whom I give none, clamour loudly "for a war. It would be expedient for your eminence "to remit me three millions of French livres, in order "to silence these barkers. *Gold* is a metal, which here "corrects all ill qualities in the blood.—A pension of two "thousand pounds a year will make the most impetuous "warrior in parliament, as *tame as a lamb*." We are likewise informed that in order to procure a parliamentary approbation of the peace in 1763, besides increasing the number of officers in the Royal household, twenty-five thousand pounds were issued in *one day*, in bank notes of one hundred pounds each, for which the only stipulation was, "give us your vote": and that in the first three years of the reign of George III. upwards of thirty-thousand pounds were paid to *writers*, for calumniating the late king, Mr. Pitt, &c. whilst a *political judge* was ready to punish those who attempted to undeceive the public.

Is it not time, then, that the public should be undeceived? Is it not high time, that the nation should know *what it is* which renders the government of England (I speak not of the *constitution*, for it has never had a trial) the most expensive in Europe? Is it not time that the people should be apprized of the cause why industry is harrassed, and that we are driving our manufactories to countries where they will not be borne down with intolerable burdens?—In proportion to the necessity which there is of the public mind being enlightened, will be the efforts of statesmen to keep it in the dark. But in the same proportion ought the friends of their country to exert themselves, to pour light upon their fellow citizens. Let this be their primary object.

It

object. It is the intereſt of the people to open their eyes; and if when they behold their intereſt, they will not regard it, they *deſerve* no farther aſſiſtance. But I truſt we are not yet arrived at that height of national depravity. I could, therefore wiſh that in every town or village, aſſociations were formed for acquiring political information, and for obtaining a thorough reform in the repreſentation of the people. Subjoined to this letter is the ſketch of a plan for ſuch aſſociations, which, if you approve the idea, you will, I doubt not ſubmit to the public attention. Impreſſed by the conviction, that THE LOUDEST CALLS FOR ENQUIRY, ARE THE PROCLAMATIONS OF THE FEARS OF STATESMEN.

I am,

A PLEBIAN.

A Plan for aſſociations of good citizens, for the purpoſe of obtaining political information, and for promoting an effectual reform of parliament.

1. LET every member declare that he is determined as far as in him lies to preſerve the public tranquillity, and that his object in joining the aſſociation is to acquire that knowledge of national affairs which concerns every citizen, and to diminiſh the burdens and the vices of the people, by ſeeking, in a peaceable manner, an equal repreſentation in parliament.

2. Let the ſociety conſiſt of no more than ten perſons, [A greater number would not be perfectly compatible with that order which is requiſite in a reading and converſation club.]

3. Let

3. Let them meet once a week, or once a fortnight, either at their own houſes in rotation, or at ſome public houſe. In the latter caſe no member ſhould upon pain of a forfeiture ſpend more than threepence. In either caſe they ſhould break up early. (The reſpectability and advantage of the aſſociations, depend upon an inviolable adherence to theſe regulations.) There ſhould be a ſmall fine for non-attendance.

4. Let a chairman and a reader be choſen, for limited periods.

5. One hour at every meeting to be ſpent in reading ſome publication agreed upon by the ſociety, and calculated to inform Britons of their rights, their duties and their intereſts. [If I recommend PAINE; it does not preclude me from recommending BURKE. The truth will never ſuffer, by being examined on every ſide. Paine has this in his favour, that being a citizen of America he is not likely to be warped by party intereſts. He has not enliſted under the banners of the Whigs or Tories, of churchmen, or of diſſenters. "I am known" ſays he, "not to be a preſbyterian: and therefore the cant cry "of court ſycophants, about church and meeting, kept "up to amuſe and bewilder the nation, cannot be raiſed "againſt me.—Every religion is good that teaches man "to be good."]

6. No converſation ſhould be ſuffered till the reading is over; unleſs it be to throw light upon ſomething obſcure, and with the expreſs approbation of the chairman.

7. The time which remains after the reading is finiſhed, to be ſpent in converſation upon ſuch ſubjects as relate to the object of the aſſociation.

8. Let persons of all religious parties be admitted as members. (It is a common concern which occupies the attention of the society, and no man of character, should be rejected. I am satisfied, however, that churchmen must compose the body of almost every such association. Dissenters will often be disposed to hang back, from the unjust and illiberal suspicions which we so often throw out against them. However, let them have it in their power to enter: no doubt, they will refute by their actions the calumnies of their adversaries.)

9. Let no question of religious controversy be discussed at the meetings of the society. If any thing relating to such questions occur in the course of reading; let it be heard in silence. (I do not propose this rule from any aversion to such discussions, but from an anxiety to guard against any thing which may be unfavourable to the harmony of the body.)

10. Let the several societies in the same place have at certain times a general meeting, and appoint a committee to correspond with societies at a distance, and to nominate a delegate, when necessary, to confer with the delegates of other societies for promoting a parliamentary reform.

It is also needless to add that any books of political information, will in general be read with much greater advantage by associations, than by individuals. Additional light will be thrown upon the subject, by such observations as will be naturally suggested, according to the different genius and attainments of the persons concerned.

ON

ON IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

BY publiſhing the following ſentiments of the celebrated Dr. Samuel Johnſon, on the above intereſting ſubject, you will oblige a conſtant reader of the PATRIOT, and

Your very humble ſervant,
PHILANTHROPOS.

AS I was paſſing lately, under one of the gateways of this city, I was ſtruck with horror by a rueful cry, which ſummoned me to remember the poor debtors.

The wiſdom and juſtice of the Engliſh law are, by Engliſhmen at leaſt, loudly celebrated; but ſcarcely the moſt zealous admirers of our inſtitutions can think that law wiſe, which, when men are capable of work, obliges them to beg: or juſt, which expoſes the liberty of one to the paſſions of another.

The proſperity of a people is proportionate to the number of hands and minds uſefully emp oyed. To the community, ſedition is a fever, corruption is a gangrene,

grene, and idleneſs an atrophy. Whatever body, and whatever ſociety, waſtes more than it acquires, muſt gradually decay; and every being that continues to be fed and ceaſes to labour, takes away ſomething from the public ſtock.

The confinement therefore of any man, in the ſloth and darkneſs of a priſon, is a loſs to the nation, and no gain to the creditor. For of the multitudes who are pining in thoſe cells of miſery, a very ſmall part is ſuſpected of any fraudulent act, by which they retain what belongs to others. The reſt are impriſoned by the wantonneſs of pride, the malignity of revenge, or the acrimony of diſappointed expectation.

If thoſe who thus rigorouſly exerciſe the power which the law has put into their hands, be aſked, why they continue to impriſon thoſe whom they know to be unable to pay them; one will anſwer, that his debtor once lived better than himſelf; another that his wife looked above her neighbours, and his children went in ſilk cloaths to the dancing-ſchool; and another that he pretended to be a joker and a wit. Some will reply, that if they were in debt they ſhould meet with the ſame treatment; ſome that they owe no more than they can pay; and need therefore give no account of their actions. Some will confeſs their reſolution that their debtors ſhall rot in gaol; and ſome will diſcover that they hope, by cruelty, to wring the payment from their friends.

The end of all civil regulations, is to ſecure private happineſs, from private malignity; to keep individuals from the power of one another: but this end is apparently neglected, when a man irritated with loſs is allowed to be the judge of his own cauſe, and to aſſign the puniſh-

ment

ment of his own pain; when the distinction between guilt and happiness, between casualty and design, is entrusted to eyes blind with interest, to understandings depraved by resentment.

Since poverty is punished among us as a crime, it ought at least to be treated with the same lenity as other crimes; *the offender ought not to languish at the will of him he has offended, but to be allowed some appeal to the justice of his country.* There can be no reason why any debtor should be imprisoned, but that he should be compelled to payment; and a term should therefore be fixed, in which the creditor should exhibit his accusation of concealed property. If such property can be discovered let it be given to the creditor, if the charge is not offered or cannot be proved, let the prisoner be dismissed.

Those who made the laws have apparently supposed that every deficiency of payment is the crime of the debtor.

But the truth is, that the creditor always shares the act, and often more than shares the guilt of improper trust. It seldom happens that any man imprisons another but for debts which he suffered to be contracted in hope of advantage to himself, and for bargains in which he proportioned his profit to his own opinion of the hazard; and there is no reason why one should punish another for a contract in which both concurred.

Many of the inhabitants of prisons may justly complain of harder treatment. He that once owes more than he can pay, is often obliged to bribe his creditor to patience by encreasing his debt. Worse and worse com-

commodities at an higher and higher price are forced upon him; he is impoverished by compulsive traffic, and at last overwhelmed in the common receptacles of misery, by debts, which, with his own consent, were accumulated on his head. To the relief of this distress, no other objection can be made, but that by an easy dissolution of debts fraud will be left without punishment, and prudence without awe, and that when insolvency shall be no longer punishable, credit will cease.

The motive to credit is the hope of advantage.—Commerce can never be at a stop, while one man wants what another can supply; and credit will never be denied while it is likely to be repaid with profit. He that trusts one whom he intends to sue, is criminal by the act of trust; the cessation of such insidious traffic is to be desired, and no reason can be given why a change of the law should impair any other.

We see nation trade with nation, where no payment can be compelled. Mutual convenience produces mutual confidence; and the merchants continue to satisfy the demands of each other, though they have nothing to dread but the loss of trade.

It is vain to continue an institution which experience shews to be ineffectual. We have now imprisoned one generation of debtors after another, but we do not find that their numbers lessen. We have now learned, that rashness and imprudence will not be deterred from taking credit! Let us try whether fraud and avarice may more easily be restrained from giving it.

BOROUGH

BOROUGH REPRESENTATION.

CAMELFORD.

Political Character.— THIS is a corporation borough. The Rev. Mr. Philips, a clergyman, is leader or patron. The Duke of Bedford has alſo ſome pretenſions to family-intereſt in this borough, ſupported by property in its vicinity. But the Rev. Patron contrives, with the aſſiſtance of Government, whoſe *good things* in this place and neighbourhood are only to be acquired through the medium of his intereſt, to have the members of his recommendation returned.

Right of Election. Willis ſtates is in the mayor, eight capital burgeſſes, and ten freemen; but according to Simeon, it is in the burgeſſes paying ſcot and lot. Auguſt 1, 1660.

Number of Voters, 19. *Returning Officer*, the mayor. *Patron*, Rev. Mr. Philips.

KELLINGTON, OR CALLINGTON.

Political Character. This borough has upwards of 400 inhabitants, whoſe elective franchiſes are not clearly aſcertained. The influence was jointly poſſeſſed by the Duke of Bedford and the late Earl of Orford: the intereſt of the latter is ſuppoſed to have devolved on Mr. Trefuſis, with the title of Lord Say and Clinton.

Ancient Repreſentation. This was the laſt town in Cornwall that was admitted to their original rights of ſending members of parliament: for they returned no repreſentatives until 27th Eliz. 1585.

Corporation.

Corporation, none; but the town is governed by a Portreve, choſen at the Court Leet of the Lord of the Manor; and the inhabitants who have lived in the place a year, are admitted as burgeſſes.

Right of Election, is indefinite and not aſcertained. *Number of Voters*, 50. *Returning Officer*, the Portreve. *Patrons*, Duke of Bedford and Lord Say and Clinton.

EAST LOOE.

Political Character. This is one of thoſe boroughs which exerciſe their elective privileges, not at the free will of its inhabitants, but at the dictates of perſonal influence.

Ancient Repreſentation, Although this is an ancient borough, it was not admitted to a ſhare of the legiſlature, if it may be ſo called, before 13th Eliz. But the inhabitants, in conjunction with Fowey, ſent once before, a merchant to a council of trade at Weſtminſter.

Corporation. This inſignificant village was firſt incorporated by Queen Eliz. A. D. 1567. The corporation conſiſts of nine burgeſſes, one of whom is annually choſen mayor; and they have jointly the power of electing a recorder. The corporation has the toll of the market, and holds the manor of the town from the Duchy of Lancaſter at a fee farm rent of 20s. per anu.

Right of Election, is in the mayor, burgeſſes and freemen. *Number of Voters*, about 50. *Returning Officer*, the mayor.

Patron, Mr. J. Buller, who is proprietor of the borough.

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday December 11, 1792.

Report of the Committee of the House of Lords in Ireland.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

YOUR publication is every day becoming more interesting and important. I congratulate you thereon, but much more so the public, who will derive such immense advantages from it. I have viewed its progress hitherto with silent admiration, and I should think myself criminal if I had it in my power, in times like the present, to contribute towards enlightening the public mind, with respect to the innumerable abuses with which they are so heavily oppressed, and did not do it. I therefore beg your acceptance of the following curious and authentic paper, together with some remarks thereon, which if deemed worthy of a place in the PATRIOT, is entirely at your service.

I am Sirs, your's, &c.

Gray's Inn, Oct. 25, 1792. ALFRED.

LORD RANELAGH IN THE CHAIR.

My Lords,

THE select committee to whom the consideration of the petition of the Clerk of the Parliaments, Gentlemen Usher of the Black Rod, and Serjeant at Arms, on behalf of themselves and the other officers and servants attending this Right Honourable House was referred, have met, and on examination of some of the clerks, who, by order of this House, were sworn at the table, have directed me to make the following report, viz.

Mr. Edmund Fenner being examined, saith, that he was employed and brought into the parliament office by Mr. Sterne, in session 1755, that he paid him for his attendance, but not regularly; and that the largest sum Mr. Sterne gave him at any time, was something more than 30l. and being asked if he did not act under Mr. Hutchinson, the clerk assistant, he answered he did not; but that at several times he assisted the clerks in general, and without receiving any gratuity or reward from any of them; that this House was pleased, the last session of parliament to grant him the sum of 106l. 13s. 4d. but had never granted him any before; and as some of their lordships were then pleased to mention to him, that they wished a continuance of it for the future, he believed that was the cause for submitting it to the consideration of your committee this session, as clerk in the parliament office.

Being farther examined, whether he was deputy to any of the clerks, he answered that he was not, but that Dr. Gayer proposed to engage his attendance upon as advantageous terms as Mr. Sterne had done, and that

Doctor

Doctor Gayer never gave him any gratuity except a piece of linen cloth, which said Fenner did not think himself entitled to; and he further said that he always thought Doctor Gayer was one of the Patentee clerks, and that the other clerks were subordinate to the patentee.

Your committee then proceeded to examine Doctor Gayer, who being asked whether the profits arising from the office of clerk of the parliament, have been, or are at present entirely received by, or appointed to his own use, and to no other; he answered, that he submitted to the justice of their lordships, as it might affect him and his family to answer to the question put to him: and being ordered to withdraw, was again called in, and the question being again repeated, answered, that they have been received by him and applied to his own use, and no other hitherto; and being further asked, whether he was under any contract to any person whatsoever to pay any part of his emoluments as clerk of the parliaments, or did he receive his present office under any such condition? answered, that the patent is to him and his brother only, and that he was not under any contract in writing, but that he is under a point of honour to part with some part of the profits, and that to a person unknown to him; and being ordered to withdraw, was again called in and asked, what proportion of the emoluments was he engaged in point of honour to pay to the person unknown? to which Doctor Gayer answered, he could not tell until he knew what the emoluments were; and being asked what sum he was to receive thereout? answered 200l. for his proportion of the whole, either for a year or session. And being ordered to withdraw, was again called in, and asked, to whom he was under a point of honour to part with

any

any of the emoluments to the perſon unknown? to which he ſaid he could give no anſwer. And being then ordered to withdraw, was again called in, and the queſtion being a ſecond time read to him, and alſo being informed by the Lord in the chair, that he would not only incur the cenſure of that committee, but that the committee would direct the chairman to move the Houſe to have him committed to cloſe confinement for the remainder of the ſeſſion, if he did not give a categorical anſwer to the queſtion. And Doctor Gayer ſaid he would give a categorical anſwer, but that if it was not for the ſake of his wife and children, that he would go to Newgate and remain there, and then anſwered the queſtion by ſaying it was Lord Beauchamp; whereupon the committee came to the following reſolution:

RESOLVED, that the ſeveral fees and ſums appointed for this Houſe by its clerks, are in conſideration of their ſervices, and intended for the ſole uſe of them and of no other perſon.

Carried in the committee, 14 for it, againſt it 11. The following reſolutions were moved in the Houſe.

1. Reſolved, That it appears to this Houſe, that Doctor Gayer is bound by a point of honour to give part of the emoluments of his office as clerk of the Houſe of Lords, to a perſon unknown to him.

2. Reſolved, That Doctor Gayer is to receive but 200l. for his proportion of the whole profits of the ſaid emoluments.

3. Reſolved, That the ſaid Doctor Gayer is under a point of honour to the Right Honourable F. S. Conway

way, commonly called Lord Viscount Beauchamp, to part with the emoluments of his said office to a person unknown, except the sum of 200l. which he is to receive for his own use.

4. Resolved, That it appears to this House, that the sum of 200l. per session is sufficient for the person exercising the office of clerk of the parliaments, and that the House ought not to address his excellency the Lord Lieutenant for more than the said sum.

5. Resolved, That an humble address be presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, humbly praying him to lay before his Majesty, the special report from the committee, for settling the allowances of the servants of this House, together with the several resolutions entered into in consequence thereof; humbly beseeching his Majesty, graciously to take the same into consideration, and to act therein as to his royal wisdom shall seem proper.

The following is a List of the Divisions.

For the Resolutions.] Lord Mountmorres, who moved; *Bishops*, the Lord Primate, Derry, Clogher, Limerick; *Earls* of Inchiquin, Carrick, Wandesford, Shannon, Charlemont, Moyra, Courtown, Howth, Miltown; *Viscounts*, Powerscourt, Boyne, Strangford, Glerawly; *Barons*, Branden, Lisle, Blayney, Mount-Florence, Gore, Mount Eagle, Baltinglass.

Against.] *Archbishop* of Dublin, *Bishops* of Cork, Killala, Dromore, Downe, Raphoe; *Earls* of Bellamont, Mornington; *Viscounts*, Duncannon, and Kingston.

So

So much for the fact itſelf. Now gentlemen, permit me to add, that I find upon enquiry, the ſum allowed before the time of this report, to the clerk of the parliaments was 4000l. of which Doctor Gayer received the great and mighty ſum of 200l. for doing all and every thing appertaining to the buſineſs of the office, and this perſon unknown, (Lord Viſcount Beauchamp) or whoever elſe it might be, received the *trifling* ſum of 3800l. for doing no part of the buſineſs, except taking the pledge of a gentleman's honour not to divulge the truth. Thus is a nation pillaged—thus is an overbearing, haughty, aud ſupercilious race of men called nobility, ſupported in pampered luxury and idleneſs, by the toil and labour of the induſtrious community, for the purpoſe of oppreſſing that community by a conſtant ſupport of every meaſure, propoſed by any profligate court, and abandoned and prodigal adminiſtration; to each member of which may in general be applied with the ſtricteſt truth, the character which Salluſt draws of *Catiline* in the following words, *Sui profuſus, alieni apetens, rerum ſimulator et diſſimulator. Prodigal of what is his own, greedy of other mens', a pretender and diſſembler.*"

The Court Calender and other documents of *this* country, inform us, that the *amiable* George Roſe, a few years paſt in the humble ſtation of purſer of a man of war, at this moment enjoys the following places with the ſalaries annexed, viz.

	£.
Secretary to the Treaſury, worth per annum	3200
Clerk of the Houſe of Lords	4000
Maſter of Pleas	1000
Surveyor of Green Wax	600
Keeper of the Records in Weſtminſter Abbey	800
Agent to Dominica	500
	£.10,100

Beſides

Besides the foregoing list, I am credibly informed, and I believe it to be a fact; that he has other places, the emoluments of which, when added to the above, make a snug sum of 14,000l. per annum.

A few observations naturally struck my mind, upon reading the before mentioned report; which by association not to be controuled, brought this worthy gentleman and his list of places fresh into my memory.

It appears that he receives 3200l. per annum as secretary to the Treasury. The very name of this office strikes us with its importance, and we are naturally led to suppose, that from the nature of it, the man who *really* fills it and does the duty of it, may be entitled to this salary. But what are we to think of the next? Clerk of the House of Lords, with the still greater emoluments of 4000l. per annum, which, as the parliament sits only about five months in each year, is nearly 1000l. per month. This is an office that must be actually filled by an efficient person. Is it possible I ask, for Mr. Rose to do the duty of this office, for which he receives this very large sum, the answer is obvious to every one. No. Mr. Rose is a member of the House of Commons, the Minister's *Commis*, or chief clerk there, and obliged to attend his duty in that House at the very same time that the services of Clerk of the House of Lords are wanted there. What then is the fair deduction from these premises? Nothing can be clearer than that Mr. Rose does the duty of Clerk of the House of Lords by deputy:—he has some Doctor Gayer to officiate for him; and suppose we say that he allows this deputy 300l. more than Lord Beauchamp did the poor Doctor, it is still most evident that the nation pays for this office 3500l. more than it ought to do. It

It is equally clear that the Secretary of the Treasury and all the other places are done by deputy, being six in number, I mean of those actually mentioned. If we allow that he pays 500l. a year to each of his deputies, it is certain that the business may be and *is actually done* for as 3000l. per annum, so that this modest gentleman receives 7,100l. per annum for doing what most people call *nothing at all.*

But it seems the merits of this gentleman's services have been *recorded.* By a late trial, not only the present, but future ages may learn, that the Secretary of the Treasury did in the presence of the Minister, hire the owner of a public house, to engage in a Westminster election on the side of the court candidate; that an exchequer fine levied for a breach of the laws, was mitigated as a recompence to the publican for engaging heartily in the cause; with other facts equally honourable.*

* Trial of George Rose, Esq. Printed for Jordan, 3d edition, of which the following is an extract.

Examination of George Clubb one of the Treasury Messengers.

Q. Was Mr. Smith (the publican) never introduced to Mr. Rose? A. Sir, I had the honour of producing the interview between these two gentlemen. Q. You said that you mentioned the name of Smith to Mr. Rose. A. I put down the names of Mr. Smith's house, and of his brother's house: and suggested to Mr. Rose and Mr. Steel, that they were proper houses. Q. Was any other person present? A. I cannot recollect who was in the room when that was mentioned? Q. You must recollect sir. A. Mr. Pitt. You say then that Mr. Pitt was in the room with Mr. Rose and Mr. Steel, at the time you suggested to them the propriety of opening Mr. Smith's house for Lord Hood and his friends? A. He was.—Q. What made you think that Mr. Smith's house was more proper to be opened than any other? A. Because he was a patriotic man, and I thought he would go any length in the cause, and therefore

I

Such are the recorded merits of Mr, George Rose; the public will judge for themselves, how highly he deserves the emoluments of 14,000l. per annuum with which he is gratified. The *red book* of France has wonderfully opened the eyes of the people and shewn them plainly how they *were ruined*. The *red book* of this country is still kept out of view except to the *elect*, the chosen *few*, who are allowed *a peep behind the curtain*.—However it requires no great sagacity or extraordinary penetration, if we reflect on Mr. Rose's pretty little sinecures and then think how many, many more there must be of the same sort, and in the same predicament—to give a pretty substantial reason for Englishmen being taxed in the shameful manner they are—and the fangs of excise extended till its griping fingers nearly embrace the whole products of the land, * which they will soon do if

I recommended him to Mr. Pitt, Mr. Steele, and Mr Rose. (the first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the two Secretaries of the Treasury).

Mr. Frost, agent to Lord Hood, in his evidence declared, that he, Frost, asked Mr. Rose whether Smith might be trusted? Mr. Rose replied, "I might with great safety trust Smith, *for they knew him well*." When I was speaking to Mr. Rose of Smith, (adds Frost) Mr. Rose said, "That there was something of a prosecution "going

* Nor is this the worst, for the vast swarm of understrappers employed on this business are or may be very useful in the honourable capacity of spies upon the public, and by means of the frequent sittings can inform their immediate superiors what they have observed, which may again be reported higher if needful. They can also circulate ministerial Pamphlets when so directed, and give intimations to the owners of public houses, not to admit holding societies for Constitutional Information within their premisses, *cum multis aliis &c. with many others &c.*

The Editor.

if not speedily stopped by the patriotic exertions of a whole people thus mercilessly plundered and oppressed without pity or commiseration.

"going on with the excise against Smith, and as a mark of the trust "and confidence they had in him, they had interfered and stepped "in to serve him." Mr. Frost likewise mentioned, that "he kept "a distinct account of those persons employed by the treasury, from those he employed as "agent to Lord Hood."

It has been matter of surprize how Mr. Pitt, to whom all parties will allow the praise of being (in his way) a consummate statesman could suffer this electioneering dispute with a publican, (who gained his cause) to be brought to trial. Report says, it was done to determine a variety of similar disputes. If this is not the case, it shews that the Minister has that opinion of the people, as to imagine they can bear any contemptuous treatment whatever.

An additional fact has lately been laid before the public, which if the people at large have any value for the Constitution, they will not suffer to pass over in silence. A person of the name of Hoskins charged with penalties on the Lottery Act to the amount of 700l offered, if he was let out on such Bail as he would produce, to bring up 60 votes for the Ministerial Candidate at the Westminster Election; Lord Hood. The Solicitor of the Lottery was applied to, who said he could not act on the business without consulting higher authority. That higher authority *was* consulted, and the consequence was, Hoskins was released on *bad* bail, brought up his 60 votes, and has not since been heard of. It appears by Mr. Fox's speech that "compromises of various sorts have been made between Lord Hood "and his Solicitor, upon an action brought on his Solicitor's bill; "and that Lord Hood had undertaken to pay that Solicitor a large "sum, provided he would give up certain papers, and that one of "those very papers was of the hand writing of his Majesty's Chan-"cellor of the Exchequer upon the subject of the Westminster elec-"tion."

These transactions have been *twice* brought before the House of Commons. *Twice* has that House, by a large majority, refused to appoint a Committee of Enquiry. It is not a little remarkable, that

THE PRINCE's DEBTS.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

I AM a plain Man living in the country, and in order innocently to fill up a leisure hour, I sometimes read the newspapers, for you must know that our parson and a few more neighbours, join with me in paying the expence of one. I have lately seen with concern, an article in a late paper informing me, that a certain person of great rank, hath run so far into debt, as to render it necessary for him to lay his affairs before the parliament, the next session; by which I understand that he means to ask them to discharge his debts; it was naturally for me, upon reading this, to ask our parson what was the amount of this yearly income? I was told near 100,000l. Well, said I, this is a prodigious sum; how does he get so much money? I was answered the public allows it him. I asked again, what hath he done to deserve

at when the above facts were last brought before the house, the inister and his friends were totally silent, and depended wholly their numbers.

☞ Mr. Fox's speech above alluded to, shall be given in our ext number. *The Editors.*

deserve it? To this I could get no other answer than that he was eldest son to————and therefore is justly entitled to it and as much more if he wished for it———— Then said I, how does he spned it? for such a sum of money would keep a thousand * families in this country very comfortably, and I hear that he hath neither wife nor children. To this the parson could only say, that he knew no more of the matter than myself, but that there were people at London who could tell. I think he called them officers of the household; he further observed that there were some people of Newmarket who knew still more about it. But as I have no acquaintance with these great folks, I despair of ever knowing how this money is spent unless some of your correspondents are in the secret. It gives me the greatest concern, however, to hear that this "first gentleman" (as he hath been called) owes a million of money; for if the money is paid at all by parliament, it must come out of the people's pockets, and part of it out of mine, when I think myself pretty well taxed already. What must be done? There is a good deal of time for people who (like me) would rather pay their *own* debts than *other folks'*, to consider the case before parliament meets. Suppose Gentlemen, that the good people of England who are so *fond of addressing*, were to address this "first gentleman" and desire him to tell them what he hath done with all this

* If our Correspondent is really what he appears to be, some intelligent villager, he will be surprized, yet more when he reads the following passage from Cooper's spirited reply to the invective of Burke. "The income of his Majesty which has been regarded "not more than necessary for the maintenance of regal dignity may "be reckoned at *twelve hundred thousand per annum*. Supposing the "average price of labour to be one shilling per day, his Majesty's sev "pences consume the perpetual daily labour of above SIXTY THOU "SAND MEN." Cooper's Reply, p. 19.

this money. This, surely, is a reasonable request from those who are expected to pay the debt. But I scarcely dare propose this plan of addressing, lest our boroughs, &c. should run into the usual form of addresses, viz. thanking his Highness for his condescension, in making known his intentions to the public, and offering to do their utmost to accomplish his wishes; for you know gentlemen, they elect the members of parliament, and the parliament *sometimes* follow the sentiments of their electors—In short, I am afraid it will come to this, that we must pay the money, unless the people will openly and generally express their disapprobation of the proposal, and petition the parliament against it when they meet.

W. T.

Tickhill, Oct. 1, 1792.

POLITICAL CONTRASTS.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

THE conduct of the writers of what are in general called the *Ministerial Papers*, is so great an insult on the rational and candid part of mankind, that instead of adding weight to the present measures of government,

the subjects of their adulation must inevitably sink beneath the monstrous burden of disgraceful flattery, contemptible argument, and most abandoned prostitution of the human understanding, that ever disgraced a civilized and enlightened people. The abolition of the *Slave Trade*, and the French Revolution, are the objects of their *execration*;—our commercial prosperity, and the late Royal Proclamation, are the subjects of their *admiration* and *panegyric*; every circumstance that in the least merits praise, or will even admit of commendation, is placed to the credit of the ministry; the contrary is, with equal facility, attributed to the opposite party, whatever can contribute to raise our national character *must* proceed from the minister, *he* is the fountain of our prosperity: population and commerce depend on *his* support.

It is not in newspapers alone that we find opinions equally as absurd and *industriously dispersed, tending to raise jealousies and discontents in the minds of his Majesty's faithful and loving subjects*, every other method that malevolent ingenuity can devise, is made use of to spread the alarm; an alarm as false as it is ridiculous, and that has not even a single ray of truth, or glimpse of probability, to support it: the *Bottle Conjuror* himself did not presume more upon the ignorance and credulity of the nation formerly, than these pensioned tools of power do now.

Mr. Paine's Book is the object held up to public view as containing sentiments highly dangerous and alarming, but on impartial enquiry, it will not be found so dreadfully alarming as it is generally represented; the great misfortune is, that nine in ten, or what will

be nearer the truth, ninety-nine in a hundred who expreſs the moſt dreadful apprehenſions, have *never read*, this very celebrated performance. If we conſider the book as an eſſay on civil government, Paine has ſaid no more than what many have ſaid before him; and if we conſider it as a defence of religious liberty, he has ſaid more in one ſingle page on this moſt intereſting ſubject, than other writers of firſt rate abilities have been able to ſay in a whole volume: let the candid reader examine Mr. Locke's book on government, and he will meet with doctrines equally formidable. Indeed, Mr. Locke was ſo apprehenſive of giving an alarm to government, that he thought it neceſſary to make an apology, and particularly to mention in his preface his own attachment to the King and Conſtitution: but had Sir Robert Filmer never publiſhed his abſurd opinions on the origin of kingly power, probably Mr. Locke would not have written on the ſubject of government: which would have been one of the greateſt misfortunes to mankind that could have happened, and is one of the moſt ſtriking proofs of *good* very often ſpringing out of *evil*. In the ſame manner, if Mr. Burke had never publiſhed his abſurd and contemptible book on the French Revolution, Paine, Mackintoſh, and many others, would, in all likelihood, neither have been tempted nor provoked to have publiſhed their opinions.

Paine without doubt, has expreſſed himſelf with exceſſive freedom whenever he has had occaſion to mention monarchs, or treat on monarchy; but Burke's *fulſome flattery*, may be conſidered as one principal cauſe of it, and on this account many perſons are diſpoſed to think it a ſufficient apology for every expreſſion that Paine has made uſe of. But can a genius ſo ſublime as

that

that of Mr. Burke, be guilty of *error?*—A writer of such brilliancy of fancy, so abundant in metaphor, and whose extensive knowledge knows no bounds—are such rare abilities to be prostituted only to *amuse and delude mankind?*—Amusement is all that can be expected.* It is impossible that the language of Burke should ever become the vehicle of either improvement or instruction. His partiality for metaphorical decoration appears on every occasion; and how far he excells in the ornamental

* We wish that justice and truth would permit us to think along with this valuable correspondent that amusement is the only thing to be expected from the perusal of the *reflections* of Mr. Burke, since trifling as this result would be, it would be innocent. But we fear that much worse consequences have followed the perusal of the work in question, and that it has been the means of raising a spirit of envy, hatred, and all uncharitableness. A writer whose wisdom and knowledge is, if possible, surpassed by his moderation and candour, is compelled by truth to say, "He saw the happy opportunity, and he seized "it, but not without some prudent delay produced his reflections; "written in a mode of eloquence that is impure indeed and mere-"tricious; but not ill calculated by rapid declamation, and splendid "imagery to surprize and seduce the public opinion. By his vehe-"ment harangues in Parliament against the repeal of the Test Act, "the minds of zealous churchmen had been duly prepared to re-"ceive the intended impression.—By this more vehement publication "the fears, the rage, and all the holy antipathies of our zealots were "increased to an extravagant degree, the most odious and chimerical "suspicions were widely spread, and received with implicit credulity; "the bigotry of the great vulgar, and the small, was thoroughly "inflamed; and Intolerance was stimulated by the self vaunted friend "of toleration to repeat at Birmingham the same horrid excesses, "which at the instigation of a wild fanatic in 1780, had convulsed the "empire and nearly consumed the capital." See Mr. Wyville's masterly defence of the Reformers, a pamphlet which classes among the first in the Burkean controversy and desreves the careful perusal of all the friends to a parliamentary reform.

The Editors.

tal part of language, the introduction of the story of the Little Red Riding-Hood, in one of his speeches in the House of Commons, where he compared Lord North to a wolf in an old woman's red cloak, is a clear and satisfactory illustration. On another occasion he said—"But "an Englishman would fight best with a full belly." Such language is a full answer to itself and would disgrace the lash of criticism; but such is the eloquence of Mr. Burke, who has had the reputation of being considered one of the first orators in the British senate. With respect to his knowledge on other subjects, let us refer to his celebrated work, and amidst a new created chaos of errors of all kinds and degrees, we shall find, in page 234, the following sublime and truly philosophical rhapsody:—"To destroy any power growing wild from the "rank productive force of the human mind, is almost "*tantamount*, in the moral world to the destruction of "the apparently-active properties of bodies in the mate-"rial: it would be like the attempt to destroy (if it "were in our competency to destroy) the expansive "force of fixed air in nitre, or the power of steam, or "of electricity, or of magnetism." This wonderful assemblage of philosophical language, was without doubt intended by the ingenious writer, to prove to the world his extensive knowledge of science in general; and indeed has succeeded with the bulk of his readers, at least with those whose scientific attainments are on a par with his own. But unfortunately for our learned author and his friends, nitre does *not* contain fixed air. Probably, Mr. Burke knowing that gunpowder was made of nitre, and having heard talk of fixed air, and not knowing that it was destructive of inflammability, and consequently an unfit ingredient in the composition of gunpowder, he flattered himself that this expression would display his

knowledge of chemistry; but on the contrary, this single sentence proves with the strongest evidence, that Mr. Burke has not the most humble claim to such substantial and truly ornamental accomplishments.

It is a reflection on our national character, that a book so replete with contradiction and absurdity, should have met with such general attention, such blind admiration and such undeserved respect;* but had it been still more contemptible, whilst his pen pours forth such vast torrents of flattery to monarchs and monarchy, to ministers and men in power, to Lords spiritual and Lords temporal, and not only to *great men*, but also to *great women*; if a spark of gratitude still remains, or if self partiality has not fallen a holy martyr to repletion, they cannot refuse their patronage, nor withhold a pension from so thorough-paced an advocate: political enthusiasm cannot deny her extensive patronage, nor party zeal withhold her protection and support. But this kind of writing has one great merit, that it has had the sanction of ages, and it would be the height of injustice not to mention it: let the reader examine the language made use of by all great politicians, at least for two centuries past, and he will find that the principal object of these great and learned men has been to introduce a multiplicity

* We are much inclined to believe from the passage above quoted and many others in the same *rhapsodical farago*, that vast numbers of those who *pretend* to admire Mr. Burke's reflections are in the same predicament with the condemners of Mr. Paine—and that *really* and *truly* they have not read his work—and with regard to those who *have* done so, we shrewdly suspect they judge of the merits of the writing in the same way that *Bonniface* did of Father Foigard's latin—who on being asked if he understood *latin*, very honestly answered, NO—"but he was sure it must be *excellent* because he spoke "it so fast."

The Editors.

multiplicity of words that would admit of both different and oppolite fignifications, and thus conveniently ferve a variety of purpofes: examples of this kind are to be found in almoft every page of the Englifh Hiftory, and I am forry to add that fuch is the fafhion of the prefent day. But perhaps the miniftry intended that the proclamation fhould be confidered as a compliment on Mr. Burke's ftile and compofition, when they made ufe of a name fo verbofe, *to infinuate one thing and expreſs the contrary.*

The paffage that particularly juftifies this aſſertion is, where "All magiſtrates of Great-Britain are charged "and commanded to make diligent enquiry, in order to "difcover the authors and publifhers of fuch wicked "and ſeditious writings"* as are there alluded to. If the magiſtrates had been commanded to cauſe thoſe wicked and ſeditious authors to be apprehended and brought to juſtice, we might have conjectured who they were, and might have concluded that Burke, Paine, &c. &c. were the objects of their cenſure. But whatever the

* How far theſe reſpectable gentlemen have exerted themſelves, or ſucceeded in ſuch exertions, is not fully known; as the proſecution of Mr. Paine is the only one yet commenced, and this took place *before* the proclamation appeared. If however, common fame is not more than uſually falſe, ſome perſons have given certain maſters of public houſes to underſtand that if they admit the members of Conſtitutional Societies to meet in their houſes it may occaſion the recal of their licences. Some moroſe perſons may be apt to ſay that this premonition ought to have been extended to thoſe landlords who ſuffer perſons to gamble, tipple and ſpend the Sabbath in riot and drunkenneſs at their houſes: but who will not admit that a Conſtitutional Society, tho' conducted with ever ſo much ſobriety and decorum is not infinitely more wicked than a ſociety of drunkards, gamblers, and Sabbath-breakers?

The Editors.

the people of England may think to the contrary, it is evident that the wicked and seditious writings in question are *anonymous*, and both the authors, printers, and publishers' names *unknown*; for if they were already *known*, the magistrates certainly would not have been commanded to discover *who they were*.

But this is a happy method of accommodating both parties; the admirers of Burke will conclude that Paine is the person alluded to, and the opposite party may fairly contend that Paine is as free as Burke from this ministerial censure. Mr. Burke first lighted up this political controversy, and has treated the *people* of England with more freedom and indecency than it was possible for Paine to express himself with on the opposite side of the question.

The same licentious party spirit which first recommended Mr. Burke's book, to the attention of the public still prevails with undiminished energy; it is the same licentious party spirit which first set Birmingham into a blaze, and then gave protection to the incendiaries; it is the same licentious party spirit, which now *falsely* accuses the friends of liberty, of endeavouring to subvert our present constitution; and it is the same licentious spirit on the one side, that calls forth contemptuous resentment on the other. Let licentious flattery, and licentious commendation cease, and opposition which now stands forward in her own defence, will cease to importune the public for a just and equitable participation of their attention.

Inner Temple, CANDIDUS.
Sept. 5, 1792.

ON

ON THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

Continued from Page 165.

ON the 19th of March, the great Council of the nation met. James was determined to ſhine in the double capacity of King and Orator, and addreſſed the aſſembly in a copious harangue. After having thrown out many hints concerning the ſufficient right he had attained from his title, he expreſſed his ſatisfaction for the cordial reception he had received from his ſubjects on his firſt entry into his new kingdom. "Shall I ever, "ſaid he, nay, can I ever be able, or rather ſo unable "in memory, as to forget your unexpected readineſs "and alacrity, your ever memorable reſolution, and your "moſt wonderful conjunction and harmony of your "hearts, in declaring and embracing me as your un-"doubted and lawful King and Governor? Or "ſhall it be ever blotted out of my mind, how at "my firſt entry into this kingdom, the people of all "ſorts rid and ran, nay rather flew to meet me: their "eyes flaming nothing but ſparkles of affection; their "mouths and tongues uttering nothing but ſounds of "joy; their hands, feet, and all the reſt of their "members, in their geſtures diſcovering a paſſionate long-"ing and earneſtneſs to meet and embrace their new "ſovereign."

"sovereign." He then expatiated on the manifold blessings England had received in his person, which would make their measure of happiness full, if the two nations were united in one Kingdom. "He was the "husband, he said, and the whole island his lawful wife, "and he hoped no one was so unreasonable as to think "that a christian King under the Gospel should be a "polygamist, and husband two wives." He opened to them his opinion and intentional conduct towards the papists and dissenters. "He acknowledged the Roman "Catholic to be the mother Church, though defiled "with some impurities. He did not wish the down-"throwing of the temple, but that it might be purged "and cleansed from corruption; he had not like Reho-"boam, increased their burdens, but lightened them "as much as time, occasion, or law, could permit; "and was even then considering how some overtures "could be proposed to the present parliament, to light-"en the burden of laws against them. He would be "content, for his part, to meet them half way, so that "all novelties might be renounced on both sides. As "to the sects of Puritans and Novelists, being impatient "of superiority, they were unsuffered in any well go-"verned commonwealth; his course towards them he "remitted to his proclamation made on that subject."

This speech which was tediously prolix, did not gain the applause, nor produce the satisfaction which James expected; or rather it dissatisfied every body. The Roman Catholics were not content with his distinctions, though he had hinted that his only objection to their faith was the single tenet of allegiance to the Pope. The Puritans, a then numerous sect in England, were exasperated at his branding them as a pestilent set of people,

destructive

destructive to the commonweal. The protestants in general disliked his favourable declarations to the papists, and the whole nation was offended at the hints he threw out towards an union with Scotland.

After a recognition of the King's title, the first motion of the Commons was the redress of grievances. The following ones as the most notorious, were enumerated by Sir Robert Wroth. The Wardenships of men's children, a burthen and servitude to the subjects of this Kingdom. The general abuse and grievance of purveyors and cart-takers: particular and private patents, commonly called monopolies:* dispensations in penal statutes: transportations of ordnance:† abuses of the exchequer.

In a conference‡ with the Lords on a project to petition the King for leave to take into consideration a recompence

* On the subject of Monopolies it was ordered by the lower House. "That those which find just cause of grievance should bring in their complaints in writing, to the end they might be understood and considered of by the Committees; and a law framed thereupon according to the cause.

† This article which brought to the Crown an income of 30col. a Year, had been often represented by the Commons, during the Administration of Elizabeth, as a great grievance to the Nation by supplying their enemies the Spaniards with these tremendous arms on easy terms.

‡ In this conference was flung out an extraordinary argument for his time, "That a people may be without a king, a king cannot be without a people." *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. i. p. 156. However extraordinary this argument might be for *that time*, certain it is, no argument or position was ever more rational and true. Indeed it is a *self-evident* proposition. A king draws his whole substence from a people; and according to Rabelais, "*A King does not subsist upon a little.*" *The Editors.*

recompence to be given in exchange for wardſhips,* the Lords heartily joined in the cauſe, and recommended to them to comprize in the petition, purveyorſhip, licenſe of alienation, reſpite of homage, and other burthens, which ſtretched prerogative had made intolerable.

Theſe ſpirited exertions were rendered uſeleſs by an incident which diſturbed the concord now ſubſiſting between the two houſes. One of the prohibitions in the King's proclamation was, that no outlaw ſhould be returned. Sir Francis Goodwin was pronounced ſo by the Lord Chancellor, his ſeat vacated, and Sir John Forteſcue, an old ſervant of the crown, and favourite with the miniſtry, choſen in his room. The Houſe reverſed the Chancellor's decree, and reſtored Sir Francis Goodwin. The Lords, by the inſtigation of the King, who thought his authority affected, deſired a conference on the ſubject. The Commons peremptorily refuſed it, as the point in queſtion regarded their own privileges. This occaſioned expoſtulations between the King and the Commons. The King ſaid, "He was loath to alter his tune, and that he ſhould now change it into matter of grief by way of conteſtation. He did ſample it to the the murmurs of the children of Iſrael. He did not attribute the cauſe of his grief to any purpoſe of the houſe "to offend him, but only to a miſtaking of the law. He "had no purpoſe to impeach their privileges; but "ſince

* The Commons appealed to the laws of nature and reaſon for the equitableneſs of their demand in reſpect to Wardſhips. "It is "but a reſtitution, ſaid they, of the original right of all men by the "laws of God and nature; which is, that children ſhould be "brought up by their parents and next of kin, and by them to be "directed in their marriage." *Journals of the Houſe of Commons*, vol. i. p. 227.

"since they derived all matters of privilege from him, "and by his grant, he expected they should not be turned "against him. That there were no precedents, did suit "this case fully: precedents in the times of minors, o "Tyrants, *(well said James Stuart)* of women, of *sim-* "*ple* Kings, *(well said James again)* not to be credited, "because for some private ends. That by the law, the "House of Commons ought not to meddle with returns, "being all made into the Chancery, and to be corrected "or reformed by that court alone."

The debates of the Commons on this subject were spirited. It was said by one member, that there was a just fear of some great abuse in the late election: that the King had been misinformed: that he had too many misinformers: that now the case of Sir John Fortescue and Sir Francis Goodwin, was become the case of the whole kingdom: that old Lawyers forget, and commonly interpret the law according to the time: that by such a course the free election of the country was taken away, and none would from henceforth be chosen but such as should please the King and Council. "Let us therefore, "adds he, with fortitude, understanding, and sincerity, "seek to maintain our privilege, which cannot be taken "or construed any contempt in us, but merely a main- "tenance of our common right; that right which our "ancestors have left us, and is just and fit for us to trans- "mit to posterity.* "We should taint ourselves with

"three

* This was an argument worthy of an enlightened Senator, and a true Englishman; and ought to be ever indelibly fixed in the breast of every Briton at this day. It is our especial *duty* to guard, protect and defend the rights of posterity, as well as those which only affect *ourselves*. And that man ought to be considered as base, degenerate, and unworthy the blessings of freedom, who can meanly attend to his

"three great blemiſhes, ſaid another member, if we "ſhould alter our judgment; levity, cruelty, and cow- "ardice. No court can reform their own judgment.— "Every act that paſſeth this Houſe, is an act of parlia- "ment. Shall juſtice float up and down? Shall he be "a member to day, and ſhall we tear him off tomorrow? "Let Sir Francis Goodwin ſtand as he is. Duty and "courage may ſtand together; let not the Houſe be in- "veigled by ſuggeſtion; this may be called a *quo war-* "*ranto* to ſeize all our liberties."

Upon the queſtion, the Houſe reſolved to ſtand by their former judgment. James ſent them this peremptory meſſage, "That he commanded as an abſolute "King, *(pretty well this for a man who in the laſt page* "*was attempting to invalidate the precedents of* TYRANTS) "a conference with the Judges."* To this command, expreſſed thus violently and abſurdly, the commons, though in contradiction to their former votes aſſented.— The iſſue of the conference was favourable to liberty; for the King being preſent, by the deſire of the Commons, was ſo much gravelled at the many precedents brought againſt him, that he compromiſed the affair.— Both of the Members were ſet aſide, and the Commons obtained a firm eſtabliſhment of the eſſential privilege of judging

his own intereſts, and thereby betray or weaken thoſe of his immediate or remote Succeſſors. It is alas, but too common to ſee this done in *this our day*, but we ſhall ever ſay with Addiſon—

"Oh for a bolt
"Pig with uncommon Wrath, to blaſt the Man
"That owes his greatneſs, to his Country's ruin."—*Cato.*

The Editors.

* The Judges had given an opinion againſt the Commons.

judging of returns. The King said, "He granted it "royally as King James, sweetly and kindly, out of his "good nature." Notwithstanding, the contest ended thus favourably, many of the spirited Members were offended at the concession of giving up their elected.—The Committee* who managed the affair was severely reproached for exceeding their authority in giving a consent without having first consulted the House; and a motion was made that it might be done by warrant, and therein inserted, "by the request of the King." †

(To be continued)

BOROUGH

* Sir Francis Bacon, one of the Committee, gave the report of the Conference in the following strain: "The King, said he, would "be President himself. This attendance renewed the remembrance "of the last, when we departed with such admiration. It was the "voice of God in man; the spirit of God in the mouth of man: "We might say as was said to Solomon, we are glad, O King! that "we give account to you, because you discern what is spoken. "How to report his Majesty's speech he knew not; the eloquence "of a King was inimitable."

This Sir Francis Bacon, from his whole conduct in the reign now spoken of, seems to have been the "who wants me" of *that* day.

† The outlawry of Sir Francis Goodwin was brought in on purpose to serve Sir John Fortescue, as appears from the following passage in a letter from Cecil to Mr. Winwood. "Sir Francis Goodwin "having laboured to be Knight of Buckinghamshire, to the exclu- "sion of an ancient Counsellor, Sir John Fortescue, it was advised "by the King's learned Council and Judges, whether there were not "some means to avoid it. Whereupon it being found that he was "outlawed, and so certified by the sheriffs, consequently a new writ "was sent forth by virtue whereof Sir John Fortescue was cho- "sen." *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol ii. p. 18 and *seq.* It is to be noted here that in the disquisition of this affair, it appeared that Goodwin's outlawry was an irregular one; and that if it *had* been regular, it was pardoned by an act of grace.

BOROUGH REPRESENTATION.

LAUNCESTON—CORNWALL.

Political Character. THIS is the County Town; and its inhabitants are more numerous than Corniſh boroughs are in general. The inhabitants have the peculiar privilege, if it may be ſo called, of having the corporation ſelected from among themſelves; but as they have no voice in electing them, and as a corporator may become an inhabitant for the purpoſe of being inveſted with this franchiſe, and ceaſe to be one the moment he is admitted into the corporation; it can only be conſidered as a form without an eſſence. This borough is ſubject to the influence of the Duke of Northumberland, under whoſe direction every member of the corporation is admitted, and upon whoſe patronage they are all dependent.

Ancient repreſentation. This borough ſent to parliament ever ſince 23d. Edward I. It had a Mayor in the time of Edward IV.

Corporation

Corporation. It was incorporated by Mary, Anno 1555, according to its present establishment, which consists of a Mayor, Recorder, and eight Aldermen.

Number of Voters—20. Returning Officer—The Mayor.

Patron.—Duke of Northumberland.

Political Anecdote.—George Rose, now secretary to the treasury, being in 1788, obliged to vacate his seat for this town, in consequence of his being appointed clerk to the house of peers, was refused his re-election.

GRAMPOUND.

Political Character. Although it is a scot and lot borough, it is so very insignificant as scarcely to deserve the name of a village. The borough is entirely the property of Lord Eliot; and its representation is in consequence at his lordship's disposal. So poor are the inhabitants, that out of 200 not more are deemed able to pay scot and lot than 25.

Ancient Representation.—It was made a borough in the reign of Edward III. but sent no members to parliament until the reign of Edward IV.

Corporation.—The town is governed by a Mayor, eight Aldermen, a Recorder, and a Town Clerk.

Right of Election.—Is in the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and inhabitants paying scot and lot.

Number of Voters.—25. *Returning Officer.*—The Mayor.

Patron.—Lord Eliot.

ST. GERMAINS.

Political Character.—The parish of St. Germain's is the largest in the county, it being above 20 miles in compass, and contains more gentlemen's seats and lordships than any other in the kingdom. The town, while it was the residence of the bishops, was very considerable: it is now, however, a mean place, consisting only of about fifty or sixty fishermen's huts, placed near the church. Nevertheless, it has a free school, endowed by the Eliot family, who generally possess the elective patronage in this borough, as well as in Grampound.

Ancient Representation.—The first return of members to parliament for this place was 5. Elizabeth.

Corporation.—None. There is, however, a Portreve elected annually at the Lord's Court leet. This Portreve is also Bailiff of the borough, and can make any house the prison of the person he arrests.

Right of Election.—The members are chosen by the householders who have lived a year within this borough; which contains only the huts above mentioned, the rest of the parish being excluded.

Number

Number of Voters—is reduced from 50 to 20.—*Returning Officer*—the Portreve.

Patron.—Lord Eliot, whose family purchased Port-Eliot from Mr. Champernoun, who acquired this priory in the following whimsical manner; as related by Carver's Survey of Cornwall.

"Upon the dissolution of Abbeys, time, Henry "VIII. when that King profusely shared the lands, "among his craving courtiers, two or three gentlemen, "the King's servants and Master Champernoun's ac-"quaintance, waited at the door where the King was "to pass, with purpose to beg such a matter at his "hands. Our gentleman became inquisitive to know "their suit; they made strange to impart it. This "while outcomes the King; they kneel down; so doth "Master *Champernoun*. Afterwards he requires his share; "they deny it: he appeals to the King; the King avow-"eth his equal meaning in the largest (viz. that he had "granted it to all three.) Whereupon the overtaken com-"panions were fain to allot him the priory for his part-"age."

The

THE STATE OF THE CLOSED BOROUGHS,

And of those which have not more than Two Hundred Electors in each.

No. of Boroughs containing	*Ostensible Electors in Boroughs*	*No. of Boroughs*	*No. of Members*	*No. of Members*		*Influence of Lords*	*Members by*	*Influence of Commoners*	*Total of Members*
From 1 to 5 in each	15	in 5 send	10 of which	8		5 &	2	2	10
5 20	248	17	32	18		9 &	14	11	42
20 30	378	15	29	22		13 &	7	5	71
30 40	592	17	32	22		11 &	10	8	103
40 50	631	13	26	15		9	11	8	129
50 70	568	9	18	15		8	3	3	147
70 100	1746	19	35	17		10	18	11	182
100 150	2059	16	32	16		6	16	9	204
150 200 &c.	4207	22	44	25		16	19	14	258
Totals	10439	133	258	158	*are sent by*	88	100	71	

The extent of this estimate takes in only 133 boroughs, of which nearly one half are now closed, and none of these which retain any shadow of elective rights consist of more than 200 electors.

Thus it appears that a majority of the English members of the House of Commons is sent in (we cannot say *elected*) by ostensible electors in number, 10439

Can there be a greater absurdity than to propose that this small number of electors, many of them of the lowest order, should be permitted to send a majority of the legislators for 7 or 8 millions of people, even supposing they were all free agents, and persons of property? But from this number must be deducted puppet-electors, in such of these boroughs as are *closed*, where the electors are the servants and dependents of the proprietors of the boroughs and have no more will of their own than Mr. Punch has in a puppet show, in number, 5734

Deduct also the ostensible Electors in six of the Cinque Ports, in the Treasury, &c. Boroughs under the direction of the Ministry, and under two hundred Electors in each 574

Deduct further, four of the venal Boroughs, containing short of two hundred Electors in each, amounting to 373

947

Number of *real* Electors which send a majority of English Members 3758

It is unnecessary to observe, to such as are at all acquainted with the ministerial art of conducting the business of the House of Commons, by means of the Pocket-list, Red-book, &c. as displayed in the Anecdotes of Lord Chatham, that the Electors in these six of the Cinque Ports, as well as the other two, and also those in the Treasury, Admiralty and Ordnance Boroughs are entirely at the disposal of the Servants of the Crown: or that those in the venal Boroughs sell their share of the representation to the highest bidder, and consequently dispose of it to the Treasury, the Nabob of Arcot, or the Rajah of Tanjore, &c.

Thus it appears most evidently, that a majority of the members for England, are sent in by the treasury, and about 60 Lords and as many Commoners in conjunction with 3758 apparent real electors. Upon this the most favourable view of the representation, what right have seven millions of people *to boast of a free and glorious Constitution*, and of exercising the power of granting their own money!

But, alas! this is far short of a true state of the matter; for it is further to be observed that this small number of apparent electors for about seventy insignificant boroughs are almost all under the immediate direction and controul of some Lord of parliament, or some opulent Commoner, so that this majority is in fact sent in by little more than 130 persons, and these mostly of the Lords, who ought to have no manner of concern in this business.

And thus we see the delusive idea (thrown out by De Lolme and others, equally ignorant of the real state of the representation) of the balance between the legislative

lative, judicial, and executive departments of our Constitution entirely vanishes, as it is more fully demonstrated upon a complete review of the whole representation.

SCRUTATOR.

ON THE SLAVE TRADE.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

THE recent very numerous and respectable petitions, which have issued from every part of this country, to procure the abolition of the infamous traffic in our fellow men, and the probability of their being soon repeated, render the insertion of the following conclusion of an address on the same subject, from the "Friends of the Blacks," in Pensylvania, very opportune. The benevolent, firm, and manly stile in which it is dictated, and the abhorrence of injustice, of oppression, and of slavery, which it expresses, mark the dignity of conscious independence, and proclaim it aloud the address of FREEMEN. We do not here discover the narrowness of corporation spirit; we are not here disgusted (as at present in our own country) by the fulsome fawnings of courtly sycophants, nor the ready obedience of servile dependents. Principle, resolution, and expansion of ideas, characterize every sentiment, and while the whole commands our admiration, it exhibits those features which are truly deserving imitation.

Conclusion

Conclusion of an address to the general Convention of 1787. from the Society of Pensylvania.

"We conjure you by the attributes of the Divinity, "insulted by this inhuman traffic; by the union of all "the human race in the common father, and by all the "obligations resulting from this union; by the fear of "the just vengeance of God in National judgments; by "the certainty of the great and terrible day of rewards "and punishments, by the efficacy of the prayers "of good men, who would insult the Majesty of Hea-"ven, if they were to offer them in favour of our "country, as long as the iniquity we now practice con-"tinues its ravages among us; by the sacred name of "christians; by the pleasures of domestic connections, "and the anguish of their dissolution; by the sufferings "of our American brethren, groaning in captivity at "Algiers, which Providence seems to have ordained to "awaken us to a sentiment of the injustice and cruelty, "of which we are guilty towards the wretched Africans; "by the respect due to the consistency of the principles "and conduct of true Republicans; by our great and "intense desire of extending happiness to the millions "of intelligent Beings who are doubtless one day to peo-"ple this immense Continent; finally, by all other con-"siderations, which religion, reason, policy, and hu-"manity can suggest—We conjure the Convention of "the United States to make the suppression of the "Slave Trade a subject of serious deliberation."

To advance more on the subject would, after such a quotation, be both unnecessary and injudicious; its native force and eloquence, little need the touching of any commentator.

I am, Sirs, yours, &c.

PHILANTHROPOS.

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday December 25, 1792.

ON THE
ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

Continued from Page 207.

THE Commons were at this time warmly set on the redress of grievances; and, in all probability, for that price, would have indulged the king in his darling project of an union of the two kingdoms. This matter of (grievances) had been from time to time revived in their committees, during the session; and in a conference with the upper house, there were certain sums proposed as considerations for Wardships, Respite of Homage, Licence of Alienation, Tenures *in Capite*, &c. The gleam of public virtue which appeared in the Lords for a short time at the beginning of the session, was now entirely vanished: they not only dissented from, but reproached

reproached the Commons, for their proceedings, and termed the propofals "Propofals to the King for felling "his prerogative."*

This ill fuccefs did not deter them from proceeding with unabated diligence on the abufes in eccleſiaſtical matters. A petition was framed for redreſs, but dropped by the prevailing influence of the Court and Hierarchy. As the Commons had been foiled in all their intentions for the good of the public, they were juſtly determined that it ſhould not be robbed to feed the avarice and luxury of courtiers. (How happy had it been for this country if future Houſes of Commons had remained impreſſed with this virtuous reſolution!) A demanded ſubſidy was ſo vehemently diſputed in the houſe, that the king ſent to deſire it might be altogether laid aſide; and the end of the ſeſſion ſoon followed.

The Commons had nobly aſſerted their privileges† in ſeveral inſtances. The delivery of Sir Thomas Shirley

* In James's reign, the monſter *prerogative* was the univerſal dread both of the Parliament (*the Houſe of Commons we mean*) and *the People*. In the preſent day, that devouring fiend, is ſucceeded by a ſubſtitute not leſs dangerous, called *influence*; at which no part of the Parliament ſeem ſhocked at the appearance;—but which the *People*, have every reaſon to fear and to execrate, as a more certain underminer, and deſtroyer of their deareſt rights and privileges than the other, hideous and baneful as that was.

The Editors.

† Their privileges were then only exerted againſt this dangerous, and all-graſping *prerogative* before mentioned, and they were allotted them by the conſtitution for that very purpoſe; the neceſſity of which had been foreſeen by our wiſe and cautious anceſtors. In the preſent day they are too often turned againſt the *people*, and converted

ley, one of their members, who had been committed to the Fleet, was demanded and obtained; and the Warden punished for contempt of the house, in refusing to release his prisoner. In this case a vote had been carried by a majority of seventeen, for six of the members to be sent by the house, with the Sergeant and Mace, to require the delivery; but they were deterred from the resolution, by a representation of the Speaker, that the members who entered the prison in that manner, would be by law subject to an action. Sir Herbert Crofts, one of the members, coming up with others, to hear the king's speech, was insulted by a Yeoman of the Guards, who shut the door against him, saying, "Good man, Burgess, you come not here." The Commons resented the insult, as an affront upon the whole house; and their anger was with difficulty appeased by the Yeoman's asking pardon for his fault, and receiving on his knees a reprimand from the Speaker.

A treaty of peace was this summer concluded between Spain and England, and in the beginning of the following year, the Earl of Nottingham, the lord high admiral

converted into engines of tyranny and oppression. They have often of late years, been used to make the *servants* of the *people* their masters; and we now are continually insulted with the preposterous terms "*the omnipotence of parliament*;" an idea destructive of the freedom of this country; and which if submitted to, must effect its slavery. It takes its rise from the usurpations of the Parliament, in making itself first triennial, and then septennial: than which nothing can be more clear: for if every man had his right of suffrage restored, which has been basely filched from him, and elections were *annual*, as they ought to be, and *were*, till the Revolution; where would be the boasted *omnipotence*? or if the word *must* be retained, it would at least never be used but for the *benefit* and *advantage* of the *people*—never *against* it. *The Editor.*

admiral, was fent ambaffador to Spain, to ratify the treaty. The embaffy, like all others in this reign, was gaudy and pompous. Sixty noblemen and gentlemen of the firft rank accompanied the Ambaffador, befides the others, who with their attendants, compofed a train of fix hundred and fifty perfons.*

The ceremony of taking leave of the king is a ftrong picture of this age of parade. James, being at Greenwich, the Ambaffador with his retinue, all richly dreffed, waited on him there. In the Ambaffador's train, were fix trumpeters clad with orange coloured damafk; fix footmen in orange tawny velvet, alike fuited; fix pages clad alfo in orange tawny velvet, with cloaks of the fame colour; thirty with cloaks of black velvet; fourfcore yeomen, apparelled with cloaths of orange cloth, guarded with filver and blue filk lace†. *Guthrie*, Vol. 3. p. 644. *Stow*, p. 899.

Immediately

* There is no poffibility of fubduing or preventing the aflociation of ideas. Hence it is that we cannot avoid reflecting when we read of the above embaffy, on that which lately departed from hence to China, under the auffpices of the prefent adminiftration, and of which Lord Macartney is the chief; an embaffy which, it is confidently faid, will coft this country, *one million of money*, at the leaft:—and it is faid, as *confidently*, that the odds are ten to one, this gallant Lord notwithftanding all the wonderful curiofities he carries out with him, will never be admitted to an audience of the Emperor of China, nor within many leagues of his *Capital*. We underftand that a retreat is provided in India for this noble Ambaffador, in cafe he fails in his miffion,—leaft the immediate fight of his countrymen on fo melancholy an occafion, fhould cauſe him *to bluſh to death*. The prefent adminiftration, are in no fear of being *affected fo deeply*. *The Editor.*

† Stone, the *fool*, was whipped at Bridewell for faying that there were fixty fools gone to Spain, befides the Lord Admiral and his two fons.

Immediately after the conclusion of this peace, the town of Ostend capitulated. It had been three years besieged by the Spaniards. All the articles of this peace were much disliked by the people, and with great reason. Sir Charles Cornwallis, the King's resident in Spain, writes thus of it to Secretary Cecil, June 2, 1605.

"I find here by many arguments, that this peace "came opportunely for this kingdom, and is admired "of all Europe, yea of this kingdom itself; how it was "possible with such advantageous conditions to them, "and so little profitable to our realm, it could be effect-"ed. The Duke of Aneta, discoursing to one of great "privacy and trust with him, after that he had heard "that the peace was in such form concluded, said in "plain terms, that the King and Counsellors of England "had not their senses when in such sort they agreed up-"on it; and some Spaniards have lately reported, that "the King of Spain's money* purchased this quiet, "otherwise peace with so good conditions would never "have been obtained.

"By those collections that I have made, and rela-"tions of others well practised in this state, I find that "England

In the present day, there are *no fools* kept at Court; but if a late embassy should fail as it is shrewdly suspected will be the case, there will no doubt be many *dupes* ready to exclaim with the Poet.

"Heu patior telis vulnera facta meis." *Ovid.*
Alas the wounds we now endure,
Which our own folly did procure.
The Editors.

* This country has been often sold to France and Spain. See Anecdote from Memoirs of the Marchioness of Pompadour, in the preceeding Number of this Work, p. 170.

"England never loſt ſuch an opportunity of winning "honour and wealth into it, as by relinquiſhing the war "with Spain. The King and kingdom were reduced "to ſuch eſtate, as they could not in all likelihood, have "endured the ſpace of two years more; his own trea- "ſury was exhauſted; his rents and cuſtoms ſubſigned "for the moſt part, for the payment of the money bor- "rowed; his nobility poor and much indebted; his "merchants waſted; his people of the country in all "extremity of neceſſity; his devices of gaining by the "increaſe of the valuation of money, and other ſuch of "that nature, all played over; his credit in borrowing "by means of the uncertainty of his eſtate, during the "war with England, much decayed; the ſubjects of "his many diſtracted dominions held in obedience by "force and fear, not by love and duty, and therefore "rather a care and burden, than a relief and ſtrength "to him; himſelf very young, and in that regard with "his people in no great veneration, and the leſs for ſuf- "fering himſelf to be wholly governed by a man gene- "rally hated by his own country; his ſtrength at ſea "not able to ſecure his ports at home, much leſs "his Indies, or his treaſury homeward." *Winwood's* Memorials, Vol. 2. p. 75 *et ſeq.*

The court of James at this time diſplayed a ſumptu- ous appearance*, and the charms of finery infected the town, whilſt the pernicious luxury was ſanctified under the ſpecious pretence of cultivating the arts of peace, and extending the commerce of England.

(To be continued)

BRITISH

* The entertainment for the Conſtable of Spain coſt James upwards of 300l. a day, and the Duke of Holſtein, brother to the Queen, had a large appointment.

BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

If we may venture to judge of the taste and sentiments of our numerous readers, by our own, we think we cannot gratify them more highly than by making this Number of the PATRIOT a record, at this truly interesting and important period, of His MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH TO BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT,—and also of that most splendid specimen of Eloquence and Oratory, delivered by the Right Hopourable CHARLES JAMES FOX, on the motion for an Address, in which is displayed the deepest and most extensive political knowledge; the most manly and independent sentiments; blended throughout with such beautiful and striking TRAITS of real Philanthropy and genuine Patriotism, as form altogether an assemblage of all that is great and good in Man, and wise and politic in the Senator. Were we to indulge our feelings in sounding his praise, we should go on a great length indeed; but as the speech itself is its own and best panegyric, we shall content ourselves with this small and feeble tribute of our thanks and approbation: only requesting leave to add, that it ought in our opinion to be indelibly impressed in the mind and memory of every well-wisher to the rights, interests, and liberties, of the people of Great Britain.

THE EDITORS.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"HAVING judged it necessary to embody a part of "the militia of this kingdom, I have, in pursuance of "the provisions of the law, called you together within "the time limited for that purpose; and it is on every "account a great satisfaction to me to meet you in Par-"liament at this conjuncture.

"I should have been happy if I could have an-"nounced to you the secure and undisturbed continu-"ance of all the blessings which my subjects have "derived from a state of tranquillity; but events have

"recently

"recently occurred, which require our united vigilance "and exertion, in order to preserve the advantages "which we have hitherto enjoyed.

"The seditious practices which had been, in a great "measure, checked by your firm and explicit declara- "tion in the last session, and by the general concurrence "of my people in the same sentiments, have of late "been more openly renewed, and with increased acti- "vity.

"A spirit of tumult and disorder (the natural con- "sequence of such practices) has shewn itself in acts "of riot and insurrection, which required the interpo- "sition of a military force in support of the Civil Ma- "gistrate: the industry employed to excite discontent "on various pretexts, and in different parts of the "kingdom, has appeared to proceed from a design to "attempt the destruction of our happy Constitution, "and the subversion of all order and government; and "this design has evidently been pursued in connexion "and concert with persons in foreign countries.

"I have carefully observed a strict neutrality in the "present war on the Continent, and have uniformly "abstained from any interference with respect to the "internal affairs of France; but it is impossible for me "to see, without the most serious uneasiness, the strong "and increasing indications which have appeared there, "of an intention to excite disturbances in other coun- "tries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and "to pursue views of conquest and aggrandizement, as "well as to adopt towards my Allies, the States Gene- "ral, who have observed the same neutrality with my- "self, measures, which are neither conformable to the

"law-

" law of nations, nor to the positive stipulations of ex-
" isting treaties. Under all these circumstances, I have
" felt it my indispensible duty to have recourse to those
" means of prevention, and internal defence, with which
" I am entrusted by law: And I have also thought it
" right to take steps for making some augmentation of
" my naval and military force; being persuaded that
" these exertions are necessary in the present state of
" affairs, and are best calculated both to maintain inter-
" nal tranquillity, and to render a firm and temperate
" conduct effectual for preserving the blessings of peace.

" Nothing will be neglected on my part, that can
" contribute to that important object, consistently with
" the security of my kingdoms, and with the faithful per-
" formance of engagements which we are bound by in-
" terest and honour to fulfil.

" *Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

" I have ordered the estimates for the ensuing year
" to be laid before you, and I have no doubt that you
" will be ready to make a due provision for the several
" branches of the public service.

" You will certainly join with me in lamenting
" any necessity for extraordinary expences, which
" may for a time prevent the application of additional
" sums beyond those which are already annually appro-
" priated, to the reduction of the public debt, or re-
" tard the relief which my subjects might have derived
" from a further reduction of taxes.

" But I am confident you will feel, that those great
" ends will ultimately be best promoted by such exer-
" tions as are necessary for our present and future safety,
" and tranquillity.

" And

"And it is a great consolation to me to reflect, that "you will find ample resources for effectually defraying "the expence of vigorous preparations, from the excess "of the actual revenue beyond the ordinary expendi- "ture.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I have great pleasure in acquainting you, that the "brilliant successes of the British arms in India, under "the able conduct of the Marquis Cornwallis, have led "to the termination of the war, by an advantageous and "honourable peace, the terms of which are peculiarly "satisfactory to me, from their tendency to secure the "future tranquillity of the British dominions in that "part of the world.

"Your attention will now naturally be directed to "such measures for the future government of those va- "luable possessions, as shall appear from experience and "full consideration, most likely to provide for their in- "ternal prosperity, and to secure the important advan- "tages which may be derived from thence to the com- "merce and revenue of this country.

"I am persuaded that it will be the object of your "immediate consideration, to adopt such measures as "may be necessary, under the present circumstances, "for enforcing obedience to the laws, and for repressing "every attempt to disturb the peace and tranquillity of "these kingdoms.

"You will be sensible how much depends on the re- "sult of your deliberations; and your uniform conduct "is the best pledge that nothing will be wanting on your

"part

"part which can contribute to the present security and "permanent advantage of the country.

"I retain a deep and unalterable sense of the repeated "proofs which I have received of your cordial and affec- "tionate attachment to me: and I place an entire re- "liance on the continuance of those sentiments, as well "as on your firm determination to defend that Constitu- "tion which has so long protected the liberties, and "promoted the happiness of every class of my subjects.

"In endeavouring to preserve, and to transmit to "posterity, the inestimable blessings which, under the "favour of Providence, you have yourselves experien- "ced, you may be assured of my zealous and cordial "co-operation; and our joint efforts will, I doubt not, "be rendered completely effectual, by the decided sup- "port of a free and loyal people."

The Address moved for was, as usual, a direct echo to the speech.

MR. FOX's SPEECH,

ON THE MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

Mr. *Fox* now rose, and said, Although what has fallen from the noble Lord behind me, contains the sub- stance of almost all that I have to offer, and although it produced the effects which good sense, truth, and solid argument, never fail to produce on a great body, the tacit acknowledgment of all who heard him, insomuch, that no one seemed ready to venture to rise up in answer to his Lordship, yet I must deliver my opinion on this most imminent and most alarming occasion.—I am not a little acquainted with the nature of man, as not to know, that in speaking in public, in order to engage the

cordial

cordial attention of the hearers, beſides the efficacy of fair and candid reaſoning, a man ought always to be in temper and uniſon with his audience. He ought to ſhew that, however they may differ upon points, he purſues in reality the ſame object as themſelves, the love of truth. With this view, I ſhall ſtate explicitly what are my ſentiments on the ſubject now preſented to us by the ſpeech from the throne. I ſtate it then to be my opinion, that we are aſſembled at the moſt critical and moſt momentous criſis, not only that I ever knew in the fate of this country, but that I ever read of in the hiſtory of this country—a criſis not merely intereſting to ourſelves and to our own condition, but to all nations and to all men—and that upon the conduct of Parliament, in this criſis, depends not merely the fate of the Britiſh Conſtitution, but of doctrines which go to the happineſs and well-being of all human kind. I hope then I am in temper and uniſon with the houſe in this declaration of my ſentiments; whether we agree in the motives of our ſentiments we ſhall ſee, for I will as frankly, and as openly as poſſible, communicate my reaſons for conſidering the preſent moment in this alarming light.

His Majeſty's ſpeech is full of a variety of aſſertions, or perhaps I ſhould not make uſe of the word aſſertions, without adding, that it has alſo a variety of inſinuations conveyed in the ſhape of aſſertions, which muſt impreſs every man with the moſt imminent apprehenſions for the ſafety of every thing which is dear to Engliſhmen. It is our firſt duty to enquire into the truth of theſe aſſertions and inſinuations ſo conveyed to us from the throne. I am ſure I need not recur to the old parliamentary uſage of deſiring, that when I ſpeak by name of the King's ſpeech, I mean to be conſidered as ſpeaking of the ſpeech of the Miniſters, ſince no one will impute to me the want

of

of the most true and sincere respect for his Majesty. It is to the speech which his Majesty has been advised by his confidential servants, to deliver from the throne. They are responsible for every letter of it, and to them, and them only, every observation of gentlemen are addressed. I state it to be my firm opinion and belief, that there is not one fact stated in his Majesty's Speech which is not *false*—not one assertion or insinuation which is not unfounded. Nay, I cannot be so uncandid as to believe, that even the Ministers themselves think them true. This charge upon his Majesty's Ministers is of so serious a kind, that I do not pronounce it lightly, and I desire that gentlemen will go fairly into the consideration of the subject, and manifest the proper spirit of the Representatives of the people in such a moment. What the noble Lord said is most strictly true. The great prominent feature of the Speech is, that it is an intolerable calumny on the people of Great-Britain; an insinuation of so gross and so black a nature, that it demands the most rigorous enquiry, and the most severe punishment. The next assertion is, that there exists at this moment an insurrection in this kingdom. An insurrection! Where is it? Where has it reared its head? Good God! an insurrection in Great-Britain! No wonder that the militia were called out, and Parliament assembled in the extraordinary way they have been; but where is it? Two gentlemen have spoken in commendation and illustration of the Speech, and yet, though this insurrection has existed for fourteen days, they have given us no light whatever—no clue—no information where to find it. The Right Honourable Magistrate tells us, that, in his high municipal situation, he has received certain information which he

he does not think proper to communicate to us. This is really carrying the doctrine of confidence to a length indeed—Not content with Ministers leading the House of Commons into the most extravagant and embarrassing situations, under the blind cover of confidence, we are now told that a municipal Magistrate has information of an insurrection, which he does not chuse to lay before the Commons of England, but which he assures us is sufficient to justify the alarm that has spread over the whole country. The Honourable Gentleman who seconded the motion tells us, that the "insurrections are too notorious to be described." Such is the information which we receive from the Right Honourable Magistrate, and the Honourable Gentlemen who are selected to move and second the Address—I will take upon me to say, that it is not the notoriety of the insurrections which prevents them from communicating to us the particulars, but their non-existence. The Speech goes on in the same strain of calumny and falsehood, and says—the industry employed "to excite discontent on *various pretexts*, and in different parts of the kingdom, has appeared to proceed from a design to attempt the destruction of our happy Constitution, and the subversion of all order and government." I desire Gentlemen to consider these words, and I demand of their honour and truth if they believe this assertion to be founded in fact. There have been, as I understand, and as every one must have heard, some slight riots in different parts, but I ask them, were the *various pretexts* of these different tumults false, and used only to cover an attempt to destroy our happy Constitution? I have heard of a tumult at Shields—of another at Leith; of some riot at Yarmouth, and of something of the same nature at Perth and Dundee. I ask Gentlemen if they believe that in each

each of these places the avowed object of the complaint of the people, was not the real one—that the sailors at Shields, Yarmouth, &c. did not really want some increase of their wages, but were actuated by a design of overthrowing the Constitution? Is there a man in England who believes this insinuation to be true? And in like manner of every other meeting, to which, in the present spirit, men may give the name of tumultuous assembling. I desire to know if there has been discovered any secret motive other than their open and avowed one. And yet with this conviction on our minds, we are called upon to declare directly our belief and persuasion that these things are so—We are called upon to join in the libel upon our constituents. The answer to the speech says, that we know of the tumult and disorder, but as to the actual insurrection, it more modestly makes us say, "That we are *sorry to hear* there is an insurrection." Of the tumults and disorders then we have personal knowledge; but the insurrection we learn from his Majesty's Speech!

I do not wish to enter at length into the affairs of France, which make the next prominent passage in his Majesty's Speech; but though I do not desire to enter at much length into this part, I cannot conceal my sentiments on certain doctrines which I have heard to-night. The Honourable Gentleman who seconded the motion, thought proper to say, as a proof that there existed a dangerous spirit in this country, that it was manifested "by the drooping and dejected aspect of many persons, when the tidings of Dumourier's surrender arrived in England." What, Sir, is this to be considered as a sign of discontent, and of a preference to Republican doctrines—That men should droop, and be dejected!

jected in their spirits, when they heard that the armies of despotism had triumphed over an army fighting for liberty—if such dejection be proof that men are discontented with the Constitution of England, and leagued with foreigners in an attempt to destroy it, I give myself up to my country as a guilty man, for I freely confess that when I heard of the surrender or retreat of Dumourier, and that there was a probability of the triumph of the armies of Austria and Prussia over the liberties of France, my spirits drooped and I was dejected.—What, Sir, could any man who loves the Constitution of England, who feels its principles in his heart, wish success to the Duke of Brunswick, after reading a manifesto which violated every doctrine that Englishmen held sacred, which trampled under foot every principle of justice and humanity, and freedom, and true government—and upon which the combined armies entered the kingdom of France, with which they had nothing to do; and when I heard or thought that I saw a probability of their success, could any man of true British feelings be other than dejected? I honestly confess that I never felt more sincere gloom and dejection in my life, for I saw in the triumph of that conspiracy, not merely the ruin of liberty in France, but the ruin of liberty in England—the ruin of the liberty of man. But am I to be told that my sorrow was an evident proof of my being connected with the French nation, or with any persons in that nation; for the purpose of aiding them in creating discontents in England, or in making any attempt to destroy the British Constitution? If such conclusion were to be drawn from the dejection of those who are hostile to the maxims of tyranny, upon which the invasion of France was founded, what must we say of those men

who

who acknowledge that they are sorry the invasion did not prosper? Am I to believe that the Honourable Gentleman, and all others, who confess their sorrow at the failure of the arms of Prussia and Austria, were connected with the courts in concert, and that a considerable body of persons in this country were actually in the horrid league formed against human liberty? Are we taught to bring this heavy charge against all men, whose spirits drooped on the reverse of the news, and when it turned out that it was not Dumourier, but the Duke of Brunswick who had retreated? No; he would not charge them with being confederates with the invaders of France, nor did they believe, nor durst they believe, that the really constitutional men of England, who rejoiced on the overthrow of that horrid and profligate scheme, wished to draw therefrom any thing hostile to the established government of England. But what, Sir, are the doctrines that they desire to set up by this insinuation of gloom and dejection?—That Englishmen are not to dare to have any genuine feelings of their own—That they must not rejoice but by rule—That they must not think but by order—That no man shall dare to exercise his faculties in contemplating the objects that surround him, nor give way to the indulgence of his joy or grief in the emotions that they excite, but according to the instructions that he shall receive.—That, in observing the events that happen to surrounding and neutral nations, he shall not dare to think whether they are favourable to the principles that contribute to the happiness of man, or the contrary; and that he must take, not merely his opinions, but his sensations from his Majesty's Ministers and their satellites for the time being! Sir, whenever the time shall come that the character and spirit of Englishmen are so subdued—when they shall consent

to believe that every thing which happens around is indifferent both to their understandings and their hearts; and when they shall be brought to rejoice and grieve, just as it shall suit the taste, the caprice, or the ends of Ministers, then I pronounce the Constitution of this country to be extinct. We have read of religious persecutions—of the implacable oppressions of the Roman See—of the horrors of the Inquisition of Spain; but so obdurate—so hard—so intolerable a scheme of cruelty, was never engendered in the mind, much less practised by any tyrant, spiritual or temporal. For see to what lengths they carry this system of intellectual oppression—Under *various pretexts* there have been tumults and disorders, but the true design was to overturn the Constitution—So says the Speech—and mark the illustration of the Right Honourable Magistrate. "There have "been various societies formed in the city of London "(says the Rt. Hon. Magistrate) instituted for the "plausible purpose of merely discussing constitutional "questions, but which were really designed to propagate "these seditious doctrines."—So then, by this new scheme of tyranny, we are not to judge of the conduct of men by their overt acts, but are to arrogate to ourselves at once the province and the power of the Deity—we are to arraign a man for his secret thoughts, and to punish him because we chuse to believe him guilty! "You tell me, indeed" (says one of these municipal inquisitors) "that you meet for an honest purpose—but I "know better.—Your plausible pretence shall not impose upon me—I know your seditious design. I will "brand you for a traitor by my own proper autho"rity."—What innocence can be safe under such a power? What inquisitor of Spain, of ancient or of modern tyranny, can hold so lofty a tone? Well and

nobly,

nobly, seasonably and truly, has the noble Lord (Wycombe) said, and I would not weaken the sentiment by repeating the expression in other words than his own, but that the eternal truth cannot suffer by the feebleness of the terms in which it is conveyed. "There are speculative people in this country who disapprove of "the system of our Government, and there must be "such men as long as the land is free, for it is of the "very essence of freedom for men to differ upon speculative points." Is it possible to conceive, that it should enter into the imaginations of freemen to doubt of this truth? The instant that the general sense of the people shall question this truth, and that opinion shall be held dependent on the will of Ministers and Magistrates, from that moment I say, I date the extinction of our liberties as a people. Our Constitution, thank God, was not made in a day—it is the result of gradual and progressive wisdom. It has grown up in a series, and never, never has the guardian, protecting genius of England been either asleep or satisfied.

——"Oh but man, proud man!
"Dress'd in a little brief authority,
"Plays such fantastic tricks before high Heaven,
"As make the Angels weep.

Now it seems the Constitution is complete—now we are to stand still. We are to deride the practice and the wisdom of our forefathers—we are to elevate ourselves with the Constitution in our hands, and to hold it forth to a wondering world as a model of human perfection. "Away with all further improvement, for it is impossible—away with all further melioration of the state "of man in society, for it is needless. Let no man "touch this work of man—it is like the work of Hea-

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"ven, perfect in all its parts, and unlike every other "work of man, it is neither capable of perversion, nor "subject to decay."—Such is the presumptuous language that we hear, and not content with this haughty tone, they imitate the celebrated anathema of brother Peter, in the Tale of a Tub, and exclaim, "G—d con- "found you all eternally if you offer to believe other- "wise."

Now this, Sir, is the crisis which I think so truly alarming. We are come to the moment, when the question is, Whether we shall give to the King, that is, to the Executive Government, complete power over our thoughts. Whether we are to resign the exercise of our natural faculties to the Ministers for the time being, or whether we shall maintain, that in England no man is criminal, but by the commission of overt acts forbidden by the law.—This I call a crisis more imminent and tremendous than any that the history of this country ever exhibited. I am not so ignorant of the present state of men's minds, and of the ferment artfully created, as not to know that I am now advancing an opinion likely to be unpopular. It is not the first time that I have incurred the same hazard. But I am as ready to meet the current of popular opinion now running in favour of those high lay doctrines, as in the year 1783 I was to meet the opposite torrent, when it was said, that I wished to sacrifice the people to the Crown. I will do now as I did then—I will act against the cry of the moment in the confidence that the reflection of the people will bear me out.—I know well that there are societies who have published opinions, and circulated pamphlets containing doctrines tending, if you please, to subvert our establishments.—I say that they have done nothing unlawful in this, for these pamphlets have not been suppressed by law. Shew

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me the law that orders theſe books to be burned, and I will acknowledge the illegality of their proceeding; but if there be no ſuch law, you violate the law in acting without authority. You have taken upon you to do that for which you have no warrant, and you vote they are guilty. What is the courſe preſcribed by law? If any doctrines are publiſhed tending to ſubvert the Conſtitution in Church and State, you may take cognizance of the fact in a Court of Law. What have you done? Taken upon you by your own authority to ſuppreſs them! to erect every man, not merely into an inquiſitor, but into a judge, into a ſpy, into an informer—to ſet father againſt father—brother againſt brother, neighbour againſt neighbour, and in this way you expect to maintain the peace and tranquillity of the country!—You have gone upon the principles of ſlavery in all your proceedings; you neglect the foundation of all legitimate Government, the Rights of the People.—the *rights of man.*—And ſetting up this bugbear, you ſpread a panic for the very purpoſe of ſanctifying this infringement, while again the very infringement begets and engenders the evil which you dread. One extreme naturally leads to another. Thoſe who dread Republicaniſm, fly for ſhelter to the crown. Thoſe who deſire reform, and are calumniated, are driven by deſpair to Republicaniſm. And this is the evil that I dread. Theſe are the extremes into which theſe violent agitations hurry the people to the gradual decreaſe of that middle order of men who dread as much republicaniſm on the one hand, as they do deſpotiſm on the other—That middle order of men, have hitherto preſerved to this country all that is dear in life, and who I am ſorry to ſay it, is daily leſſening; but permit me to ſay, that while my feeble voice continues it ſhall not be totally

totally extinct—there shall at least be *one* man who will, in this ferment of extremes, preserve the centre point. I may be abused by one side, I may be libelled by the other. I may be branded at one and the same time with the terms of firebrand and lukewarm politician; but though I love popularity, and fairly own that there is no external reward so dear to me as the good opinion and confidence of my fellow citizens; yet no temptation of such complacency shall ever induce me to join any association that has for its object a change in the basis of our Constitution, or an extension of any of these bases beyond the just proportion.—I will stand in the gap, and oppose myself to all the wild projects of a newfangled theory, as much as against the monstrous iniquity of exploded doctrines.—I think the latter is more our present danger than the former. I see not merely in the panic of the timorous, but in the acts of the designing, cause for alarm against the most abhorrent doctrines.

The new associations have acted with little disguise. One of them I must applaud for the sincerity of its practice. Mr. Chairman Reeves says, that they will not only *prosecute*, but they will *convince* men, and they recommend, among other publications, a handbill entitled, "A Pennyworth of Wit," in which, among other odd things, it is said, "Have you not read the bible? "Do you not know that it is there written, that the "King is the Lord's anointed?—But did you ever hear "of his having anointed a republic?" Such is the manner that these associations are to *convince* the minds of men! In the course of the present century, their recommendation would have been prosecuted as high treason. In the years 1715 and 1745 to have dared to say that Kings derived their power from divine right, would have been prosecuted as treason; and I ask you

if,

if, even now, this is the way to inculcate the principles of genuine loyalty? No, Sir! thank God, the people in this country have a better ground of loyalty to the House of Brunswick than divine right—namely, that they are the sovereign of their own election;—namely, that their right is not derived from superstition, but from the choice of the people themselves;—that it originated in the only genuine fountain of all royal power, the will of the many—and that it has been strengthened and confirmed by the experience of the blessings they have enjoyed, because the House of Brunswick has remembered the principles upon which they received the crown. It is rather extraordinary, Sir, that they should hold such a language at this precise moment—that they should think it right to abuse Republics—at the very moment that we are called upon to protect the Republic of Holland. To spread the doctrine that Kings only have divine right, may indispose your allies to receive your proposed succour.—It may be asked, Would I prosecute such papers? To this I answer very candidly, I would not. I never yet saw the seditious paper that I would have thought it necessary to prosecute; but that by no means implies but that emergencies might make it proper, but surely there is nothing so essential to the true check of sedition, as impartiality in prosecution. If a government wishes to be respected, they must act with the most rigorous impartiality, and must shew that they are as determined to prevent the propagations of doctrines injurious to the Rights of the People as they are those hostile to the Rights of the Crown. If men are to be encouraged to rally round the one standard, you must not, you ought not, to prevent volunteers from rallying round the other, unless you desire to stifle in the breasts of men the surest and most active principle of obedience, belief in your impartiality.

When

When I first heard that the Militia were called out, I felt more anxiety and consternation than ever possessed my mind. I thought that certainly they had heard of some actual insurrection, or impending invasion. But when I heard that they were not called out to enable Ministers to send the troops to any distant part, to Ireland, or to Scotland, (where they might know of disturbances. though I did not) but that troops were assembling round London, I firmly believed the whole to be a fraud; for I have friends in and about London, as intelligent, as vigilant, as much interested in the tranquillity of the metropolis, as the Right Honourable Magistrate; and I was confident that an insurrection could not actually exist in London without being known. —I pronounced it in my own mind to be a fraud, and I pronounce it here to be so.—I am not given to make light assertions in this House, nor do I desire to receive implicit belief. I deprecate confidence in my bare assertion. On the contrary, I state, that I believe this pretext to be a fraud, and I entreat you to enquire, that you may ascertain the truth. I know that there are societies who have indulged themselves, as I think, in silly and frantic speculations—and who published toasts, &c. that are objectionable; but that there is any insurrection, or that any attempt was making to overthrow the Constitution I deny. Now if this assertion of Ministers is a falsehood, is it an innocent falsehood? Are the people of this country playthings in the hands of Ministers, that they may frighten them and disturb them at pleasure? Are they to treat them as some weak, jealous-pated, and capricious men treat their wives and mistresses—alarm them with false stories, that they may cruelly feast on the torture of their apprehensions, and delight in the susceptibility that drowns

them

them in tears! Have they no better enjoyment than to put forth false alarms, that they may draw from the people the soothing expressions of agitated loyalty? Or do they think that these expressions, generously, readily made, in favour of the King, whom the people rationally love, may extend in its influence to all the persons that are near his throne? Indulging in this passion, they may keep us incessantly in the tumult of apprehension, until at last they so habituate the mind to dread the evil in this quarter, as to look for it in no other, or to stun it by repeated shocks of fiction into an insensibility of real attack.

His Majesty in the next passage of his speech brings us to the apprehension of a war. I shall refrain at this time from saying all that occurs to me on this subject, because I wish to keep precisely to the immediate object: but never surely had this country so much reason to wish for peace.—Never was a period so little favourable to a rupture with France, or with any power. I am not ready to subscribe exactly to the idea of the noble Lord; but I wish that a motion was proposed by some person, to express our disapprobation of entering upon any war, if we can by any honourable means avoid it.—Let no man be deterred by the dread of being in a minority. A minority saved this country from a war against Russia—And surely it is our duty, as it is true policy to exert every means to avert that the greatest of national calamities. In 1789 we all must remember that Spain provoked this country by an insult, which is a real aggression; we were all agreed on the necessity of the case, but did we go headlong to war? No, we determined with becoming fortitude on an armed negotiation

tiation. We did negotiate and we avoided a war. But now we disdain to negociate. Why? Because we have no Minister at Paris. Why have we no Minister there? Because France is a Republic! And so we are to pay in the blood and treasure of the people for a punctilio! If there are discontents in the kingdom! Sir, this is the way to enflame them. It is of no consequence to any people what is the form of their government with which they may have to treat. It is with the governors, whatever may be the form, that in common sense and policy they can have to do, and if they should change their form and change their governors, their course would remain the same. Having no legitimate concern with the internal state of any independent people, the road of common sense is simple and direct. That of pride and punctilio is as tangled, as it is serpentine. Is the pretext the opening of the Scheldt?—I cannot believe that such an object can be the real cause.—I doubt, even if a war on this pretext would be undertaken with the approbation of the Dutch.—What was the conduct of the French themselves under their depraved old system, when the good of the people never entered into the contemplation of the Cabinet. The Emperor threatened to open the Scheldt in 1786. Did the French go to war with him instantly to prevent it? No. They opened a negotiation, and prevented it by interfering with their good offices. Why have we not so interfered? Because, forsooth, France is an unanointed Republic!—Oh miserable, infatuated Frenchmen! Oh lame and inconsiderable politicians! Why, instead of breaking the holy vial of Rheims, why did you not pour some of the sacred oil on the heads of your Executive Council, that the pride of states might not be forced to plunge themselves and you into the horror of war, rather

ther than be contaminated by your acquaintance! How short-sighted were you to believe, that the prejudices of infants had departed with the gloom of ignorance, and that states were grown up to a state of manhood and reason!

This naturally brings us back again to the business of this day, namely, whether any address should be agreed to or not. I desire them to put it seriously to the conscience and honour of gentlemen to say, if they are not aiding the object of Republicans and Levellers, if they shall agree to plunge this country headlong into a war, or shall agree to do any business, or to give any pledge whatever to the crown, until they enquire and ascertain whether there is an insurrection in this country or not? Shall we declare war without enquiring, whether we are also to have commotions at home? Shall we pledge our constituents to submission, to compliance, without first proving to them that the strong measure of government has been authorised by truth?—If you would have the laws respected by the people, I say again, you must begin by showing that they are respected from above. If you do not prove to the people that there is an actual insurrection (for I leave out impending invasion and rebellion as these are not even pretended) you cannot withhold from them the knowledge that you have acted illegally; and how can you expect rational obedience to the laws when you yourselves counteract them? When you set up the *ratio suasoria* as the *ratio justifica*, the people clearly discern the subtilty and falsehood of your logic, and translate at once your terms into their true English: of real causes and false pretexts. *Ut ameris amabilis esto*, it is true in government and legislation, as it is in manners and private life, and is as well established by

experience

experience.—The people will not be cheated. They will look round, and demand where this danger is to be seen. Is it in England?—They see it overflowing in expressions of loyalty, and yet they libel it with imputations of insurrection. In Ireland—you know there is danger, and dare not own it. There you have prorogued the Parliament to the 17th instant, but not to meet till the end of January for the dispatch of business, though you know that there a most respectable and formidable Convention—(I call it formidable, because I know nothing so formidable as reason, truth, and justice) will oblige you, by the most cogent reasons to give way to demands, which the magnanimity of the nation ought to have anticipated. There you have thus prorogued the Parliament, and deprived yourselves of the means of doing that gracefully which you must do, and which you ought to have done long ago to subjects as loyal, as attached to their King, as abundantly endowed with every manly virtue as any part of the united kingdom. And while the claims of generous, and ill-treated millions are thus protracted, and in addition to the hardship of their condition, they are insulted with the impudent assertion of the *tyrannical ascendancy*, there is a miserable mockery held out of alarms in England which have no existence, but which are made the pretext of assembling the Parliament in an extraordinary way, in order in reality to engage you in a foreign contest. What must be the fatal consequence when a well judging people shall decide, what I sincerely believe, that the whole of this business is a Ministerial manœuvre? Will they own the real truth, and say that they wanted a pretext to assemble parliament to make up for their want of vigilance? They must take their choice, and submit to incur the indignation of their country, or feel themselves in a state of contempt. There are men who in this very act

give

give them the praise of vigilance. They did all this, to be sure with a little harmless fraud, to prevent evils. Let us examine this their claim to vigilance.

This vigilant Ministry saw, nay, if we may take their character from their associates, hoped that France was on the brink of falling a sacrifice to the united force of Austria and Prussia, the two powers of all others, whose union would be the most dreadful thing to England; but they saw no danger in this conquest to England, though thereby these great military powers were to become maritime.—They saw no danger in the union concerted between them, nay, when they had given away Poland in the mean time, because I suppose they thought that when Ockzakoff was gone, the balance of Europe went with it, and they retreated out of the field with disgrace. They gave away Poland with as little compunction as honour, and with the enviable certainty, that their bluftering was laughed at, and despised in every Court in Europe. I know that some of them have inordinate self complacency, yet I will not be so ungandid as to conceal my honest opinion, that there is not among them a single man, whose talents for great and commanding policy have either attracted or secured the confidence of any quarter of Europe. Do they boast of their vigilance? The dextrous surrender of Ockakoff, as they now know, might have saved the fall and ruin of Poland. Do they boast of their vigilance? and had they no apprehension of the union between Austria and Prussia? Had they such total reliance on the moderation of Prussia, on the intimate friendship with, his gratitude to, his confidence in our faithful cabinet! Do they boast of their vigilance, and yet saw nothing of their present dread for Holland and Brabant, on the 30th of September, when to the joy of every man,

whose heart is warmed with the love of freedom; the Duke of Brunswick retreated before the armies of France? Were they vigilant not to foresee the consequences of that retreat, or did they flatter themselves with the weak, the false hope that still the steadiness of men bred up in the trammels of tactics and discipline, would be an overmatch for the impetuosity of men, animated by the glorious flame of liberty? If so, the battle of Jemappe ought, I should think, to have shewn vigilant men their error. That happened on the 6th of November. On the same day the Government of the Netherlands took to flight, and the news arrived in England on the 10th or 12th. What did these vigilant Ministers? On the 17th they prorogued the Parliament to the 3d of January, without even saying it was then to meet for the dispatch of business! And yet on these vigilant men we are to repose, though in the eyes of Europe, in the hearts of Englishmen, an armament in their hands is a proof and earnest of their future humiliation!

They call for subsidiary aid from the loyalty of the people, and to procure this they have recourse to history, and look out for the lucky frauds of former times—They find one of the most lucky frauds was the Popish Plot of the reign of Charles the Second—The same cry they knew was impossible, but a singular one was feasible in the enmity against a Republic. The Protestant Dissenters then were now made the objects of terror, and every art was used to provoke the rage of ignorance and barbarity. The fraud was too successful—Many of my friends from the best motives were deluded into the snare, and that most calamitous of all measures the proclamation, unfortunately for England, met with

their

their countenance. I cannot better describe this calamity than by reading a passage from an eminent historian, on the fatal consequences of the delusion of the Popish plot. My friends will not suffer by being compared to the celebrated Lord Russell:—

'But there were persons it seems ready to adopt, 'his [Oates's] intelligence, imperfect, chimerical, or 'fictitious as it was, and make use of it as a firebrand, 'to light up such a flame of dissention as had like to 'have laid waste the kingdom; and of these, accord-'ing to the distinction already made, some were weak and 'some were wicked. The weak were those who thought 'Popery the great mischief that comprehended all others; 'who mistook prejudice for conviction, credulity for 'candour and rigour for righteousness. These however 'meant well, though they acted ill; and while doing 'the drudgery of a party, persuaded themselves they 'were saving the nation. The wicked were the master 'politicians of the times; who considered Kings not as 'they were, good or ill in themselves, but as they 'were ill or good with respect to their own immediate 'views: now the plot, whether true or false, was form-'ed of the happiest ingredients imaginable to advance 'their interest.'

—Now, Sir, let me address one word to my valued friends—Let them reflect on the consequences of their recent delusion, not dissimilar to the above. The measure of the proclamation is now stated to be over—It has failed—Let them avoid all further snares of the same kind. These declarations, which it is now the fashion to sign, I certainly cannot in general approve. Of all that I have seen, that of the Merchants must best conciliate the approbation of constitutional men; but I

see

see and hear on every side such violent doctrines, and such afflicting measures, as no man who is actuated by the wish of preserving peace in this country can subscribe to. A noble Lord, for whom I have a high respect, says he will move for a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. I hope not. Come from whom it may, I shall with my most determined powers oppose so dreadful a measure.

What, it may be asked, would I propose to do in hours of agitation like the present? I will answer openly. If there is a tendency in the Dissenters to discontent, because they conceive themselves unjustly suspected and cruelly calumniated what should I do? I would instantly repeal the Test and Corporation Acts, and take from them all cause of complaint. If there were any persons tinctured with a Republican spirit, because they thought that the Representative Government was more perfect in a Republic, I would endeavour to amend the Representation of the Commons, and to prove that the House of Commons, though not chosen by all, should have no other interest than to prove itself the Representative of all. If there were men dissatisfied in Scotland or Ireland, or elsewhere, on account of disabilities and exemptions, of unjust prejudices, and cruel restrictions, I would repeal the penal statutes, which are a disgrace to our law books—If there were other complaints of grievance, I would redress them where they were really proved; but above all I would constantly, chearfully, patiently listen.—I would make it known that if any man felt, or thought he felt a grievance, he might come freely to the bar of this House, and bring his proofs. And it should be made manifest to all the world, that where they did exist, they should be redressed; where they did not, that

that it should be made manifest.—If I were to issue a proclamation, this should be my proclamation: "If any "man has a grievance, let him bring it to the bar of the "Commons House of Parliament, with the firm per- "suasion of having it honestly investigated." These are the subsidies which I would grant to Government.—What, instead of this, is done? Suppress the complaint—check the circulation of knowledge—command that as no man under 100l. a year can kill a partridge—that no man under 20 or 30l. a year shall dare to read or think!

I see in Westminster the most extraordinary resolutions of parochial meetings—In Soho—In St. Clements, publicans are to be threatened with the loss of their licences if they dare to suffer conversation which they think seditious. Good God, where did Justices find this law? And publicans are to be made judges of Libel—No paper is to be suffered but what is free from sedition—no conversation but what they shall judge loyal—although the knowledge of what is a Libel was stated to be fit only to be judged of by sages in the law. Yet the papers recommended to be read by these associations, are full of the most horrid doctrines.—The letter of Thomas Bull, for instance, very modestly hints, that to exterminate the dissenters would be an excess of virtue. Debating Societies are now found to be seditious, though I never knew London to be without them; and by what law the Magistrates can interrupt the peaceable discussion of political questions, I cannot conceive.

I love the Constitution as it is established—it has grown up with me as a prejudice, and as a habit, as well as from conviction. I know that it is calculated for the happiness of man, and that its constituent branches of King, Lords and Commons, could not be altered or impaired

impaired without entailing on this country the most dreadful miseries. At the same time I do not think so highly of any human institution, as to believe that it is incapable of being perverted. I think that we may be led asleep to our real danger by these perpetual alarms to loyalty, and that the great dread of increasing the power of the Crown, seems to be stifled, while we are insensibly degrading the power of the Commons.

The following is the amendment moved by Mr. Fox.

'To express to his Majesty our most zealous attachment to the excellent Constitution of this free country; our sense of the invaluable blessings which we derive from it, and our unshaken determination to maintain and preserve it; to assure his Majesty that, uniting with his Majesty's faithful subjects in these sentiments of loyalty to the throne, and attachment to the Constitution, we feel in common with them the deepest anxiety and concern, when we see these measures adopted by the executive government, which the law authorises only in cases of insurrection within this realm.

'That his Majesty's faithful Commons, assembled in a manner new and alarming to the country, think it their first duty, and will make it their first business, to inform themselves of the causes of this measure, being equally zealous to enforce a due obedience to the laws on the one hand, and a faithful execution of them on the other.'

STATE OF THE CLOSED BOROUGHS.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

It appears by the state of the Boroughs, lately published, upon a full view of the Representation as it now

now stands; that about 130 Nobles, by means of their Closed Boroughs, and other more indirect influence, send Members, (Representatives they must not be called,) to the House of Commons, in which they ought to have no concern, in number 222

That the Cinque Ports, Treasury, Admiralty, and Ordnance Boroughs, ever at the service of the servants of the crown, send Members in number 26

That the Venal Boroughs which constantly dispose of their share of Representation to the highest bidder, and generally sell their seats to such as mean to sell their votes, or to the Nabob of Arcot, the Rajah of Tanjore, &c. send in number about 16

Thus it appears that the Nobility, &c. send Members 264
(which is a majority of 15 of the English Members; and as to the Scotch, it is well known how they go).

That about 80 opulent Commoners, by means of their Closed Boroughs and other undue influence send 122

That the number of real Representatives sent by the free choice of the people of England, which is the means they all ought to be sent by to form a real Representation, amounts only to 127

Total of Members for England 513

Thus it appears that the Nobles, with a few Venal Boroughs, send more than one half of the English Members.—And these joined by about 80 Commoners, making together about 200 persons, send in three fourths of the whole House; there being several instances of individual Nobles and Commoners sending several Members, as the Earl of Lonsdale generally sends in 8 or 10.

How

How absurd then must it be to propose to collect the sense of the people in that House, where the will of the Minister is over the sense of so vast a majority, for whom seats have been purchased with a view to make merchandise of their votes, at an enormous expence to the public. We may further see and dread the growing power and influence of the higher House over the lower; for it cannot escape the serious notice of a close observer, how prevalent a recommendation for a title, the sure possession of a few seats in Closed Boroughs has been for some years: so that it is probable if this plan be continued much longer, most of those obnoxious Boroughs will centre in the Nobility, which with the influence they possess in the other paltry Boroughs, will give them a sure and decided majority in the House of Commons. If then the House of Lords rule that of the Commons, and the Crown rule the House of Lords: I wish to know what name the government ought to bear? Is it monarchical, Oligarchical, or Aristocratic? It is evident it can have nothing of Democracy, further than the people must have the honour of supplying the fund which will be necessary to carry on such a *noble* system of corruption.

When the House of Commons becomes independent of the people, it will most certainly employ those privileges to guard itself against them, which were intended to protect it against the Crown; and the Crown will judge it a prudent precaution to keep the army from general intercourse with the people, by lodging the military in barracks the formidable appearance of which may also produce an intimidation, especially when accompanied with threatening proclamations, for which the Crown will probably receive fulsome addresses from most of the Aristocratic bodies in the kingdom, and particularly from the Clergy.

Sheffield Oct. 5, 1792. SCRUTATOR.

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday January 8, 1793.

ON THE

ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

Continued from Page 222.

JAMES and his Parliament had parted mutually diſſatisfied with each other. On one ſide the Parliament by the act of recognition had in a manner diſavowed his pretenſion of holding the Crown of England ſolely by hereditary right. The Commons had made many attempts towards redreſs of grievances; grievances which James looked on as very neceſſary parts of his prerogative. They had proceeded very ſlowly and coldly on his favourite plan of the union. They had, though in oppoſition

poſition to royal authority, vigorouſly aſſerted their privileges; and finally had ſhewn an intention to deny a demanded ſubſidy.

On the other hand James had diſplayed a ſtrong inclination to encroach on the moſt eſſential rights of the Commons; had puſhed on with great earneſtneſs the unpopular plan of the Union; had declared an averſeneſs to comply with their reaſonable demands; had laviſhed out his coffers on his favourites and dependents; and by this early diſregard to œconomy, had foreboded the neceſſities to which he would be often reduced; neceſſities which could not be ſupplied without oppreſſing the ſubject.

An incident very extraordinary in its nature, and from a very unexpected quarter, united by a ſenſe of common danger the diſpleaſed parties. This was no other than the famous gunpowder plot, the memory of which being ſtill kept alive, and not one perſon in a thouſand (in the preſent day) knowing the circumſtances; we think we cannot do better than to give a regular account of it, eſpecially as it diſplays ſuch a wonderful inſtance of ſagacity in a monarch whom poſterity have not ſcrupled to dignify with the epithet of *learned idiot*.

All the diſcontented Papiſts, who had been baniſhed England, were ſupported in the Netherlands by the Spaniſh Monarch, and great ſums remitted into England for carrying on plots againſt the Government. The intended execution of one that had been machinating near a year and an half, was haſtened or rather fixed, from ſome ſeverities the ſect had ſuffered in conſequence of an act in their diſfavour, which had paſſed the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament. Determined on vengeance, ſome of the

moſt

most enthusiastic of the body conspired under Garnet, the superior of the Jesuits, who had been the manager of all their cabals, to destroy with one blow the most powerful of their enemies.

The design was against the King and Parliament; and the plan so far executed, that thirty-six barrels of gunpowder were, by means of the conspirators, lodged in some vaults under the House of Lords, to be fired on the first day of their meeting, when the King was to harrangue, and the Queen and Prince of Wales had proposed to have been present. After the explosion, the rest of the royal family were to be seized by the conspirators; and Elizabeth, James's youngest child, to be declared Queen, under a protector of their own choosing. The vaults had been hired by Piercy, a near relation to the Earl of Northumberland under the pretence of a lodgment for fuel; a great number of faggots covered the tremendous deposit.

The 5th of November 1605, which was the day assigned for the meeting of Parliament drew nigh. Exalted were the hopes of the conspirators; but a fatal assurance of success, united to private affection, defeated the well concerted plan. On the 26th of October, the Lord Monteagle, whose father had been a great sufferer in the reign of Elizabeth for his affection to popery, received the following letter: "Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation; therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this Parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safe-

"ty

"ty; for though there be no appearance of any ſtir, "yet I ſay they ſhall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. "This counſel is not to be contemned, becauſe it may do "you good, and can do you no harm, for the anger is "paſſed ſo ſoon as you have burned the letter;* and I "hope God will give you the grace to make good uſe of "it, to whoſe holy protection I commend you."

MONTEAGLE carried this letter to Cecil, then Earl of Saliſbury, who either did or pretended to think little of it; and the affair was dropped till the King, who had been ſome time at Royſton,† returned to town. On re-canvaſſing the letter the gunpowder was ſcented. Moſt authors

* Rapin relates that both James and his miniſter were puzzled at this ſentence, "For the danger is paſt as ſoon as you have burned the letter." Cecil ridiculed it as the incongruity of a fool or a madman; and James thought it referred to the quick execution of the blow. The obvious ſenſe of the words, is, "That if the letter was burned, the receiver could not incur danger from the advice."

† While the King was at Royſton, he devoted himſelf ſo entirely to hunting, that he forbad his miniſters to diſturb his pleaſures with any buſineſs; ſaying, "his hunting was neceſſary to the ſtate: it "was good for his health, and his health was neceſſary to the ſtate." Theſe huntings were great nuiſances; they are taken notice of as ſuch in a letter from Matthew Hutton, Archbiſhop of York, to Viſcount Cranbourne. "I could wiſh," writes this prelate, "that there "was leſs waſting of the treaſure of the realm, and more moderation of the lawful exerciſe of hunting; both that the poor men's "corn may be leſs ſpoiled, and other his Majeſty's ſubjects more "ſpared." *Winwood's Memorials*, v. 2 p. 40.

It ſeems the Archbiſhops, in thoſe days, were very conſiderate reſpecting the public welfare.

authors attribute this to the ſagacious timidity of James.* He was fond of the reputation of this diſcovery and publicly aſſumed it.†

The night before the meeting of the Parliament, officers were ſent to ſearch the vaults under the Houſe of Lords: on removing the faggots the gunpowder was diſdiſcovered. Guido Fauks, ‡ who under the guiſe of Piercy's ſervant, was found lurking about the place, was taken, and on the ſight of the rack confeſſed the whole plot, with the names and quality of the conſpirators. On this arreſt the criminals that remained in London fled into Warwickſhire, where their confederates were poſted to ſeize on the perſon of Elizabeth, ſo ſoon as they ſhould hear of the ſucceſs of the project. There they made a vigorous defence, but were all taken, except three who were killed in the ſtruggle; viz, Cateſby eſteemed to be the inventor of the plot, Thomas Piercy, and Robert Wright. Theſe following were convicted of treaſon and executed: Sir Everard Digby, Guido Fawks, ſix others and Garnet the ſuperior of the Jeſuits. Francis

* There are ſome authorities which ſay, that Cecil had before received intimation of the intended plot from France, and the manner in which it was to be executed. Cecil owns, in a letter to Cornwallis, that he had intimation of ſome plot in hand. He alſo mentions that the whole affair was diſcovered before the letter was communicated to James. *Winwood's Memorials.* v. 2. p. 172.

† According to Rapin, James's flatterers did not ſcruple to ſay, he could never have diſcovered the myſtery without the immediate aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt.

‡ Guido Fawks was an Officer in the Spaniſh ſervice. He was ſent for from Flanders by the conſpirators, as a man of tried reſolution and zeal for the cauſe.

Treſham was convicted likewiſe, but died of a ſtranguary in priſon. Two Catholic Lords, Mordaunt and Sturton, were fined, one ten thouſand, and the other ſix thouſand pounds; their abſence from Parliament having begot ſuſpicion. The Earl of Northumberland* ſuffered the ſeverer penalty of thirty thouſand pounds, and was detained in priſon for ſeveral years, becauſe he had admitted Piercy into the number of gentlemen penſioners without having exacted the requiſite oaths. Theſe were the arbitrary ſentences of the ſtar chamber. The Lord Monteagle was rewarded with an eſtate of 200l. a year, and a penſion of 500l.

The parliament met on the 9th of November. James's ſpeech on occaſion of the plot is perhaps as remarkable as the occaſion itſelf; the whole of it being, according to the genius of the orator, uncommonly prolix, we ſhall only give the moſt ſtriking paſſages.

"And now I muſt crave a little pardon of you "[that ſince Kings are, in the word of God itſelf, called "Gods, as being his vicegerents on earth, and ſo "adorned and furniſhed with ſome ſparkles of divinity] "to compare ſome of the works of God, the great "King, towards the whole and general world, to ſome "of his works towards me and this little world of my "dominions." He then draws a compariſon of the deſtruction of the world by water, the ſalvation of Noah, the deſtruction of the world by fire, and the ſalvation of the faithful, with his own dangers and eſcapes in the Gowrie and Gunpowder conſpiracies. He diſtinguiſhes "the

* This nobleman had been ſo zealous a promoter of James's ſucceſſion to the throne of England, that he declared he would remove all impediments by the ſword. *Letters and Memoirs of Sir Francis Bacon, by Stephens.*

the general sorts of death which mankind may suffer. "For by three different sorts in general may mankind "be put to death. The first, by other men, and rea- "sonable creatures, which is least cruel; for then both "defence of men against men may be expected, and "likewise who knows what pity God may stir up in the "heart of the actors at the very instant, besides the "many ways and means whereby men may escape in "such a present fury. And the second way more cruel "than that is, by animal and unreasonable creatures; "for as they have less pity than men, so it is a great "horror and more unnatural for men to deal with them; "but yet with both resistance may avail, and also some "pity may be had, as was in the lions in whose den Da- "niel was thrown, or that thankful lion, that had the "Roman slave in his mercy. But the third, the most "cruel and unmerciful of all, is destruction by insen- "sible and inanimate things; and amongst them all, "the most cruel are the two elements of water and fire, "and of those two the fire is the most merciless."

"When the letter was shewed to me by my secre- "tary, wherein a general obscure advertisement was "given of some dangerous blow at this time, I did up- "on the instant interpret and apprehend some dark "phrases therein, contrary to the ordinary grammar "construction of them; and (in another sort than I "am sure any divine or lawyer in any university would "have taken them) to be meant by this horrible form "of blowing us all up by gunpowder; and thereupon "ordered that search to be made, whereby the matter "was discovered and the man apprehended. It resteth "now that I should inform you what is to be done here- "after upon occasion of this horrible accident. As for

"your

"your parts, that are my faithful and loving ſubjects of "all degrees, I know that your hearts are ſo burned up "with zeal in this errand, and your tongues ſo rea- "dy to utter your dutiful affection, and your hands and "feet ſo bent to concur in the execution thereof [for "which as I need not ſpur you, ſo I cannot but praiſe "you for the ſame] as may very well be poſſible, that "the zeal of your hearts may make ſome of you in "your ſpeeches raſhly to blame ſuch as may be innocent "of the attempt." He then excuſes the Papiſts in general, and ſays, "That many papiſts laying their only "truſt upon Chriſt and his merits, at their laſt breath, "may and often times are ſaved; deteſting in that "point, and thinking the cruelty of the puritans wor- "thy of fire, that will admit no ſalvation to the papiſts." He charges them "not to think that any foreign princes "had a hand in the plot, but to ſpeak and think of them "reverendly."

In concluſion of this long ſpeech are inſtructions to the parliament of the nature of their office; that they are not to be too buſy in propoſing new laws, but to conſult on thoſe which are propoſed by the king; that they ſhould be wary of propoſing novelties, but moſt of all not to propoſe any bitter or ſeditious laws.*

After

*James makes a kind of apology for not having before this performed the office of a tutor to the Parliament. "It could not," ſaid he, "be poſſible for me, at my firſt entry here, before expe- "rience had taught it me, to be able to underſtand the particular "myſteries of this ſtate. Yet now that I have reigned almoſt three "years amongſt you, and have been careful to obſerve thoſe things "that belong to the office of a king; albeit that time be but a ſhort "time for experience in others, yet in a king may it be thought "reaſonable long time, eſpecially in me, who, although I be but in

After the Chancellor had prorogued the Parliament till Tueſday, 21ſt of January, the king roſe again and ſhewed the reaſons for his nominating that day for the next meeting. "Since it pleaſed God ſaid he, to de-"liver me upon one day of the week, which was Tueſ-"day, and likewiſe on one day of the month, which "was the fifth, thereby to teach me, that as it was the "ſame devil that perſecuted me, ſo it was the ſame "God that ſtill mightily delivered me, I thought it "therefore not amiſs that the one and twentieth "day of January, which falls to be upon Tueſday, "ſhould be the day of this meeting of next ſeſſions "of parliament."†

The king's ſpeech was much applauded by the courtiers, who found out greatneſs of ſoul in the expreſſions of moderation towards the papiſts. The generality of the people were of a different opinion; they conſidered it as the proofs of an incurable tenderneſs to the Roman Catholics, and looked with horror and reſentment on the uncharitable condemnation of the puritans to fire, for an opinion which had no relation to the ſtate. Neither of thoſe aſſigned motives were the real ones that actuated James in this declaration. He was at this time cajoled by Spain with the hopes of a family alliance, attended with theſe flattering conditions: That he was to

"a manner a new king here, yet have been long acquainted with "the office of a king in ſuch another kingdom, as doth neareſt of all "others agree with the laws and cuſtoms of this ſtate."

† After theſe ſplendid ſpecimens of ſound oratory, and accute and enlightened reaſoning, is there any one who ſtill remains ſo obſtinate a heretic as to join the calumniators of this KING by calling him a *learned idiot?* *The Editors.*

to be made the arbiter of all the religious differences in Europe; that a large part of Flanders, and a yearly penſion of a million of ducats, were to be the portion of the Infanta; and that a reddition of ſuch towns as he ſhould demand were to be the ſecurity. He on his ſide, was to aſſiſt Spain againſt the States General. Hence proceeded the cautious handling of the papiſts; hence the charge to the Commons, to think and ſpeak reverently of foreign princes; and hence proceeded many proclamations to prevent the public from ſuſpecting that the conſpirators had been promiſed aſſiſtance from ſuch powers. Nor were theſe all the ſteps even that James took to reconcile the Spaniards to his conduct. Many Roman Catholics who had taken up arms in Warwickſhire in defence of the conſpirators, were left unproſecuted, and an excuſe ſent to Spain on account of the fine and impriſonment of the Earl of Northumberland.

(*To be continued.*)

GRAND ASSOCIATION IN IRELAND.

IT is with great pleaſure that we preſent to our readers the following admirable Reſolutions and Declaration by the Friends of the Conſtitution in Ireland. Let them compare this manly and patriotic paper with the lamentable Aſſociations againſt Republicans and Levellers in England, and ſee how ſound wiſdom and becoming

coming fortitude triumph over the folly and terror that have dictated moſt of of our recent club eſſays.

ASSOCIATION

OF THE

FRIENDS OF THE CONSTITUTION, LIBERTY AND PEACE.

At a meeting of the above Aſſociation, at the King's Arms Tavern, in Fownes's-ſtreet, on the 21ſt of December, 1792,

His Grace the DUKE of LEINSTER in the Chair:

The following Addreſs and Declaration were unanimouſly agreed upon.

ADDRESS.

Experience has taught the reaſoning part of mankind the following ſimple truths :—That in Political Inſtitutions, nothing is ſtable, that is not juſt;—that groſs and increaſing abuſes lead neceſſarily to violence and revolution—timely and effectual reform to peace and ſecurity; that as violence, therefore, and revolution, are but deſperate remedies for deſperate evils, and as, once applied, it is not in human wiſdom to foreſee, or preſcribe limits to their courſe, it is the extreme, either of human folly or depravity in governors, to make ſuch remedies ſeem generally neceſſary, or in the people, without evident and palpable neceſſity, to reſort to them. That truths, which the hiſtory of paſt ages has impreſſed on the conviction of mankind, and to which the experience of the preſent times adds new force, ſhould yet be apparently overlooked both by the government and the people of this country, we lament; nor do we leſs lament, that while obvious and

ſalutary

ſalutary maxims are ſlighted on the one ſide; viſionary and impracticable ſchemes are indulged on the other.

The extraordinary, and almoſt miraculous revolutions in government, and in ſentiment, which have lately aſtoniſhed the earth, and ſtill confound ſpeculation have produced this effect, among many others, on the minds both of actors and ſpectators; both of thoſe who applauded, and thoſe who execrate the ſcene, that, at this preſent moment, they have more enflamed enthuſiaſm and reſentment, than they have informed or regulated the underſtanding. The magnitude of the ſubject, not yet fully comprehended perhaps by any man, overpowers and diſtracts. The yet dazzled eye, neither accurately diſtinguiſhes colours, nor duly eſtimates proportions. The mind in ferment, may exert energy, but ſeldom deliberation or wiſdom.

That the diſcuſſions and ſpeculations occaſioned by thoſe tranſactions, ſhould operate with peculiar energy on the people of this country, is not to be wondered at; circumſtanced as they are, they muſt be callous indeed, if they did not feel with ardour, and purſue with vehemence, every ſentiment embracing the intereſts of freedom, and cruſhing the inſolence of power.—To repreſs this generous and natural feeling is not the object of our Aſſociation. We are not wicked enough to wiſh, or fooliſh enough to expect, that we could perſuade three-fourths of our countrymen to remain contented with total excluſion from even the name of a conſtitution or the remainder to be amuſed with the mockery of that name, while they are robbed of its eſſence.

Is any man the friend of peace and public order? We call on him, as he values theſe bleſſings, to come forward

forward and subdue that corruption of government which is the bane of both.—Does he revere that original obligation of society, connecting the husbandman who tills the land, with the sovereign who reigns over it; by which industry is bound to sustain power, and power to protect industry, that equal liberty and happiness may flow from both? Let him correct and humble the profligate administration which wrings from the labour of the peasant, what may corrupt the virtue of the Senator, and which drains the sources of national wealth that it may pollute the sources of national honour.—Does he love the beautiful gradation of society, which gives to toil, and talents, and virtue, their stations and their forms, which kindles them where they were not, and rewards them where they are? Let him join us, in publicly reprobating and effectually destroying that disgraceful traffic in which the plunder that has been earned by past infamy is allowed to become the purchase of future honours, in which men are enriched by the sale of their consciences, and enobled by the application of their riches.—Does any man wish to uphold that deference to public sentiment, which preserves a chance for the reform of abuse, by deterring men from avowing its exercise? Let him shame and terrify that public delinquency, which openly boasts of corrupting the people's representatives, with the money of the people. When the pretence to virtue is thrown away, as an useless incumbrance, and the foulest acts, avowed by their foulest names, are held forth to the people as the regular system of government—when wicked acts challenge the public vengeance by insolent promulgation—the measure of vice and folly is full—and the citizen who does not join in reformation becomes an accomplice in the guilt of his rulers.

But,

But, in pursuing that reform, the abuses of our constitution should not make us forget that we *have* one. Nor should our disgust at *Corruption* render us insensible to the evils of *Faction*.

Circumstanced as we are, it would not perhaps be surprizing, if the many real blessings still enjoyed by the people, and the many more, which the admirable principles of the constitution place within their reach, should seem likely to be generally undervalued and forgotten;—or if some spirits inflammable and inconsiderate, or others, less benignant and disinterested, should thence be tempted to overlook the horrors attendant on commotion, and to pursue theories yet unproved by experience.

Against such delusions we *warn* the people.—Living under a constitution, one of whose peculiar excellencies is, that its abuses may be corrected without violating its essence, or even slighting its forms, we can have no rational temptation to encourage or encounter the evils which have flowed from a total want of constitution in a neighbouring country. It is not necessary for us to tear down our constitution, and efface its ancient landmarks and foundations. Nor need we rush voluntarily and wantonly into those miseries into which France has been precipitated, by a perhaps inevitable necessity.

No!—Arms are the last resource of misery driven to despair.—A reform, and that a radical and effectual one, there *will* be. There is no human power that can lawfully or successfully resist this reasonable, constitutional, and now indispensible object, if THE PEOPLE with an united, solemn, and determined voice shall pronounce—"WE WILL IT." We

We exult to live in a country where the voice of the people once plainly and decidedly uttered, is a thunder which no government dares reſiſt,- and before which all corruption muſt diſperſe. The tumult of intemperance may be derided and ſubdued by the feebleſt Miniſter, but it is not within the limits of miniſterial daring to reſiſt the firm and temperate demands of the Iriſh people.

In order, however, to render this demand irreſiſtible, it is neceſſary that the public ſentiment ſhould be explicitly and generally underſtood. A diſguſt at the profligacy of government may inſtigate warm men to ſedition. An abhorrence of ſedition may induce even good men to ſupport a ſyſtem of government which they cannot approve, or, which would be equally fatal to the well-being of the country; the ſuſpence ariſing from the oppoſite impulſes may reduce moderate and timid men to a ſtate of inaction, and thus leave the nation unprotected, to groan beneath the oppreſſions of the corrupt, or to tremble at the violence of the ſeditious. At ſuch a moment, to be ſilent is to be criminal. It becomes the duty of every good citizen and honeſt man, to make his voice heard and ſentiments known. We therefore,

"*The Friends of the Conſtitution Liberty and Peace,*" thus publicly declare theſe our political ſentiments.

1ſt. That the principles of the Britiſh Conſtitution, are founded in wiſdom and juſtice, equally providing for the liberty and happineſs of the people.

2dly. That an Hereditary Monarch, the ſole executive power, an aſſembly of Nobles, emanating from the crown, and a body of Repreſentatives, derived from the people by free and general election, are each

of

of them integral, vital and essential parts of our constitution, insomuch that the decay or corruption of any of them will taint or destroy the whole system.

3dly. That the representative part of our Legislature is not at present derived from the people by the free and general election, which the fundamental principles of our constitution require, and the state and condition of this nation would warrant.

4thly. That the permanent peace and welfare of Ireland can only be established by the abolition of all civil and political distinctions arising from difference in religious opinions, and by a radical and effectual reform in the Commons House of Parliament; and that these essential objects once obtained, the people ought to remain content and grateful. With such a constitution, and not with less will we be satisfied. We therefore call upon every man, *whether he prefer liberty to peace*, or *peace to liberty*, to support the honest and avowed principles upon which this society is founded, as, at the present and alarming crisis, neither liberty nor peace can be established, unless by the united firmness and moderation of the friends of both.

Resolved, that every person on becoming a member of this society, do subscribe the following

DECLARATION:

"I solemnly promise and declare, that I will, by all "lawful means, promote a radical and effectual Reform "in the Representation of the People in Parliament, in- "cluding persons of all religious persuasions; and that "I will unceasingly pursue that object until it shall "have been unequivocally obtained. And, seriously

"apprehending

"apprehending the dangerous consequences of certain "levelling tenets, and seditious principles, which have "lately been disseminated; I do further declare, that "I will resist all attempts to introduce any new form of "government into this country, or in any manner to "subvert or impair our constitution, consisting of King, Lords and Commons."

Resolved, That this society, conscious of its good intentions, but diffident of its ability to judge of the best means of attaining an object of such magnitude and difficulty as that which it has proposed, deems it essential to that object, and therefore respectfully recommends, that similar associations should be formed in every county and principal town throughout the kingdom. With such Associations, and with every individual friend to the constitution, liberty, and peace in these kingdoms, this society will be happy to communicate, and will thankfully receive every species of information concerning facts, or even hints, concerning plans and principles which may assist in deciding on matters either of propriety or expediency. Such materials the society will deem it a duty to arrange and digest, and, as soon as it shall be enabled to select or to form a plan of representation, which may appear worthy the attention of the public, it will, with the utmost deference, lay such plan before the People of Ireland, for their consideration and correction, previous to its being submitted to the wisdom of the Legislature.

Signed, by order of the Society,

RICHARD GRIFFITH, *Secretary.*

Declaration of the Friends of Liberty and the People at Sterling, Scotland.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

THE people of this country feel as they ought your noble and well conducted efforts to enlighten the public mind in these important sciences of philosophy and politics, and I have great pleasure in thus informing you that your publication is held by us in the highest esteem. Proceed with the spirit and judgment you have set out with, and hitherto admirably kept up to, and your names will be revered not only by all the friends of liberty now living, but by those who shall succeed to the latest posterity. I beg you will have the goodness to give a place to the following declarations of a most respectable society in this place, in doing which, I have no doubt you will please all the readers of the Patriot, and particularly oblige

Your humble Servant,
AMOR LIBERTATIS.

Sterling, Nov. 20, 1792.

REFORM.

FRIENDS OF LIBERTY AND THE PEOPLE,

Sterling, Nov. 9, 1792.

THE friends of liberty and the people, inhabitants of Sterling and its neighbourhood, having previously concerted

concerted measures to form themselves into a society to give their assistance in promoting the cause of freedom, met this day at the Saracen's-head Inn, at Sterling, and Mr. George Brown being called to the Chair, they unanimously agreed to the following Declarations, as the bond of their social connection.

1. That the sole object of this society, is to obtain a reform that shall supply the defects and rectify the abuses in the government of this country, which have been long complained of and severely felt by the great body of the people.

2. That no nation can be denominated free, whose government does not flow from a fair and equal representation of the people, as it is this alone that constitutes the basis of genuine liberty; and, till an end so important shall be gained, we are fully convinced that the sentiments of a nation cannot be sufficiently known, nor its grievances redressed.

3. As any infringement of the natural rights of man is incompatible with the enjoyments of true liberty, we do hereby certify our abhorrence of all establishments that have a tendency, direct or indirect, to enslave mankind.

4. Whilst we cheerfully profess our highest respect for those laurels, whether civil or military, that have been won by merit, we reckon it consistent to testify our detestation of all distinctions, that are neither founded in virtue, nor dependent on reason.

5. Animated with a sincere regard for the peace and prosperity of our country, we declare ourselves firmly

firmly attached to tranquillity and order, and abhor every idea of tumult and sedition, fully persuaded that if the nation be unanimous, a reform can be accomplished by calm and rational investigation.

6. We are solicitous to act in concert with other societies instituted for similar purposes, in the different parts of the nation; and will gladly embrace every opportunity of co-operating and corresponding with them.

Having thus declared our sentiments on what we conceive to be the bond of our union, a task that interests us more, still remains. It is to exhibit to the world in what point of view we wish our sentiments to be regarded, and how far they are connected with those of our countrymen who have gone before us in the business of REFORM.

In the present age, when the political clouds of ignorance and superstition, which have hitherto darkened the world, are fast dissolving away, and the rays of knowledge and reason gradually increasing their influence and diffusing their energy throughout the different nations of the earth, it is a duty incumbent on all who know the rank that nature has assigned them in the scale of existence, to use their utmost exertions to extricate themselves from the chains of tyranny and slavery, with which they have been long fettered. This seems to be the period fixed by the governor of the universe for rousing the human race from that fatal delusion,—that slavish fear,—that servile submission, which have been but too successfully imposed upon them, by the mad ambition of lawless and assumed power. Mankind seem now to be convinced, that they were created for nobler ends, than to be the slaves of Princes, or the dupes of Courts.

Civil

Civil and religious liberty is the gift of God, and regulated by the divine ſtandard, the natural and impreſcriptible right of every man, of which he cannot be deprived in the ſmalleſt degree without his conſent. But we deem it unneceſſary at preſent to extend our obſervations farther on this ſubject.

May heaven interpoſe in proper time, to diſpel thoſe political clouds, that, ominous in aſpect, hang over our country! May thoſe ſcourges of humanity, who ſeem to glory in having "bartered the pride of princi-"ple for the vanity of place," feel, ere it be too late, the propriety, the neceſſity of liſtening to the voice of reform.

GEORGE BROWN, Chairman.

ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

IN my laſt, I conſidered the ſtate of chriſtianity as it was manifeſt in the lives of its teachers, till the days of Conſtantine. Hiſtorians are divided in their ſentiments on the motives that induced that emperor to turn chriſtian: let us ſuppoſe he was convinced of the truth and reaſonableneſs of chriſtianity; that he embraced it from the pureſt motives; and found his heart deeply affected

affected with the glorious doctrines it contains. Being truly converted to the faith of Christ, he earneſtly deſired that all the world might ſhare with him in the bleſſings of the goſpel—he ſaw idolatry and wickedneſs prevail every where through his vaſt empire. The people were like ſheep without a ſhepherd;—his bowels of compaſſion yearned over them;—he found a burning zeal in his breaſt for God, and the ſalvation of the world. From this principle he engaged to help forward the converſion and happineſs of ſinners.—He countenanced miniſters of the goſpel every where; their poverty excited his pity.—He gave them what was neceſſary, to make their ſituation comfortable.—He raiſed them above many who were in moderate circumſtances. As the worſhip which was eſtabliſhed in his dominions had much outward pomp attending it, he judged it neceſſary to have the religion of Jeſus ornamented with ſomething that would ſtrike the minds of the people with ſuitable impreſſions. Churches were built in a ſplendid manner, and richly endowed.—Miniſters of the goſpel had riches and honours in abundance conferred on them; they appeared at court, and were conſidered above the reſt of the people. To make them more reſpectable, they appeared in public, in apparel which tended much to fill the minds of the people with reverence to their paſtors. They ſoon had titles of honour conferred upon them, according to their places in the church. The church was united to the ſtate; theſe two were made one. [See a moſt valuable publication on this ſubject, juſt come from the preſs, written by the Rev. Mr. Graham, of Newcaſtle upon Tyne.

It was impoſſible for miniſters of the goſpel in theſe circumſtances to retain their humility and devotedneſs to

to God. A few of the most pious of the servants of the Lord Jesus, retained their simplicity, and boldly preached the truth as it was given to them. They saw the danger the church was in, and gave warning to the souls under their care, to be on their guard, lest Satan should bewitch them from the uprightness, and sincerity of their calling; but the greatest part of the ministers of that day drank in the spirit of the world. They lost sight of the object which should have engaged their attention; every man looked for gain from his own quarter: honours and riches engrossed their affections. They studied how they might advance in these from day to day. They were pressed to the study of a thousand things that might advance their temporal welfare. New rites and ceremonies were invented: these were brought forward with an appearance of being necessary to promote the glory of God, and the spirituality of his worship. Texts of scripture were quoted from the levitical priesthood to sanction their conduct. The people being accustomed to the worship of false gods, and much attached to outward appearances in religion, received with applause every thing that the emperor and his clergy brought forward.

When the emperor changed his religious opinions respecting the divinity of Christ, he found no difficulty in bringing over his clergy to the same sentiments. Their hearts being placed on things that are seen, eagerly grasped after any thing that was likely to aggrandize their persons or increase their revenue; but very few opposed any measures that were adopted, and those few were destitute of power to stand against the influence of the emperor's clergy: they either sunk into obscurity, or sought to reclaim their brethren in vain. For a season the church was dependent on the state; she could

not

not enforce her laws, and bring the rebellious to submit to her pleasure, without assistance from the secular powers. This prevented the designs of many of the clergy from being accomplished.

It was not long before the man of sin showed himself. Popery made its appearance in the guise of outward sanctity, and gained exceedingly upon the infatuated multitudes. Bower, in his lives of the popes, reveals the secrets of the mystery of iniquity. Whoever reads his laborious and valuable work, will see the different steps which were taken to blind and insnare the people. It is impossible in the compass of a letter to consider the various means which were made use of to establish what they particularly aimed at. I shall just name a few leading steps that were taken in the business. Creeds, liturgies, articles, &c. were invented by the priesthood, to ensnare the ignorant and unwary. Some of them exactly comported with the scriptures, others were deducible from suitable passages; but many of their doctrines, on which they laid great stress, were contrary to the letter and spirit of the word of God. That these doctrines might be received with the unthinking croud, a divine right was maintained in the clergy, to make articles of faith, and form creeds to help the devotion of souls under their care. The reverence with which the multitude looked up to the clergy, induced them to receive without examination, what was imposed upon them. Means were made use of to reduce to obedience, any that claimed a right to prove all things, and only hold fast that which is good. History is replete with the sufferings of those who did not comply implicitly with the will of their spiritual guides.

It

It would have been impoſſible for the church to have riſen above the ſtate, if perſons had examined and judged for themſelves. To prevent light from ſhining on the works of darkneſs, which were manifeſt in their conduct, they preached up the myſtery of the goſpel, and attempted to prove in an abſurd manner, the danger the vulgar were in while they read the ſcriptures in their own languages. A learned doctor obſerved, "While the ignorant read, if thine eye offend, pluck it out—if thy right hand offend, cut it off, and caſt it from thee, &c. they were in danger of taking ſuch ſteps as would prevent their uſefulneſs to the ſtate, and fill their hoſpitals with perſons that had voluntarily rendered themſelves incapable of labour, in obedience to the commands of God." By reaſons of this nature, the ſcriptures were judged to be dangerous to any but thoſe who were learned; and even the laity who were bleſſed with a good education, were not permitted to read them without a licence from the eccleſiaſtical court: the word of God was only known as it came mutilated through the hands of a hungry prieſt.

When the key of knowledge was taken away, a door was opened for the propagation of every thing the prieſthood deſired. Images were ſet up in a thouſand places, and worſhipped; the bread and wine in the ſacrament, were changed by the influence of a prieſt, into the real body and blood of Chriſt. It was excommunication and damnation not to believe this doctrine. The biſhop of Rome aſcended by degrees to the pontifical chair; he was proclaimed infallible; he was God's Vicegerent on earth; the keys of heaven and hell were in his hands; he had power to open and ſhut either of theſe places at his pleaſure; he took names to himſelf which only belong to

God: he was adored and worshipped, his will was law, his decrees were as valid as the determinations of the omnipotent God. Kings and emperors, with all ranks and orders of men, were subject to him and his government. The church declared her independence, she spread her catholic and apostolic influence over every place where she was received; the divine right of tythes and offerings was preached up; days were set apart in honour to the church's saints; Marriage was forbidden to the sons of Aaron; meats were prohibited on certain days; the relicks of the dead were said to be found, and were sold; pilgrimages were ordained, monasteries and nunneries were built, for pretended pious purposes; new orders of ecclesiastics were invented, and employed; indulgencies were granted at fixed prices; and to keep the whole machinery in order, the Inquisition, with a thousand instruments of torture and cruelty, were made use of: almost the whole western world wandered after the beast. It is impossible to describe the villainy and wickedness which were committed under the cloak of religion. For many ages the Church was like a slaughter-house; myriads suffered and died because they preferred a good conscience before all the offers the church could make. When Luther appeared on the side of truth, and boldly exclaimed against the abominable practices of his brethren, his life was in danger; he was preserved by miracle. A glorious reformation was brought about through the means he adopted; and though many things were retained by him and his colleagues, which were contrary to God and the scriptures, yet it was the foundation of a blessed change.

When our Henry VIII was weary of his consort and sought to be divorced from her in vain at the Court of Rome, he consulted his own clergy, obtained the divorce

vorce he wiſhed for, and threw off the popiſh yoke, beneath which, he and this nation had long been in bondage. After many ſtruggles, the reformation came to the ſtate we ſee it in now. The ſteps which were taken to bring forward this work, with the hindrances that were thrown in the way, are recorded by every Engliſh hiſtorian.

If we view the church as by law eſtabliſhed in theſe nations, we ſhall find her exceeding far from God and far from righteouſneſs. If we take a ſurvey of the people who are called the Church of England, we ſhall ſoon perceive they are not collectively the people of God.—The King, whether he be a child, an ideot, an atheiſt, &c. &c. or a good Chriſtian, is always declared to be the head of the Church; he creates Archbiſhops and Biſhops at his pleaſure; he inſtalls them into their office; he, with his parliament, can make articles of faith and impoſe them on the people. The divine right of tythes, &c. is maintained in the Church of England, as ſtrongly as it can be in the Church of Rome; the people are compelled by law to pay them. The Church engroſſes all the emoluments of the nation to herſelf.—The moſt abominable ſinners have acceſs to the ſacrament, to qualify them for places in the ſtate. If you view the Church in her preſent ſtate, you will find doctrines maintained, contrary to the bible, to reaſon, and common ſenſe; articles and creeds which contradict each other; miniſters declaring before God and men, that they are ſecretly moved by the Holy Ghoſt, to preach the word of God, when it is evident the proſpect of a good living moved them. Biſhops, Rectors, and Vicars, are enjoying large ſalaries extorted from the people, for doing little or nothing; Curates riding

ing poſt to four or five churches every Sunday, to do duty, and with all their labour, ſcarcely able to provide for their families.

You will find from the Archbiſhop to the loweſt Curate, preaching expreſſly againſt the doctrines they ſwore to maintain, and which they read in the deſk before they aſcend the pulpit; the ſacrament is given promiſcuouſly to ſaints and ſinners: the moſt profligate approach boldly, and have no bar in their way.

Among the miniſters and people of the Church, you will find blaſphemers, drunkards, ſabbath-breakers, adulterers, liars, &c. walking together in all the ordinances of the Church. It is out of the power of any man to deſcribe the villanies that are practiſed with impunity among all orders in the Church.

There are ſome exceptions. Individuals in the miniſtry, and among the private members, fear God and work righteouſneſs; they ſtand in the gap and lift up their hands and hearts to Heaven, to prevent by their interceſſion the vengeance of God from deſtroying their brethren; but the number of ſuch is ſo exceeding ſmall, that they are hardly known by their fellow members: or if they are known, they are reproached and perſecuted, for not going to the ſame exceſs of riot that their perſecutors do.

You will find, gentlemen, I have not exaggerated in this account. I have only hinted at a few things. Theſe are manifeſt to every body. Is it poſſible for either church or ſtate to proſper, while things remain as they are

are? Can we suppose that God will withold his displeasure if we continue as we are? Will he not rather have a controversy with us, and cause many things to be manifest, which will be greatly to our disadvantage? Ought not every person who wishes well either to church or state, to lend an helping hand in this work?

In my next I shall propose the means of recovery, and press to a speedy application of them.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your affectionate Servant

INDEPENDENT.

Reasons for not signing the Wakefield Resolutions.

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TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

AT a time when the sentiments and principles of every individual are become matter of public enquiry, we make no further apology for obtruding on public notice, than the desire of vindicating ourselves from the mistakes and prejudices which have arisen in consequence of our refusing to sign the resolutions passed at the Moot-hall, in Wakefield, December 10, 1792.

1. Not-

1. Not having seen or read any publications, whose professed object as those resolutions seem to express, is to invade the peace and tranquillity of this kingdom; and not having any proof of there being "many evil "disposed persons, acting in concert with persons in "foreign parts, who under the specious pretence of "holding out Liberty and Equality to all men, are con- "triving to introduce anarchy and confusion;" we cannot by our signatures declare our belief of such assertions; although we mean not to deny that the excellence of our Constitution has been called in question: but then the attack has been by *argument*, and surely if it has its basis in utility, it may be defended *by argument!* That which is good, receives fresh lustre from every investigation, whether it be made by its friends or its enemies; and we cannot pay the revered form of the British legislature so poor a compliment, as to suspect its capability of standing such a test.

2. We conceive it to be the spirit of those resolutions, to suppress that manly freedom of thought, which it is the glory of man, and hath always been the *peculiar boast* of Britons to assert: which is the only foundation of their reverence and steady obedience to wise and wholesome laws, and which can only lead to a firm security of the peace and happiness of society.

3. The framers of those resolutions appear to us, to have exercised a power which the laws of the land deny to any man or body of men, that of prejudging a fellow-citizen before his trial, and by this means striking at the dearest privileges of an Englishman, the trial by an unprejudiced jury.

4. That

4. That as we would desire to be the real friends of harmony and peace, we cannot give countenance to any measures, which appear to us, (although the professed intention be very different) only calculated to disturb the tranquillity of society. If the progress of any species of investigation is dreaded, the records of history testify, that all resolutions which have the appearance of persecution, or which seem to lay an embargo on the freedom of the mind, become the most powerful stimulatives to its diffusion.

5. As steady friends to those glorious principles which were so clearly ascertained and boldly asserted at the Revolution of 1688, and by which the present family is seated upon the throne, we cannot consent to have our admiration thrown back into the obscurity of "centuries" past, in which, from the feeble light that history affords, we see little else than cause to mourn the excesses of tyranny and cruel usurpation.

We think it necessary to add, that we are sincerely attached to the English Constitution, as composed of a King, a House of Lords, and a House of Commons: understanding by the latter a real representation of the people. At the same time we declare, that our attachment to the constitution arises not from a blind veneration for precedent and antiquity, but from a firm conviction of its being well adapted to the genius of the people, and well calculated to ensure and promote their happiness, which is the sole purpose of all good government—further, we believe it to be the duty of every friend to his country, to endeavour by all peaceable means to restore to the people their right of representation

tion, upon which "*the absolute salvation of the constitution depends.*"

Having the peace and good order of society at heart, we have *ever* held it our duty, as it is our inclination, when necessary, to co-operate with the civil magistrate in the suppression of all tumults and riots, whenever they are found to exist.

We are bound in justice to the friends of reform, to assert that their designs have been grossly misrepresented, when they have been accused of tearing up by the roots the happiness of society, by equalizing the property of individuals; nothing can be more opposite than the two ideas of equal rights, and equal property, and no men would suffer more by the latter than those who have been the strenuous advocates for the rights of the people; to accuse men of such intentions is charging them with principles equally destructive to all order and happiness, with those of the robber and assassin. Let men beware then of such uncharitable and wicked libels upon the character of their neighbours.

J. F. SMITH.

R. BAKEWELL.

Wakefield, Dec. 18, 1792.

POLITICAL AND CIVIL LIBERTY.

EXTRACT FROM AN ESSAY ON THE FIRST PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT.

'WITH respect to this nation, it seems to be 'agreed, that septennial parliaments have brought our 'liberties into very imminent hazard, and that triennial, 'if not annual parliaments would be better. Indeed sep- 'tennial parliaments were at first a direct usurpation of 'the rights of the people; for by the same authority 'that one paliament prolonged their own power to seven 'years, they might have continued it to twice seven, or 'like the parliament in 1641, have made it perpetual. 'The bulk of the people never see the most obvious ten- 'dencies of things, or so flagrant a violation of the 'Constitution would never have been suffered.

'Political and Civil Liberty have many things in com- 'mon, which, indeed, is the reason why they have been 'so often confounded. A sense both of political and 'civil slavery, makes a man think meanly of himself. 'The feeling of his insignificance debases his mind, 'checks every great and enterprising sentiment, and, 'in fact, renders him that poor abject creature which

'he

'he fancies himſelf to be. Having always ſome un-
'known evil to fear, though it ſhould never come, he
'has no perfect enjoyment of himſelf, or any of the bleſ-
'ſings of life; and thus his ſentiments and his enjoy-
'ments being of a lower kind, the man ſinks nearer to
'the ſtate of the brute creation.

'On the other hand, a ſenſe of Political and Civil Li-
'berty, though there ſhould be no great occaſion to ex-
'ert it in the courſe of a man's life, gives him a conſtant
'feeling of his own power and importance; and is the
'foundation of his indulging a free, bold, and manly
'turn of thinking, unreſtrained by the moſt diſtant
'ideas of controul. Being free from all fear, he has
'the moſt perfect enjoyment of himſelf, and of all the
'bleſſings of life; and his ſentiments and enjoyments
'being raiſed, his very *being* is exalted, and the man
'makes nearer approaches to ſuperior natures.'

BOROUGH REPRESENTATION.

LISKARD, OR LESKARD, CORNWAL.

Political Character.—THIS borough is one of the largeſt towns in Cornwall, and the market is one of the moſt conſiderable in the county. It is calculated to contain one thouſand inhabitants. The influence is under the ſame controul as the two former.

Ancient:

Antient Representation.—Leskard sent to parliament 3. Edward 1.

Corporation.—This town was incorporated July 6, 1580, 29 Elizabeth, and the government consists of a Mayor, Recorder, eight capital Burgesses, and fifteen Assistants.

Right of Election—The members of parliament are chosen by the Corporation and seven freemen.

Number of Voters—are reduced from 100 to 50.

Returning Officer—the Mayor. *Patron*—Lord Elliott

NEWPORT.

Political Character.—This place was never incorporated, or so much as antiently to be styled a borough. The whole place is the property of the Duke of Northumberland, who is Lord of the Manor, and appoints at his Court Leet, both returning officers and members.

Antient Representation.—This town first returned members in Edward 6 last parliament.

Corporation.—None: but there are chosen annually at the Lord's Leet, two Vianders, who are the returning officers.

Right of Election.—The two Vianders, and all the rest of the inhabitants, paying scot and lot, choose the members.

Number of Voters—are reduced from 60 to 24.

Returning

Returning Officers—are the Vianders. *Patron.*—Duke of Northumberland.

BODMIN.

Political Character.—This borough is remarkable for being the only one in the county that is not under the immediate controul of a Patron. The corporation ſeem to have diſcovered the advantage of diſpoſing of their ſuffrages without the aſſiſtance of an ariſtocratical agent.

Ancient Repreſentation.—It was made a borough *tempore* Henry 2, and has ſent members ever ſince.

Corporation.—This town was originally governed by a Mayor and thirty-ſix Burgeſſes; but at preſent by a Mayor, twelve Aldermen, twenty-four Common Council, and a Town-Clerk. Its privileges were confirmed by James, who incorporated it in the 15th of his reign.

Right of Election—is in the majority of the corporation.

Number of Voters—36. *Returning Officer*—the Mayor.

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday January 22, 1793.

ON THE

ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

Continued from Page 262.

ON the re-meeting of Parliament the heinouſneſs of the late conſpiracy was the firſt conſideration that engaged the attention of both houſes. Some of the Commons propoſed that the priſoners might be tried before the King and Parliament; others were for bringing in a bill to enact a more rigorous puniſhment than the law ordained. Both theſe motions were dropped, and the proceedings againſt them took their due courſe. The reſult of their reſentment was an act which ordained an annual thankſgiving on the 5th of November, and two ſevere ones againſt the body of Papiſts.

The business of a supply brought on the demand for redress of grievances. The king who heard that the Commons were about ecclesiastical abuses, was determined to be beforehand with them, and a message was delivered to the Lords by the Archbishop of Canterbury concerning the abuses of excommunication, with this proviso: "Though his Majesty doth desire that the said "jurisdiction ecclesiastic may be maintained and upholden in all things as it is fit." A message from the Commons desired a conference on these articles:—The silencing of ministers, the multiplicity of ecclesiastical commissions, the manner of citations, and the point of excommunication. The Lords did not answer the message till some time after, when the Commons were told that they had appointed a committee for the conference. Prerogative royal had been so zealously maintained in the upper house, in a debate whether they should agree or not to the said conference, that the King sent thanks to all the Lords in general for their regard to his power. The business of the conference was now proceeded on. The Bishops were of the committee for the Lords, and the affair was determined according to the sense of the King's message.

This point gained, new difficulties arose. The nuisance of purveyorship, and the iniquity of officers, were so strongly represented by the Commons, that the ministry were confounded, and said that they would join in chacing out purveyors;* but entreated an immediate supply

* These men by the licence of their office, which was to purvey for the King's household, pressed into their service all kind of wheel carriages and vehicles, in times of the greatest business, and by such means extorted money for respites. Two acts to redress this grievance passed the House of Commons, but were rejected by the Lords.

supply to the King's necessities. A bill for three subsidies and six-fifteenths, went on heavily in the lower house; the redress of grievances was thought very necessary to precede so large a grant. These were enumerated, and the amount was so vast, that James said peevishly, "They had sent an O Yes through the nation to "find them."

In the heat of the debate, an alarm of the King's being murdered at Oaking, threw the whole town into confusion. The citizens were put under arms, and preparations made against a siege. The frighted members sent message after message to the council, to know the truth of the various reports; in a little time they became less strong, then doubtful, and in some hours James sent word that he intended being in London that day. Whilst the minds of men were yet agitated by the double surprize, whilst the tide of affection ran high on account of the supposed accident, the courtiers pushed the supply so strongly and so warmly, that notwithstanding all that the clear sighted members could do, they carried the motion. The next day, when time and reflection had abated over-heated loyalty, the outwitted party began to consider of the largeness of their generosity; and some of the members moved that it should not pass till the heavy grievances of the nation were redressed. The courtiers over-ruled this, and the bill was sent up to the House of Lords, where it met with a quick and easy assent. Nor did the gratification which James enjoyed from the report terminate here: he was received at Hyde Park by the Speaker and four members of the House of Commons; the City paid him the same compliment; whilst the easy Vulgar were unbounded in their extacies.

The

The Union was again brought before the houſes, and a bill paſſed as ineffectual as the former. The Commons were in ſo little temper for ſuch a compliance, that the country party in the houſe had drawn up a liſt of the grievances of Church and State, and briſkly preſented it, while the bill of Supply was paſſing the Lords. The oppreſſion which the ſubject ſuffered from purveyorſhip was again argued in the houſe, with propoſals for taking away the arbitrary power of the Green-cloth. This drew a meſſage from the King, in which he aſſured them of a reformation in this article, and that the ſubject ſhould not be brought before the Green-cloth, but before the Juſtice-ſeat. One Parker preached a ſermon at St. Paul's, where he abuſed the Houſe of Commons in the groſſeſt terms for irregular proceedings: he was protected by the King, under a promiſe of correction. This affair would have gone farther, if the parliament had not been prorogued ſuddenly.

The nation appeared to enjoy a perfect calm; the dazzling glitter of the court, while it diſſipated reflection, confounded the ſenſe of evil with the alluremement of pleaſure; and private grievances were forgot in the enjoyment of public amuſements. James, wantoning in the moſt laviſh prodigality, would have experienced the full meaſure of happineſs, had he effected his darling plan of union. This event he looked on as one of the moſt important advantages of his acceſſion, and an epoch which would ſtrongly mark the luſtre of his reign; nor did he ever ſuſpect that his ingenuity and eloquence would be baffled in one of the moſt rational ſchemes he had ever projected, or that plebeian powers could withſtand kingly force and kingly wiſdom. Beſides, the late

generoſity

generosity of the Commons had taught him, that if that formidable assembly was difficult of conviction, they were liable to be over-reached by the low cunning of court politics. The next session he hoped would bring the affair to a favourable issue; and on the eighteenth of November, the day to which the parliament had been prorogued, he made a speech to that effect.* Sir Francis Bacon employed all his powers to the same purpose; and in order to soften the members, some trifling concessions were made on a few of the least important articles in the list of grievances offered the last session; but neither could the keenness of the Monarch, the favour of his concessions, nor the eloquence of his servant, Sir Francis Bacon, prevail over the determined resolution of the Commons; nor were the LORDS forward to shew that devotion which had ever been proof against the arguments of public good. National animosity and personal jealousy now so far prevailed, that after many fruitless messages, and as fruitless conferences, the only point determined was an act for the utter abolition of all memory of hostilities between the two nations, and for repressing the occasion of discord for the time to come.† James, impatient at these delays, called toge-

* In this speech James admonishes the parliament to be upon their good behaviour: he tells them, that as individuals they are subject to the power of their Sovereign; warns them that their office is not perpetual, and compares the dissolution of a parliament to the death of kings, who after the expiration of their reigns with their lives, must give an account of their actions. After having assailed the parliament with many importunities concerning the Union, he told them that he desired no more than what he had power of himself to accomplish without them. *Journals of the Commons.* vol. 1. p. 314.

† The Commons thought fit to gratify the King by imprisoning one of their members, Sir Christopher Pigott, and dismissing him from

ther the two houſes at Whitehall,* where he laboured to convince them of the utility of the Union, and the error of their proceedings; mentioned a proclamation he had made by the opinion of the judges, to naturalize thoſe Scotch ſubjects born after his acceſſion, and charges them not to diſgrace either his proclamation or his judges, who when the parliament was done, had authority to try their lands and lives: laſtly, he warned them to think of his power, and not to tempt his patience. Thus did the king alternately ſoothe, cajole, and threaten, but all in vain; the Commons continued firm in their reſolution not to agree to it at that time.

The

from the houſe, for having inveighed with great intemperance againſt the Scots, in a debate on the Union. *Journals of the Commons*, vol. 1, p. 335.

* In the ſpeech the King made on this occaſion, he gives a remarkable detail of the extent of his authority in the Scotch government. It is an anſwer to the objection made by the Oppoſition on the different privileges claimed by the Scotch and Engliſh ſubjects. "The Scots, ſays he, in their pretence to a preſerving their own "fundamental laws, only mean thoſe laws by which confuſion is "avoided, and their King's ſucceſſion and Monarchy maintained; "not the common law, as you do; for the Scots have no law but "that which is *jus Regis—the will of the King.*" He boaſts that he governs Scotland with his pen; that he does more by a Clerk of the Council, than others could do by the Sword; that no man there dares to ſpeak diſhonourably of England, as the Engliſh have done of Scotland, for the authority of the Chancellor would interrupt him. To an objection that had been ſtarted, that the King of Scotland had not a negative voice, but muſt paſs the laws agreed on by the Lords and Commons, he aſſures them that the form of the Scotch parliament is ſo little inclined to popularity, that all bills to be exhibited on a ſeſſion, muſt be approved by the King before they can be propounded by the parliament. *Parliamentary Hiſtory*, vol. v. p. 199, *and ſeq.*

The mortification which the diſappointment occaſioned to James was conſiderable; the conviction of his own abilities, and the flattery he had met with on his acceſſion, made him look on every attempt to be within the reach of his powers. He had gone farther in this than his prerogative could ſecure; its proving abortive would make even his Scotch ſubjects look upon his influence in England with contempt. He had mixed entreaty with threats, and had condeſcended to beg the parliament to ſave him the diſgrace of being fruſtrated: his reſentment made him conceive a contempt and averſion for theſe aſſemblies, which continued all the remaining part of his reign; nor were theſe aſſemblies more favourable in their opinion of Majeſty. James's mean *miſrepreſentations*, his verbal aſſurances, his impotent menaces and barren arguments, while they expoſed the ſhallowneſs of the modern Solomon, unveiled prerogative itſelf. The Commons now with curious eye looked on a Divinity which they had been taught to worſhip blindly. On canvaſſing its pretenſions, they found them not only deſtructive to the Conſtitution, but irreconcileable to every rational principle; and that the laws were weak barriers againſt its unlimited force.* Among the

* Thus thought the Commons at that time, of the *monſter Prerogative*: little did they imagine then, that their deſcendants would have to encounter a ſtill more hideous and baneful one called INFLUENCE. The ſupport of this prerogative, kept James in perpetual quarrels with his parliament, which quarrels he left entailed upon his ſon; till in the end they coſt him his crown and life. The ſame luſt for *Prerogative Royal* was the cauſe of the ſecond James's baniſhment. What wonderful *magic* in a name! INFLUENCE which has ſucceeded, does the buſineſs equally as well; ſecures the continual ſmiles of the repreſentatives of the people; and we are told in the Anecdotes of Lord Chatham, vol. i. p 267, of a royal apothegm that his Majeſty, ſpeaking of CHARLES THE FIRST, ſaid, *He was a good king; but did not know how to govern by a parliament.* *The Editors.*

the many bitter things which had been said during the late contest, the inconvenience of royal residence was so often hinted at, that James actually offered the parliament to spend his years alternately in Scotland and England, or to remove his court to York. The Commons intended to desire him in an address not to listen to reports, but to learn the sense of the house from the Speaker; the King was apprized of their intention, and pacified them by a message, importing "that he was "extremely tender of their priveliges, and that every "member might speak freely, though with modesty and "discretion." Not being able to attain the ends for which he permitted the parliament to meet, on the fourth of July he prorogued them to the fixteenth of November.

(To be continued.)

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

AMONG the many excellencies with which the French Constitution abounds, there can be none in which the world at large is more generally interested than in the resolution of those enlightened, beneficent legislators, to renounce all wars undertaken for the sake of mere conquest, or glory. Such a noble, godlike, resolution deserves, and loudly calls for the like, from all other nations. Then indeed would the happy time arrive, which the Scripture so beautifully describes, when men

men *shall beat their swords into plow-shares, their spears into pruning-hooks, and nations shall learn war no more.*

But though this happy time will certainly arrive, it is probably yet at some considerable distance. Statesmen and priests yet possess a great deal of the power which they obtained by craft or violence in darker ages, and yet appear fond of exercising this power to plague and destroy their fellow creatures. Thus we observe at present almost all the powers of Europe either directly or indirectly combined against France, with an intent to reduce it to the state of wretchedness and despotism, from which it has so gloriously emerged; and, with matchless effrontery, directing the ready tools of power to publish manifestos to a people with whom they had nothing to do,—not the shadow of a quarrel, containing reasons why they should be conquered and destroyed. Strange, that those who assume the title of Rulers of the World, should employ themselves in little else than in tormenting and destroying all around them.

I am led to make these reflections, from perusing the works of the late King of Prussia; and I doubt not but many of your readers will join with me, when they have seriously perused and contemplated upon the following extracts from that work, which so forcibly points out the folly, the wickedness, and miseries of war.

In the general war which began in the year 1755, and ended in 1763, Prussia lost 180,000 men; her armies had fought sixteen pitched battles. The enemy almost destroyed three large corps, exclusive of five garrisons. It was further estimated that 20,000 souls perished in the kingdom of Prussia, by the ravages of the Russians

Ruſſians; 6000 in Pomerania; and 7000 in the other provinces. If the garriſons above mentioned are eſtimated at 7000, the total number of men deſtroyed in this war on the ſide of the Pruſſians will be 220,000. In order (ſays this Lord's anointed) to obtain a clear idea of the general ſubverſion of the country, and to repreſent the deſolation of the people, it is neceſſary to imagine a country entirely ravaged, where the traces of former habitations were ſcarcely diſcoverable, towns almoſt eraſed from the earth, others' half conſumed by the flames; thirteen thouſand houſes, no veſtiges of which remained; fields lying fallow; the inhabitants deſtitute of the corn requiſite for ſupport; the farmers in want of 60,000 horſes for the plough, and a diminution of 500,000 inhabitants, ſince the year 1756. The Noble and the Peaſant had been pillaged, ranſomed and foraged by ſo many different armies, that nothing was left them except life; they had not ſufficient credit even to ſupply the daily wants of nature. There was no longer any police in the towns. To a ſpirit of equity and regularity, diſorder and anarchy had ſucceeded. The ſlumber of the laws produced a licentiouſneſs of ſpirit in the public, and all ranks only ſeemed active to effect their mutual ruin.

Such was the fatal ſpectacle that ſo many provinces which had lately been ſo flouriſhing, preſented at the concluſion of the war. There is no deſcription, however pathetic, that can poſſibly approach the deep, the affecting, the mournful impreſſion which the ſight of them produced.

If from Pruſſia we turn our attention to the other belligerent powers, we ſhall find the ſame tragical deſtruction

ſtruction of the human ſpecies. The Ruſſians had fought four grand battles, and it was computed that the war had coſt them 120,000 men.

The Auſtrians had fought ten *regular* battles; and they eſtimated their loſs at 140,000 men.

The French made their loſſes amount to 200,000, the Engliſh and their allies to 160,000, and the troops of the Circles to 28,000.

At the cloſe of the war, the houſe of Auſtria found itſelf one hundred millions of crowns in debt. In France, the credit of government had been nearly ruined, and the people groaned under the weight of taxes by which they were overwhelmed.

The Engliſh, victorious by ſea and land, may be ſaid to have purchaſed their conqueſts by immenſe ſums, which they had borrowed to carry on the war, and which almoſt rendered them inſolvent. But Pruſſia ſuffered the moſt, for all the powers at war committed ravages there; and the ſtate expended one hundred and twenty five millions of crowns, during the war.

From this picture which we have ſketched, the reſult is, that all the governments at war were overwhelmed with debts, and almoſt deſtitute of credit.

If it be enquired what vaſt and important events occaſioned all this waſte of treaſure, this deſtruction of the human ſpecies, and all the accumulated miſeries above deſcribed, perhaps the true anſwer may be, that Louis XV. the firſt inſtigator of it, thought it was *for his glory*; or

or ſome proud miniſter of his had received an affront and wiſhed for revenge; ſome wanton concubine wiſhed to gratify her caprice, in making or diſgracing generals and commanders. Other powers would be ſeized with the contagion, or obliged to arm in ſelf-defence; and thus the whole world became a field of blood for the pleaſure of a ſet of miſcreants who, as the author of Cato's letters well obſerves, "ſhould be confined in a mad-houſe, with "their beloved arms along with them, to fight and tear "each other's fleſh, and ſpill their own deteſtable blood, "as a ſort of ſatisfaction to mankind, for ſo much *human* "blood, outrageouſly and wantonly ſpilt."

"*Alas for that nation whoſe prince affects to be a hero!*" (ſays the gentle, the amiable *Fenelon*) Oh, with what tenderneſs ſhould princes undertake wars! That they ought to be ſtrictly juſt, is not enough; they muſt be ſtrictly neceſſary—neceſſary for the public good. The blood of the people ought never to be ſhed, but to ſave the people, and the occaſion ought to be extreme. But flattering counſels, falſe ideas of glory, vain jealouſies, boundleſs rapaciouſneſs under ſpecious diſguiſes, and raſh engagements, draw almoſt all princes inſenſibly or precipitately into wars which prove fatal to them. They hazard all without neceſſity, and do as much miſchief to their ſubjects as to their enemies.

But why theſe conſuming wars? Is there not land enough in the univerſe to ſatisfy all men with more than they can cultivate? Are there not vaſt tracts of deſart lands, ſo vaſt that mankind is not ſufficient to fill them? How then! a falſe glory, a vain title of *Conqueror*, which a prince is fond of, kindles a war far and wide; and one ſingle man, thrown by heaven into the world in wrath,

ſacrifices

sacrifices brutally so many others to his vanity! His glory requires it, and all must perish before him. Countries swim in blood; towns and cities suffer devouring flames, and what escapes from the fire, famine more cruel than both, must consume; and all that this man, who thus sports himself with throwing all human nature into pangs, may find in this general destruction, *his pleasure and his glory!* What monstrous glory! Can we too much despise, too much abhor these monstrous men who have thus forgot humanity! Without being men, they set up for demigods, and earn the curses, instead of what they aim at, the admiration of ages to come."

That the above tragical Extract from the works of a *Hero*, and the pathetic reflections of a true Christian, may make a proper impression on the minds of your numerous readers, is the fervent wish of

HUMANUS.

Nottingham, Dec. 3, 1793.

Temperate Reflections on the present Crisis

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TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

AMIDST the various and discordant opinions which agitate the minds of men at this eventful season, I cannot help expressing my surprize and concern, that

those who have always been distinguished for their cordial attachment to civil liberty, should not have more generally adopted *as a bond of union, the* '*Declaration of* '*the Society of the Friends of the People.*' It is a manly and a constitutional profession of principles and designs, which at once would have separated them from the sordid instruments of power, and from the promoters of democratical disorder

If we were to attend only to the language of the abettors of despotism, and of those who are known to profit by the abuses of the state, we should naturally conclude that there are but two political distinctions of men in this country. The first—The friends of human kind, asserters of rule, order, and government, the only guardians of liberty and property. The other—Malignant, lawless, turbulent, disaffected, aiming at the overthrow of all government—republicans and levevellers. Under the soothing terms of the first description, are classed all the supporters of the present measures of administration, and under the invidious epithet of the latter, is included every man who exercises his right of thinking differently, and has spirit enough to record his dissent. I am far from being unwilling to admit that there are, and have been men of republican principles, in this country; but am I not at least as well assured that there is another set of men, the secret favourers of arbitrary power, whose views are certainly full as hostile to the constitution?—But I trust, Gentlemen, that the stability of constitutional liberty depends not on the casual ascendency of either the one or the other of these factions. I trust that there is a middle order of men who are neither flatterers of courts nor enemies of good government; who are alike prepared to detest the insidious

dious approaches of tyranny, or to repress the more honest but inordinate sallies of the indiscriminating (I do not say swinish) multitude.

The respective advantages of monarchy, and republicanism, have at no time excited the enquiries, and divided the approbation of speculative men more than at the present day. We had been in the habit of considering the question as long ago discussed in this country; and the revolution which was the result, was supposed to have given us a form of government combining the benefits of the other two: taken in this view, there was no necessity for, and certainly we have no reason to rejoice in the revival of the controversy here. But the momentous transactions of a neighbouring kingdom were too fruitful, too diversified, and too inviting a theme, for the vanity, the applause, or the petulance of political declamation, to withstand. Mr. Burke was the first to enter the lists of revolutionary contention, and he was suspected at least to have received the encouragement of government to give the weight of his shining talents to the side of monarchy. To counterpoise the efficacy of celestial visions and holy prejudices, 'were brought forth' all those melting, and all those indignant appeals, which passion had dictated, and poetical extravagance embellished, to captivate the sense, and mislead the judgment. The friends of freedom hasten to the opposite scale with the coarse, but striking; the unadorned, but ponderous arguments of republican Paine. Auxiliaries are at hand to elevate or depress the balance, as the artifices of elocution, or the Rights of Man threaten to preponderate. The machine is now tossing with unusual agitation; every friend to his country will hope that on this, as on former occasions, the violence of its action will gradually

subside

ſubſide with time, and whatever may be the wiſhes of thoſe who ſtand at the extreme points, that the motion will at length ceaſe ſomewhere about the middle of the beam.

For myſelf (and I do not think I am ſpeaking the ſolitary ſentiments of an individual only) I have no heſitation in declaring, that I have never been friendly even in thought to the excluſive application of republican maxims in government. I do not go the length of thoſe who diſclaim againſt a republic as the worſt of all governments in the ancient or modern world! but I confeſs I ſee nothing that an Engliſhman has to envy in the comparative condition of mankind, in the moſt ſplendid periods of Greek and Roman greatneſs; nor do I think that the examples of our own age promiſe to afford more perſuaſive arguments in its favour. It is a mode of government well calculated indeed to call forth the exertions, and diſplay the energies of human intellect, and as ſuch, highly flattering to the genius and ambition of particular men: but who would infer from this, that it is more likely to promote the public felicity? I think with thoſe, who conſider the ſtate of manners in Europe, as too depraved to admit of being regulated by any means ſhort of a ſtrong coercion; and as the executive power of government, muſt be lodged ſomewhere; is it not better that it ſhould be exerciſed in any one regular, uniform and permanent manner, than ever varying its temper, and left to fluctuate from the hand of one demagogue to another—whether he be the ſucceſsful general at the head of an army, or the leading orator of a popular aſſembly?

But if on the one hand, I am averſe to the mutability and frequent intemperance of popular government,

on

on the other, I hope I shall always be found to the extent of my limited abilities and condition, a determined enemy to unrestrained power, by whatever hand it may be assumed, or by whatever specious form or name it may be administered. Directed by the light of experience rather than by the deductions of reasoning, I respect the forms of the constitution of my country, and consider them as giving a fairer chance for general prosperity, than any other in Europe; but if I venerate the forms, shall I be indifferent to the fate of the principles on which these forms were established? When the spirit ceases to operate, do we honour the body more than as a lifeless trunk? Appealing to the '*principium et Fons*' "*the beginning and fountain*" of an Englishman's faith the glorious revolution; whose object was to restore to the people their almost annihilated authority in the state; can I consider parliaments so constituted and so influenced as ours now are, as a full and free representation of the public mind? Adverting to the practice of that memorable æra, do we ask for more than an Englishman's right, when we call for parliaments of a shorter duration? Septennial parliaments being so violent a deviation from the institutions of that time, as was unknown, unthought of, and consequently unprovided against, by the most vigilant patriotism of that auspicious period.

The revolution of France, the furious excesses of an ungovernable multitude; the combination of Kings; their insulting and brutal manifestos, and subsequent discomfiture, however artificially interwoven with the politics of this country, are subjects foreign to our question of parliamentary reform. They give an awful lesson indeed to the ruling powers of the world, that the

great principle and end of all government ought to be the happineſs of the governed; that when this principle is departed from, and the depreſſion of the many takes place, for the agrandizement of the few, it is no longer a government of protection, but of oppreſſion; it is an abuſe of power, which calls for, and muſt, ſooner or later, provoke the correcting hand of the people.

Regardleſs of the ſenſeleſs clamour of the day, which implicates every man who holds ſentiments ſuch as theſe in the odious and undiſtingniſhing charge of ſedition, I am neither aſhamed nor afraid to ſubſcribe mine

With the name of, &c.

J. M.

Bedlington, Dec. 5, 1793.

EXTRACT

From

LORD BOLINGBROKE'S DISSERTATION ON PARTIES.

"SUBMISSION will be as grievous, and reſiſtance much more difficult, when the Legiſlature betrays its truſt, than when the King alone abuſes his power. This ſets before us, in a very ſtrong light, the neceſſity of uſing our utmoſt efforts that the true deſign of our Conſtitution, may be purſued as cloſely as poſſible by the reeſtabliſhment of annual, or at leaſt triennial parliaments.

But

But the importance of the matter, and the particular ſeaſonableneſs of the conjuncture, invite me to offer one conſideration more upon this head, which I think will not ſtrike the leſs for being obvious and plain. It is this. Should a king obtain, for many years at once, the ſupplies and powers which uſed to be granted annually to him; this would be deemed, I preſume, even in the preſent age an unjuſtifiable meaſure, and intolerable grievance; for this plain reaſon, becauſe it would alter our Conſtitution in the fundamental article, that requires frequent aſſemblies of the whole legiſlature, in order to aſſiſt, and controul too, the Executive power, which is entruſted with one part of it. Now, I aſk, is not the article which requires frequent elections of the repreſentatives by the collective body of the people, in order to ſecure the latter againſt the ill conſequence of the poſſible weakneſs, or corruption of the former, as fundamental an article, and as eſſential to the preſervation of our liberties, as the other? No man dares ſay that it is not: at leaſt no man who deſerves our attention. The people of Britain have as good a right, and their right is as neceſſary to be aſſerted, to keep their repreſentatives true to the truſt repoſed in them, and to the preſervation of the Conſtitution, by the controul of frequent elections, as they have to keep their kings true to the truſt repoſed in *them*, and to the preſervation of the Conſtitution by the controul of frequent ſittings of parliament. How comes it then to paſs, that we may obſerve ſo great a difference in the ſentiments of mankind, about theſe two caſes? Propoſe the firſt, there is no ſervile friend of government who will not affect all the horror at the propoſition, which every friend of the Conſtitution will really feel. Propoſe the keeping up ſeptennial, nay the making decennial, or ten years parliaments, the

ſame

same friends of government will contend strenuously for one, and by consequence for both; since there can be no reason alledged for the first, which is not stronger for the last, and would not be still stronger for a longer term. These reasons, drawn from two or three common place topics of pretended conveniency, and expediency, or of supposed tranquillity at home, and strength abroad, I need not mention. They have been mentioned by others, and sufficiently refuted. But that which may very justly appear marvellous, is this, that some men, I think not many, who are true friends of the Constitution, have been staggered in their opinions, and almost seduced by the false reasonings of these friends of government; though nothing can be more easy than to shew, from reason and experience, that conveniency, expediency, and domestic tranquillity, may be, and in fact have been as well, nay better secured, under triennial, nay annual parliaments, than under parliaments of a longer continuance; and as for strength abroad (that is, national credit and influence) it will depend on the opinion foreign nations have of our national dispositions, and the unanimity of our sentiments. It must be chiefly determined therefore by their knowledge of the real sense of the nation. Now that can appear no way so much as in the natural state of our Constitution, by frequent elections; and when it does appear so, it must have another kind of effect than the bare resolutions of a stale ministerial parliament: especially if it happens, as it may happen in any future time, that the sense of the nation should appear to be different from the sense of such a *parliament, and that the resolutions of such

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* Would not one be led to imagine that this enlightened writer had the gift of prescience, and foresaw at the distance of almost a century, our late Russian armament, and its expensive, disgraceful, and contemptible consequences. *The Editors.*

a parliament ſhould be avowedly dictated by men, odious and hated, contemptible and contemned both at home and abroad. But in the ſuppoſition that ſome inconveniencies may ariſe by frequent elections (which is only allowed for argument's ſake) are ſuch inconveniences, and the trifling conſequences of them, to be ſet in the balance againſt the danger of weakening any one barrier of our liberty? Let me aſk, how comes it to paſs, that we obſerve ſo great a difference between the ſentiments and reaſonings of mankind about frequent ſeſſions of parliament, and frequent parliaments?—The only manner in which I can account for ſuch an inconſiſtency, is this; the ſight of the mind differs very much from the ſight of the body, and its operations are frequently the reverſe of the other. Objects at a diſtance appear to the former in their true magnitude, and diminiſh as they are brought nearer. The event, that created much aſtoniſhment, indignation, or terror in the proſpect, creates leſs and leſs as it approaches, and by the time it happens, men have familiarized themſelves with it. If the Romans had been told in the days of Auguſtus, that an Emperor would ſucceed, in whoſe reign a horſe ſhould be made conſul, they would have been extremely ſurprized. I believe they were not ſo much ſurprized when the thing happened; when the horſe was Conſul, and Caligula Emperor.

If it had been foretold to theſe patriots at the revolution, who remembered long parliaments, who ſtill felt the ſmart of them, who ſtruggled hard for annual, and obtained with much difficulty, at the end of five or ſix years, triennial parliaments; that a time would come when even the term of triennial parliaments would be deemed too ſhort, and a parliament choſen for three

years

years would chuse itself for four more, and entail septennial parliaments on the nation; that this would happen, and the fruits of their honest labours be lost in little more than twenty years; and that it would be brought about whilst our government continued on the foundations they had then so newly laid: if all this had been foretold at the time I mention, it would have appeared improbable and monstrous to the friends of the revolution. Yet it hath happened, and in less than twenty years it is grown, or is growing familiar to us. The uniform zeal and complaisance of our parliaments for the crown, leave little room to apprehend any attempt to govern without them; or to make them do in one session the work of seven; though this would be extremely convenient, no doubt a great ease to future ministers, and a great saving of expence and time to country gentlemen. But suppose (for I desire it may be remembered that I reason hypothetically), a parliament should think fit to give, in the first session, all the money, all the credit, and all the powers necessary for carrying on the government during seven years; and then let those persons who will be shocked at this supposition, and yet declare themselves for septennial parliaments, lay their hands on their hearts and consider whether such an alteration of the constitution might not grow familiar to them, and even gain their approbation? I think it would do so. I am sure it might as reasonably as the other. They would find the ease in one case, of little attendance, as much as that of distant elections in the other. The arguments of conveniency, expediency, public tranquillity, and strength to the government, would be just as well applied; and if the ministers should, by miracle, make no very exorbitant ill use of such a situation, I doubt whether he who should plead for annual

par-

parliaments then, would be much better heard by the same persons than he who pleads for frequent elections of parliament is now.

But let the lovers of liberty, the friends of the Constitution, reason in this manner. Let them remember that danger commences when the breach is made, not when the attack is begun; that he who neglects to stop the leak, as soon as it is discovered, in hopes to save his ship by pumping, when the water gushes in by violence, deserves to be drowned; and, to lay aside figures of speech, that our Constitution is not, like the schemes of some politicians, a jumble of disjointed, incoherent whimsies, but a noble and wise system, the essential parts of which are so proportioned, and so intimately connected, that a change in one begets a change in the whole; that the frequent elections of parliament are as much an essential part of this system, as the frequent sittings of parliament; that the work of the Revolution is imperfect therefore, and our future security precarious, unless our ancient Constitution be restored in this essential part."

On the improper Use of the Word Constitution.

WITH REMARKS UPON THE OPPOSITION TO A REFORM.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

IT must be considered as a matter of surprize to the intelligent to find, that those who are most vocife-

rous

rous in extolling the glory of our excellent Constitution, are too often totally ignorant of what it really is. They generally confound the idea of the Constitution, with the present mode of carrying on the internal government, and business of the State. This has led many into a very dangerous error, and consequent confusion in their method of reasoning upon these important subjects; as in reality there are scarce any two things more at variance with each other, in the main essentials, as the mode of conducting the business of the State now stands.

In proof of this we need only recollect what our Constitution was, as to its essential parts, and what it still ought, and must be allowed to be, till altered by a National Convention called for that special purpose.

By the constitution, the community *at large* had elective rights, and sent representatives to parliament till the reign of Henry VI, when a vast majority, probably nineteen in twenty, were disfranchised, and reduced to a state of absolute political slavery.

Till the revolution, the House of Commons was constitutionally chosen annually; when elections became triennial, and about the year 1716, they were prolonged to septennial, without calling a convention, or consulting the people, who remonstrated against that unconstitutional and most dangerous measure, which rendered the fortress of bribery and corruption impregnable. This was done under the feigned pretext of avoiding riot and confusion at elections; which this innovation necessarily, actually increased tenfold, by the peculation which it unavoidably produced; and now all the disputed elections can scarcely be decided before a succeeding election comes on.

Another

Another, and moſt dangerous deviation from the conſtitution, is, the Nobles having got a majority at preſent in the Houſe of Commons, by means of their cloſed boroughs, of which they have got abſolute poſſeſſion; and by their influence in ſeveral counties, and alſo in the moſt of the inſignificant and decayed boroughs, ſome of which are by lapſe of time, ſo reduced, that 636 oſtenſible electors ſend ſeventy one members; while the county of York, which is ſaid to contain twenty thouſand yeomanry, ſends only two repreſentatives, and ſo aſſuming are the nobles grown, that ſome of them generally attend the public meetings for nominating gentlemen to ſerve as repreſentatives; nay, in moſt conteſted elections, they canvaſs by their profeſſed agents, and frequently have the conſummate aſſurance to apply to electors, and even attempt to awe them by their preſence at the poll.

This is totally repugnant to the Britiſh conſtitution, and equally deſtructive of it. And what is ſtill more alarming, this influence of the higher Houſe over the lower, is rapidly encreaſing; for we cannot avoid ſeeing how readily a title is conferred upon a family which has the full poſſeſſion of the repreſentation of a few cloſed boroughs, or the command of a few others. Thus a Miſs Pulteney was very lately complimented with a title, her father being in poſſeſſion of two cloſed boroughs, and ſeveral other inſtances of this ſort might be mentioned.

If the boaſted glory and very eſſence of the Britiſh conſtitution conſiſted, firſt, in a fair and unbiaſſed repreſentation of the people; and, ſecondly upon, the due poiſe of King, Lords, and Commons, acting independently of each other; and eſpecially upon the Houſe of

Representatives being independent of that of the Lords, as De Lolme, Blackstone, and others have represented: I say if upon these requisites the very essence of the constitution depends; where is now either the glory or essence, of it be found; that two thirds of the House of Commons represent nobody, but about a hundred Lords, and fifty overgrown Commoners, who are generally dependent on the Crown, by pecuniary connections in one shape or other. In such a case, the *shadow* of Representation may remain, but that can answer no other purpurpose but to remind the people of the *substance* which they find they have lost; and that the Constitution, as to its proper and boasted efficacy, hath nearly vanished.

I trust enough has now been said to shew the necessity of making this important distinction between the constitution, and the mode of conducting the business of the state, whenever we speak of these matters; for without attending to this absolutely necessary distinction, we every day see how people bewilder themselves, and grossly mislead all who place any confidence in such incoherent reasoning, in such absurd harrangues, which perhaps, are sometimes delivered for this very purpose. It must be allowed that some authors of celebrity, such as Henry Fielding, have run into this error, and asserted that the constitution of this island was as various as its weather; but this is a strange idea of a constitution, the proper essence of which is, that it has a fixed and permanent basis; which must here be allowed to consist in the three estates being independent of each other, and acting independently in the spheres allotted to each; and particularly that the House of Commons should be dependent on the people at large, and responsible to them by frequent elections.

Thus,

Thus, ever ſince the great Alfred's time, the repreſentatives of the people were conſtitutionally underſtood to be the organ of the people at large, to convey their ſentiments to the throne upon national concerns; and our Kings have frequently expreſſed the ſame idea in their ſpeeches in parliament. It muſt be allowed that this conſtitution has been frequently infringed on ſince the conqueſt; and particularly during the reigns of all the Stuarts, for which two of them forfeited the crown; and this ſhewed what idea the people *then* had of the conſtitution, and how tenaciouſly they adhered to it: but ſtill, it is evident that the foundation and main pillars of the conſtitution were univerſally underſtood to remain unſhaken, and, after various efforts, the fabric was at length repaired, at leaſt in part, upon the original plan, about the time of the revolution; ſince which, moſt of the above deviations have again taken place and are continually extending themſelves.

In proof of this, take a ſketch of a ſpeech delivered at that moſt reſpectable meeting of the Yorkſhire Aſſociation in 1782, by a worthy repreſentative of that county. He ſaid, "The democratic part had loſt much weight, "and the power of the people had greatly failed in the "inequality of their repreſentation. Indeed, the peo-"ple could not, with truth, be ſaid *to be repreſented*, if "the word *repreſentation* had any meaning in the Eng-"liſh language. We had long ſeen the little venal de-"cayed boroughs repreſented by perſons of different de-"ſcriptions, to whoſe very names their conſtituents were "perhaps ſtrangers. Some wretched contractor who "went to parliament as he went to the alley in the way "of ſpeculation.—Some Indian Governor, rich in the "ſpoils of plundered provinces, who purchaſed thereby

"impunity

"impunity to his crimes, by a vote of ready acquieſ-
"cence to every miniſter and every meaſure—mutually
"ſupporting, and ſupported by miniſterial delinquency."
At the ſame moſt reſpectable meeting, which was never
branded with the undefinable epithet SEDITIOUS; the
preſent noble Duke of Norfolk, then a member of the
Houſe of Commons, declared 'That the inequality of
'our repreſentation was a mortal grievance.'

If it be aſked, what better it would have been for the nation if the people were fairly repreſented? the anſwer is ready. Had the conſtitution been reſtored in this point only a few years ago, the nation would have gained half a million ſterling annually, and ſaved an hundred thouſand lives, and an hundred and ſeventy five millions of money; and we may add, America would ſtill have been ours, and Britain have been the arbiter of Europe: to ſay nothing of the unneceſſary expenſive armaments repeated every two or three years, or of a large unneceſſary ſtanding army, univerſally known to be dangerous to civil liberty in time of profound peace, the expence of which is only trifling when compared to the national loſs of the labour of the men and horſes ſo employed. And further, upon ſuch a repreſentation of the people at large, before they granted money ſo laviſhly would take ſome care as to the propriety of its expenditure, which is now never enquired into.

It has been of late ſaid by Royaliſts, that the American war was a meaſure of the people; but this is abſolutely falſe, unleſs we take the addreſſes of corporate bodies and the clergy, who were generally put upon this meaſure by the ſervants of the crown, with whom they are moſtly in partnerſhip, to paſs their meaſures with the

people

people. But it is well known that the independent part of the people preſented petitions againſt that meaſure, till it was evident that petitions had no avail. It muſt be allowed that the bait moſt artfully thrown out by the ſervants of the crown took too ſucceſsfully with ſome unprincipled avaricious and weak people, that our taxes would be alleviated—this we feel has been done with a vengeance. Thoſe who pledged lives and fortunes in that iniquitous cauſe, are as tardy in paying as the oppoſers.

Will it not be the moſt conſummate madneſs to run the riſque of another ruinous diſaſter, by procraſtinating ſo neceſſary a reform in the repreſentation upon which our all depends?

It hath been further urged, that as the preſent Houſe of Commons muſt tax themſelves in proportion as they tax the people, we cannot ſuppoſe the parliament will raiſe *unneceſſary taxes*; but upon a cloſe examination, this will befound a very lame argument indeed; for it is probable, that upon an average of every pound granted in taxes, not leſs than half-a-crown finds its way into the pockets of the grantors! and their connections, in the ſhape of extravagant ſalaries, frequently for ſinecures, extravagant and unmerited penſions, ſecret ſervice, jobs, contracts, &c. &c. which are conſtantly conferred on the members of one of the Houſes, or their dependents; or on ſuch as are known to have influence there. The names of theſe *immaculate* members are carefully entered in the miniſters pocket liſt; and always ready at a call. We cannot wonder at men being very ready to grant, when they conſider that the more

more they grant, the more they ſhall gain for themſelves or their dependants.*

I truſt then it will not be deemed ſeditious to ſay, what is ſo flagrantly evident to every one that has taken any pains to acquaint himſelf with theſe important matters, to wit, that a fair and tolerably equal repreſentation of the people, independent of the Lords, who now ſend about one half of the members; with frequent elections, as in America, and the excluſion of placemen, contractors, and penſioners, would inevitably produce a proper and, indeed, now neceſſary regulation, in

* The annual taxes amount to about		17,000,000
The annual expence of the navy	2,000,000	
Do. of an unneceſſary army (unneceſſary becauſe the militia is ſufficient; this is properly a job which procures great influence in the Houſe, by commiſſions, &c.	2,000,000	
Civil Liſt	1,000,000	
Incidental expences ſay	1,000,000	
Expence of government	6,000,000	
Intereſt of the national debt	8,000,000	
		14,000,000
Where then does this ſum centre?		3,000,000

Thoſe who are not in the ſecret, but ready to ſwallow every bait, ſuppoſe one million of this goes in reducing the national debt; but it appears by the eſtimates lately publiſhed by Mr. Morgan, and not yet contradicted, that little of that has been effected, and that we are only in that reſpect in the predicament of a man "taking money "out of one pocket to put it into another." How then can the expenditure of theſe three millions be otherwiſe accounted for? The anecdotes of Lord Chatham, will help to ſolve this difficulty; and we may expect heavy increaſes of the national debt, when the Eaſt India Budget is opened, to ſay nothing of the preſent armament.

in all their matters, and consequently reduce the taxes probably one fifth part; a matter of the most serious consequence to a manufacturing nation.

What then must we think of the men who arbitrarily oppose this absolutely necessary *reform*, stigmatising those generous advocates for it, who were about the year 1780, composed of the most virtuous and intelligent men in the nation, as they do now, with the opprobrious names of Republicans and Levellers, which Birmingham, Manchester, and several other places evidently prove, belongs exclusively to these ignorant and interested opposers, who have enlisted under the banners of *Church and King*," the never failing war whoop and signal for confusion and riot. It surely would become these opposers of reform, and exclaimers against seditious riots, first *to take the beam out of their own eye* before they find fault with the *mote* in that of the objects of their censure.

NESTOR.

BOROUGH REPRESENTATION.

CITY OF CARLISLE, CUMBERLAND.

Right of Election.— THERE was no determination in Parliament upon the right of election in Carlisle, previous

vious to the late important deciſion of the Committee, under the amendment of the Grenville act, on the third day of March laſt (1791.) In the only material conteſt mentioned in the Journals, in 1712, it was agreed to be in the Mayor, Aldermen, Bailiffs, and Freemen, reſident or non-reſident.

The Number of Electors—are ſix hundred and fifty. The corporation and about a hundred and thirty of the Freemen dependent on them, are in the intereſt of the Earl of Lonſdale: but the majority forming a body of near five hundred, are in the intereſt of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Independence of the city. The influence acquired by his Grace in this inſtance is not that of a feudal Lord, or an arbitrary Landholder, who derives his conſequence from a Court Baron, or his poſſeſſions in the neighbourhood of Carliſle: but from a firm and manly oppoſition to a moſt unconſtitutional and deſperate attempt to overturn the rights of election within this city, and to overwhelm the electors with an army of what are called honorary freemen, or faggots, in order to out-number the legal electors on a poll. No leſs than fourteen hundred of this deſcription, moſtly ſelected from the collieries and eſtates of Lord Lonſdale, were admitted by the Mayor to their freedom, without any one of them having either the claim of birth or ſervitude to ſanction their right, or having obtained admiſſion to the brotherhood of either of the Guilds, as the charter and preſcription of the city directs.

Theſe ſurreptitious freemen were three ſeveral times petitioned againſt to the Houſe of Commons: *firſt*, by J. Chriſtian Curwen, Eſq. who became a candidate for the repreſentation of the city, upon the vacancy occaſioned by the death of the Honble. Edward Norton, *ſecondly*,

tondly, by Rowland Stephenſon, Eſq. who became a candidate upon the Duke of Norfolk ſucceeding to the Peerage in 1786; and, *thirdly*, by Mr. Curwen, and Mr. Braddyll, at the laſt general election: and in all theſe inſtances they were declared by the ſeveral Committees illegal. The laſt Committee, who were ballotted under the powers of the amended Grenville act, reported ſpecially to the Houſe, "That the right of "election to the city of Carliſle, in the county of Cum"berland, is in the freemen of the ſaid city, duly ad"mitted and ſworn freemen of the ſaid city, having been "previouſly admitted brethren of one of the eight "Guilds or occupations of the ſaid city, and deriving "their title to ſuch freedom by being ſons of freemen, "or by ſervice of ſeven years apprenticeſhip, within "the ſaid city, and *in no others*."

March 3, 1791.

Returning Officer—the Mayor. *Patron*—Duke of Norfolk.

COCKERMOUTH.

Political Character.—The elective influence of this Town is poſſeſſed by the Earl of Lonſdale who is proprietor of the Town, and, of courſe, not to be offended in his dictation. This nobleman having purchaſed a majority of the houſes in this borough at a moſt enormous price, is careful that they are tenanted by ſuch only as will obey his recommendation as implicitly as the fourteen hundred Colliers he cauſed to be made in one day freemen of Carliſle.

Corporation.—None. The Town is, however governed by a Bailiff choſen by a jury of ſixteen Burgeſſes

at the court of the Lord of the Manor, who is the Earl of Egremont. The town was anciently a hamlet to Brigham, a parish about a mile distant: but it has been a distinct parish ever since the reign of Edward III.

Right of Election.—The members of Parliament are chosen by the inhabitants at large.

Number of Voters, 165. *Returning Officer*—the Bailiff. *Patron*—Earl of Lonsdale

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FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE.

Freemason's Tavern, Dec. 15, 1792.

THE Society of the Friends of the People, associated for the purpose of obtaining a parliamentary reform, after a careful revision of all their declarations, resolutions, and proceedings since their institution, as well as of the events which have taken place since their last meeting; and after an attentive consideration of the present state of public affairs—the apparent dispositions of the people at this time—the acknowledged conviction of almost all men, of all parties, of the necessity of a parliamentary reform, and with no other difference of opinion but concerning the extent of the measure, or the time for proposing it; and finally, the situation in which this society is placed by their own engagements, and by the

expectations

expectations formed of their future conduct, have this day

Unanimously resolved, That they hold themselves bound by every tie of honour and of duty, to persevere in their endeavours to accomplish, through the known channel of the constitution, the object of their association; namely, an effectual reform in the construction of the House of Commons, until the object is obtained, or shall be found to be evidently unattainable by their efforts, or by any of those means in which they can participate.

That, considering the pains incessantly taken to traduce the character and principles of this society, first, by endeavouring to confound the idea of a reform in parliament, with that of disaffection to the established constitution of this kingdom, as if a real representation of the commons were incompatible with the security of a limited monarchy, as if the crown were not safe with an honest unbiassed House of Commons, or as if the idea of such reform had been at all times reprobated, as it now is, by those who occupy the highest stations of profit and confidence under the crown; and then by uniting us in the same description and obloquy with persons whom they call Republicans and Levellers, and with whom, if such doctrines and persons exist, we have no connection; we think it incumbent on us to declare once more, that we disclaim the views and principles so basely and falsely attributed to us: and that detesting, as we do, the corruptions and abuses notoriously prevailing and encreasing in every branch and department of Government, our sole wish and object is to provide a constitutional instrument and power, by which they may be removed or corrected in a regular parliamentary way.

That,

That, calling, as we have done, for the support of the country in their own cause, and for the purposes which we have repeatedly declared, and soliciting the assistance of every man, who approves of our design, and may be desirous to promote it; we at the same time most earnestly exhort and conjure the true friends of the cause of Reform, to discourage, and resist to the utmost of their ability, every attempt to support it by any other means than those which the laws permit, and the Constitution warrants. Mistaken zeal is always at the mercy, and too often under the guidance of treachery. They who affect most to abhor sedition, are sometimes found at the bottom of it themselves; and instances are not wanting to prove, that, under the specious pretence of strengthening the hands of Government, a design may be formed of destroying the liberty of the press, or calling in the military power, and finally annhilating the civil government of the country.

That whereas we have received assurances from numerous and respectable associations in different parts of this united kingdom, of their entire concurrence in our declared views and principles, of their confidence in our integrity and prudence, and of their determination to support us, we earnestly hope, that those associations, as well as all others, who are friends of the same cause, will confine themselves to the same distinct object that we do, and co-operate with us in the principles stated in this and our former Declarations. In return, we promise them, that we will exert, and devote our faculties, and our labours faithfully, honourably, and steadily, to the great cause of Reform, in which we are engaged and united with them.

In the name and by the order of the Society,

(Signed) SAMUEL WHITBREAD, Jun.
Chairman.

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday February 5, 1793.

ON THE

ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

Continued from Page 296.

THE Parliament, after several prorogations, met February 9, 1609.* The extreme neceſſities of James,

 which

* It appears by a letter from Mr. Chamberlain, dated from London, Feb. 13, 1609, to Sir Ralph Winwood, Ambaſſador at the Hague, that ſeveral members who had acted with ſpirit in oppoſition to court meaſures, had felt the diſpleaſure of the miniſtry. The paragraph is as follows: "The parliament is likely to hold on, for Yelverton has made his peace; and divers gentlemen that were put out of the commiſſion of peace, for being over buſy the laſt ſeſſion are reſtored, and Sir Henry Witherington releaſed him from his reſtraint. *Winwood's Memorials.* Vol. 3. p. 117.

which had been very insufficiently supplied by an aid exacted for the knighthood of his son, with a loan of 200,000l. extorted by flattery from the city of London urged him to this distasteful remedy.*

A free enquiry into impositions, and concerning undertakers for executing oppressive licences upon the subject, drew from James a message disapproving of their proceedings. This was delivered by the speaker, who received a short reprimand for bringing any message from the King, without having been previously sent to him by themselves. It was found to be against due order, and voted no precedent for the future.

These incidents, and a speech which the king made at Whitehall, in which he talked in the highest strains of his prerogative, produced an address from the Commons to the King, which began with this assertion of their privileges. "First we hold it an ancient, general, and "undoubted right of parliament to debate freely of all "matters which do properly concern the subject, and "his right of state; which freedom of debate being "once fore-closed, the essence of the liberty of parlia-"ment is withal dissolved." The whole of this address breathes the same spirit of freedom; and tho' James highly resented it, his present exigencies obliged him not only to smother that resentment, but to receive the members who brought it with some degree of complacency.†

An

* He made frequent visits to the Lord-Mayor, accepted of the freedom of the Cloth-worker's company for himself, and the Merchant Taylor's for his son.

† We may judge by a private letter, dated May 24, 1610, what was the opinion of the people concerning this transaction.

"Touching

An hundred thousand pounds a year was agreed to be given, in lieu of wardships, tenures, and purveyorships, and the proposal, by the consent of the Lords, was delivered to the King. The business appeared to be going forward, when the sudden death of Henry of France, who was murdered in his coach by the hardy assassin Ravillae, threw a damp upon the whole affair, the king making use of that event to rise on the conditions of the contract.

Farther proceedings were also stopped for some time by the pageantry attending the creation of the Prince of Wales; but to keep harmony between the parties, the Commons granted, on the giving up two or three impositions, one entire subsidy, one sixteenth, one tenth; and the clergy added their six shillings in the pound. This liberality was so far from forwarding the accomplishment of their desires, that though they agreed to almost double the sum that was at first proposed on the terms of making some additions to their first demands; yet while they were in the midst of the proceedings, a prorogation declared the effect of the precipitate grant.

The

"Touching parliament matters, I know not what to write, seeing they have sat fourteen weeks to so little purpose. Of late there have been some tempests raised about their meddling with impositions, which by a message from the king, they were forbidden to deal in. On the 21st of this present they made another speech to both houses, but so little to their satisfaction, that I hear it bred generally much discontent, to see our monarchal power, and regal prerogative strained so high, and made to transcendent every way, that if the practice should follow the positions, we are not like to leave our successors that freedom we received from our forefathers, nor make an account of any thing we have, longer than they list who govern." *Winwood's Memorials*, vol. 3. p. 175.

The parliament was ſuffered to meet again on the 16th of October, three months after the prorogation; their laſt bounty having been already diſſipated. Both houſes ſeemed more determined than ever to reſtrain the prerogative. The Lords ſtimulated by the recent example of prodigality, were heartily joined with the commons in this laudable intention. The parliament continued ſo determined, that the king, who now entertained projects of ſupplying the Exchequer without their aſſiſtance after another prorogation, ſuddenly diſſolved them.* But before he had taken this deſperate ſtep, he ſent for thirty members of the Houſe of Commons, and aſked them, "Whether they thought that he "was in want?" Sir Henry Neville from whom the anſwer was expected, firmly returned, "He believed "that he was." "Then, ſaid the King, tell me whe-"ther it belongeth to you that are my ſubjects to re-"lieve me or not?" To this Sir Henry made this honeſt anſwer "where your expences grow by the common "wealth we are, otherwiſe not." He then put the king in mind of the large ſupplies he had received, without relief of grievances: and on being preſſed to tell what they were, he began to enumerate them ſo frankly, that one of the members took up the ſpeech, fearing that Sir Henry's integrity would endanger his perſon.

The

* It appears by an anſwer of the king's to ſome complaints which had been preſented to him, that the Commons had numbered PROCLAMATIONS in their liſt of grievances. He promiſes, in this anſwer, a reformation in the point of proclamations. Public regulations ſuch as the peace of the borders, the ſafety of the ſea, and others of this nature, had been ſettled by proclamations, and James had affected to give them the force of acts parliament. *Parliamen. Hiſt.* Vol. 5. p. 250.

The ſudden diſſolution of the parliament was not the only ſymptom, at this period, that James had ſhewn of an intention to attempt abſolute power. Cowel, a Civilian, and Blackwood a Clergyman, had written two books ſubverſive of the Engliſh Conſtitution. One attempted to prove, that the king was not bound to call parliaments, or to obtain their conſent to raiſe ſubſidies; the other that the Engliſh were all ſlaves from the Norman conqueſt. Theſe books James had not only licenſed, but had had the indiſcretion to praiſe the former publicly, with many encomiums on the civil law, in preference to the common law. Both Cowel and Blackwood eſcaped the reſentment of parliament; not that the offence paſſed unnoticed, but it was dropped in the throng of their buſineſs, on the king's publiſhing a proclamation to recal the licence of the books. In a ſpeech to a committee of the houſe concerning theſe books, he compared the ſovereignty of princes to the power of the Deity; but concluded with this ſalvo, that however the ſovereignty of kings was abſolute in general, yet in particular the Kings of England were reſtrained by their oath and the privileges of the people.*

* This extraordinary ſpeech is only preſerved in Wilſon: "The "king's heart he tells them is in the hands of the Lord, who can "create and deſtroy, make and unmake; ſo kings can give life and "death, judge all and be judged by none." (His ſon Charles was a ſtriking inſtance to the contrary) "They can exalt low things and "abaſe high things, making the ſubjects like men at cheſs, a pawn "to take a biſhop or a knight. But that all kings, who are not ty-"rants, or perjured, will bind themſelves within the limits of their "laws; and that thoſe who perſuade them to the contrary are vipers "and peſts, both againſt them and the commonwealth. Yet, as it "is blaſphemy to diſpute what God may do, ſo it is ſedition in ſub-"jects to diſpute what kings may do in the height of their power." *Wilſon*, p. 46.

Three feparate Courts, the King's, the Queen's, and the Prince of Wales's, difplayed the prodigality and the pomp of Royalty; ex pence, fhew, and revelry, were the characteriftics of each. Whilft this triple fcene of laviſh riot glared in the eye of the public, the courtiers had the aſſurance to condemn with inſolence the juſt frugality of parliamentary ſupplies, and with premature triumph exulted in the diſſolution of that aſſembly. They boaſted that the king would find means by his power to ſupply his neceſſities, and thus emancipate his prerogative from thoſe derogatory reſtraints.

While James dreamed of enjoying an abſolute power in England, he actually exerciſed it in ſome meaſure at this time in Scotland. In conſequence of a former prohibition, he declared the aſſembly of the clergy unlawful, proſecuted ſome of the moſt forward members for treaſon, and obtained their condemnation.*

The whole buſineſs of the miniſtry at this time was to bring in requiſite ſums to ſupport the king's extravagance. A parcel of crown lands were ſet up to ſale, but met with no buyers, from the precarioufneſs of their tenure. Many other expedients were tried, ſome of which were ſucceſsful, others not. The difficulty of raiſing money ſtill encreaſing, a project which had been formed by Saliſbury, was now carried into execution. An hereditary rank, which ſhould take place after a baron's youngeſt ſon, and dignified by the title of Baronet, was

* This was effected by the intrigue and illegal management of the Earl of Dunbar, who was ſent down to Scotland, as James's commiſſioner on this errand. He *packed* the jury, and, by force of *promiſes* and *threats*, obtained a ſentence of condemnation from the judges. *Original Letters by Sir David Dalrymple*, 1762, p. 1. *ſeq.*

was purchased from the crown at the price of a thousand pounds. Here we see the origin of baronets. An inferior order to them, with the title of knights of Nova Scotia, at the price of three hundred pounds. The dignities of Baron, Viscount, and Earl, were fixed respectively, at ten, fifteen, and twenty thousand pounds. The star-chamber also took every pretext to condemn to excessive fines, for the king's use, those that were cited before them.

The court, notwithstanding the large sums it had exacted on various pretences, was at length driven into the necessity of parliamentary resources. A public lottery, the first of its kind in England, afforded a small delay; but the invention of the ministry being drained as empty as the Exchequer, a parliament was called for the 5th of April, 1614, after a discontinuance of upwards of three years. It may be remembered that the last parliament had been a very refractory one. The present ministry flattered their master, from the boasted management of elections, that a contrary spirit would certainly prevail in this. It was from such assurances that James assented to the trial, and assumed so much as to demand contribution without bargain; and to declare he would rather lose his life, than the honours and flowers of his crown.*

The

* The following, which is the exordium to the speech he made at the opening of the session, is in too peculiar a style to be omitted.

"It is the saying of the wisest king that ever was, that the hearts "of kings were inscrutable; but in the last parliament, I must call "to your remembrance the comparison I used, wherein I presented "myself unto you as a mirror wherein you might clearly see the in- "tegrity of my purpose in lengthening that parliament for the gene- "ral

The firſt buſineſs that the parliament entered on was the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion on the iſſue of Elizabeth, in default of the male line.* Notwithſtanding the cautious endeavours of the miniſtry, it equally appeared that the members were not of the proper ſtamp to ſerve the court purpoſes. The oppoſition carried a motion againſt the Attorney General's ſerving as a member of the Houſe of Commons. In the debates on this ſubject, Sir Roger Owen ſhewed that no Attorney General was ever choſen; nor, anciently, any privy Counſellor, nor any that took livery of the king. The precedent he quoted for this was in the ſeventh year of Richard II. when a knight Banneret was rejected on this account. It was reſolved on the queſtion, that the Attorney-general ſhould remain in the houſe for this parliament, but that he ſhould never ſerve for the future. James had condeſcended to ſolicit the houſe that the Attorney-general might keep his ſeat this parliament.

The

ral good and benefit of the commonwealth; but as I then ſaid of "the nature of a mirror, that it might be defiled by the eyes of the "beholders," *We think he meaned the breath* "ſo did ſome of the low-"er houſe look upon me with polluted eyes, and, as I may ſay, "defiled my mirror. I can ſay no more now than I did then, but "to offer you the ſame mirror to look to, proteſting as I ſhall anſwer "it to Almighty God, that my integrity is like the whiteneſs of "my robe, my purity like the metal of gold in my crown, my firm-"neſs and clearneſs like the precious ſtones I wear, and my affec-"tions natural like the redneſs of my heart." *Parl. Hiſt.* Vol. 5. p. 273.

* This ſettlement which was in conſequence of a demand of the king, and the recognition bill in the beginning of his reign, are two of the remarkable inſtances which ſhew that the hereditary ſucceſſion to the crown of England is not abſolute; and that ſuch a monarchal claim is founded on the neglect of aſſerting the right of aſſent, and not on any clearly proved principles of the Conſtitution.

The courtiers exhauſted their arguments for a ſpeedy ſupply, but it was determined that a redreſs of grievances ſhould precede it. Committees were appointed for preparing liſts of all the national complaints. The indulgence to the papiſts, and ſevere treatment of the non-conformiſts, were vehemently complained of. A bill was prepared for preventing taxes and impoſitions on merchants, and the debate on it proceeded with becoming warmth. In a queſtion whether the king had a right of impoſing taxes, it was unanimouſly carried in the negative; notwithſtanding the corruption of the judges had given it againſt the people. Certain patentees for monopolies were ordered to ſurrender their patents. Sir Thomas Parry one of the creatures of the court, who had been the moſt buſy in managing elections, was expelled the houſe.* The king had ſent to deſire that Sir Thomas's puniſhment might be left to him, with a promiſe that it ſhould be more ſevere than the commons themſelves would inflict, but this requeſt was not granted.

(*To be continued.*)

* Warm arguments were urged againſt this buſineſs of undertaking. Sir Roger Owen aſſerted that it was one of the articles for depoſing Richard the ſecond.

ADDRESS

ADDRESS

OF THE

United Iriſhmen of Dublin.

—

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

AS I perceive that you wiſh to make your excellent publication a record of all the intereſting and important papers of the preſent day, I beg permiſſion to ſend you two; the firſt of which, for ſolid argument, and cool and convincing reaſoning, will in my opinion, be conſidered as a maſterpiece of the kind, not only at the preſent moment, but to the lateſt poſterity; while the ſtrength and beauty of the Engliſh language, and the noble emanations of the free born mind ſhall continue to be admired. It is a letter addreſſed to the Preſident of the ſociety of the "FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE" in London, aſſociated for the purpoſe of a *parliamentary reform*; by the UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN; the ſecond, is *the anſwer of the committee* thereto, and does great credit to the gentleman who ſigns it, and to the ſentiments of the committee whoſe celebrity is far above any feeble praiſe in the power of my pen to give. I

have

ave no doubt but you will inſert them, as well for the ratification of your numerous readers, as to oblige

Your humble ſervant,
And old correſpondent,
ALFRED.

'UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN.

'HONOURABLE SIMON BUTLER, *in the Chair.*

'THE ſociety of United Iriſhmen of Dublin, addreſs he Friends of the People at London, impreſſed with he reſemblance in the title, nature, and deſtination of heir reſpective inſtitutions; and acting under that raternity of feeling which ſuch a coincidence naturally nſpires. The title which you bear is a glorious one: nd we too are the friends of the people. If we be ſked, who are the people? We turn not our eyes ere and there, to this party, or to that perſuaſion, nd cry, Lo! the people;' but we look around us ithout partiality or predeliction, and we anſwer, 'the ultitude of human beings, the living maſs of humaity aſſociated to exiſt, to ſubſiſt and to be happy. In em and them only, we find the original of ſocial auority, the meaſure of political value, and the pedeſtal legitimate power.'

'As friends of the people, upholding their rights d deploring their ſufferings, the great object of this ciety, is a real repreſentation of the Iriſh nation in uliament; and as friends of the *whole* people, we ſupt the neceſſity of Catholic emancipation, as a means making repreſentation what it ought to be, free, ual, and entire. If the people of one country be not

'obliged

'obliged to obey the laws of another, on the ſame prin-
'ciple, when the people reſident in a country have no
'influence over the legiſlature, that legiſlature will re-
'ceive rather a diſcretional acquieſcence than legitimate
'obedience; and as this diſcretional ſtate is dangerous,
'becauſe precarious, a change becomes neceſſary for the
'peace and happineſs of the nation, violence being the
'laſt meaſure to which rational beings will reſort.

'The preſent ſtate of Ireland with regard to popula-
'tion, is upwards of four millions, three of which are of
'the Catholic religion; and with regard to political free-
'dom,

'1. The ſtate of *proteſtant* repreſentation is as fol-
'lows: ſeventeen boroughs have no reſident elector;
'ſixteen have but one; ſixteen have from two to five;
'ninety have thirteen electors each; ninety perſons re-
'turn for one hundred and ſix venal boroughs, that is
'two hundred and twelve members out of three hun-
'dred, the whole number. Fifty-four members are re-
'turned by five Noblemen and four Biſhops; and borough
'influence has given landlords ſuch powers in the coun-
'ties, as makes them boroughs alſo. In ſhort, repre-
'ſentation, which in its nature is only a depoſit, has been
'converted into a property; and that conſtitution which
'is founded on equal liberty, and which declares that
'no tax ſhall be levied without the 'good will' of the
'people, is totally perverted in its principles, and cor-
'rupted in its practice; yet the majeſty of the people is
'ſtill quoted with affected veneration; and if the crown
'be oſtenſibly placed in a part of the proteſtant portion,
'it is placed in mockery, for it is encircled with thorns.

'2. With

'2. With regard to the *Catholics*, the following is 'the ſimple and ſorrowful fact: three millions, every 'one of whom has an intereſt in the ſtate, and collectively give it its value, are taxed without being repreſented, and bound by laws to which they have not given 'conſent. They now require a ſhare of *political liberty*, 'in the participation of the elective franchiſe, and of '*civil liberty* in the privilege of ſerving on grand juries. 'There can be no civil, without political liberty; and in 'requiring ſuffrage, they, in reality, demand only a 'ſafeguard for their religion, their property, and their 'lives.

'The code of penal laws againſt the Catholics, reduced oppreſſion into a ſyſtem; the action and preſſure of this ſyſtem accumulating without any re-action 'on the part of the ſufferers ſunk in the lethargy of ſervitude, has confirmed the governing portion of the people in a habit of domination. This *habit*, mixing 'with the antipathies of paſt times, and the irritations 'of the moment, has impreſſed a ſtrange perſuaſion, 'that the rights of the *plurality* are proteſtant *property*, 'and that the birth-right of millions, born and to be 'born, continue the ſpoils of war and booty of conqueſt. 'The perverſion of the underſtanding perverts the 'heart; and this proteſtant aſcendency, as it calls itſelf, 'uniting power with paſſion, and hating the catholics 'becauſe it has injured them, on a bare, inquiſitorial 'ſuſpicion, inſufficient to criminate an individual, would 'eraſe a whole people from the rolls of citizenſhip, and 'for the ſins (if they were ſins) of remote anceſtors, 'would attaint their remoteſt poſterity. We have read, 'and read with horror, that Louis XI. ordered the chil-

'dren

'dren to be placed under the ſcaffold, where the father 'was beheaded, that they might be ſprinkled with his 'blood.

'It is, we think, by this unequal diſtribution of 'popular privilege, that its very nature has, in this 'kingdom, been corrupt; and from the moment that 'equality of rights was overturned, and general liberty 'became particular power, the public mind has been ſplit into a conflict of factions. General diſtribution 'of the elective franchiſe, would make corruption im-'practicable; but when common right becomes the pro-'perty of perſon, party, or perſuaſion, it acquires a va-'lue equally unnatural and unconſtitutional; it is bought 'and ſold; riſes or falls like any marketable commodi-'ty. The deprivation of the elective franchiſe, on the 'one hand, robs a great majority of the nation of an in-'valuable bleſſings; and its *accumulation* in the hands 'of the proteſtant portion, operates on that very portion 'as a curſe. The right of *all* heaped up and hoarded 'by the *few*, becomes a public peſt, and the nutriment 'of the conſtitution is changed into its poiſon.

'The iniquitous monopoly rots in boroughs, ſpreads 'its contagion through counties, taints morals and man-'ners, makes elections mere fairs for the traffic of fran-'chiſe and ſale of men; in place of that nationality of 'mind, which ſpreads its parental embrace around a 'whole people, ſubſtitutes the envious excluding ſpirit 'of ſelfiſh corporations,, and ſwelling, at length into 'monſtrous and gigantic aſcendency, holds forth an hun-'dred thouſand hands to bribe and betray, and tramples 'with an hundred thouſand feet on thoſe miſerable mil-'lions, who have loſt their only guarantee againſt injuſ-'tice and oppreſſion.

'Inſtructed

'Instructed by the genius of the constitution, and 'the genuine spirit of the laws; instructed of late, by 'all that has been spoken, or written, or acted, or suf- 'fered in the cause of freedom; instructed by the late 'revolution in America; by the late revolution in Ire- 'land; by the late revolution in France; hearing of all 'that has been done over the face of the globe for liberty, 'and feeling all that can be suffered from the want of it; 'reading the charter of independence to Ireland, and 'listening to the spirit stirring voice of her great deliver- 'er;* actuated in fine, by that imperishable spark in 'the bosom of man, which the servitude of a century 'may smother, but cannot extinguish; the catholics of 'this country have been lessoned into liberty; have learn- 'ed to know their rights; to be sensible of their wrongs; 'and to detail, by peaceful delegation, their grievances, 'rather than endure without obedience. You!—in ei- 'ther kingdom, who reproach the catholics of Ireland 'for asserting the rights of nature, burn your books, 'tear your charters, break down your free press, and 'crumble to pieces those moulds which have cast liberty 'in so fair a form, as to make catholics feel what protes- 'tants have felt, and join their admiration and love with 'those of a worshipping world.

'This society, and many other societies have associ- 'ated to create that union of power, and that brother- 'hood of affection among all the inhabitants of this 'island, which is the interest as well as duty of all. We 'are all Irishmen; and our object is to unite the differ- 'ent descriptions of religion in the cause of our com- 'mon country. From the most opposite points in the 'wide circumference of religion, we tend, with increas- 'ing;

*Mr. Grattan.

'ing velocity, to the ſame centre of political union. A 'reform in parliament, preceding catholic enfranchiſe-'ment, would be in its nature partial and excluſive; 'and unleſs a reform immediately follows that emanci-'pation, (which it certainly will do) the extenſion of 'election franchiſe would only add to the maſs of cor-'ruption. The centre of our union is fixed and im-'moveable. The preſbyterian wiſhes national freedom. 'The catholic aſpires to nothing more; nor can either 'of them be brought to believe that thoſe varieties of re-'ligious faith, which may be deemed the pleaſure of the 'Creator, ſhould be deemed the engines of political tor-'ture to any of his creatures. Too long have our peo-'ple been ſet in array of battle againſt each other; too 'long have the rancour and revenge of our anceſtors 'been left as a legacy of blood to their poſterity; too 'long has one limb of the ſocial body been tied down, 'until it had nearly loſt all feeling, life and energy. It 'is our wiſh, it is our hope, to give Ireland the full and 'free poſſeſſion of both her arms, her catholic arm as 'well as her proteſtant arm, that ſhe may the better em-'brace her friends, or grapple with her foes.

'Such are the principles and practice of our inſtitu-'tion, which, having neither power nor patronage, but 'merely the energy of honeſty, has not only been diſtin-'guiſhed by the calumnies of thoſe, who are born only 'to bite the heel, and be cruſhed under foot, but has 'been honoured by the obloquy of men, who fill the firſt 'offices in the ſtate. From them we appeal to natural 'right and eternal juſtice, which ought ever to be eſtab-'liſhed without compromiſe or reſervation. From them 'we appeal to thoſe who call themſelves Friends of the 'People. Look not upon Ireland with an eye of indiffer-'ence. The period of Iriſh inſignificance is paſſing faſt

'away

'away. If the nation ever appeared contemptible, it 'was because the nation did not act; but no sooner in 'the late war was it abandoned by government, than it 'rose to distinction as a people. As to any union be- 'tween the islands, believe us when we assert, that our 'union rests upon our mutual independence. We shall 'love each other, *if we be left to ourselves.* It is the 'union of minds which ought to bind these nations toge- 'ther. Reciprocal interests and mutual wants will ever 'secure mutual affection; but were any other union to 'be forced, and force only could effect it, you would en- 'danger your liberties, and we should lose our rights; 'you would feel the influence of the Crown increased be- 'yond all sufferance, and we should lose the name and 'energies of a people, with every hope of raising to its 'merited station in the map of mankind, this noble and 'neglected island, "for which God has done so much, "and Man so little."

'Signed by order,

'THOMAS WRIGHT, *Secretary.*"

Dublin Oct. 26, 1792.

ANSWER

Of the Committee of the society of the FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE, *associated for the purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform.*

Committee Room, No. 52, Frith-street, Soho.

SIR,

WE have received by the hand of Mr. Archdekin, the favour of your address, and shall take the earliest opportunity of laying it before the Society of the Friends of the People, at their first meeting, which is appoint-

ed to be held on the 15th of next month. We cannot, however, delay expreſſing the pleaſure we feel in finding ſo large a portion of our fellow citizens entertaining ſentiments ſo juſt; and expreſſing theſe ſentiments with an energy that commands aſſent. Our endeavours muſt neceſſarily be confined to this iſland, and can have no immediate relation to Ireland, which ever muſt poſſeſs a perfect right to legiſlate for herſelf. Whether we ſhall give or take the example, our wiſhes will ever be earneſt for your ſucceſs.

In the name and by order of the Committee,

(Signed) GEORGE ROUS, *Chairman.*

Nov. 27, 1792.

To the Preſident of the Society of
United Iriſhmen, in Dublin.

ON THE

INEQUALITY OF REPRESENTATION.

AS the object of a reform in Parliament and the inequality of the Repreſentation, is now become the topic and theme of the day, we think we cannot do our readers greater juſtice than to put them in poſſeſſion of the ſentiments of men of all ranks and all parties, on a ſubject ſo truly intereſting and important; and to that end we beg leave in this place to call their attention to the following letter from THE DUKE OF RICHMOND, TO WILLIAM FRANKLAND, Eſq. High Sheriff, of Suſſex.

Whitehall,

Whitehall, Jan. 7, 1783.

SIR,

You may easily believe, that being one of those who joined in requesting you to call a County Meeting nothing but illness can prevent my attending it, and itis with infinite regret that I submit to the decision of my physicians, who pronounce that it is not safe for me to leave London.

I trust that my sentiments on the subject of parliamentary reform are in general sufficiently known, and that without further assurances I might be depended upon for giving it any support in my power; but some circumstances make me wish to state them as briefly as possible to the county of Sussex. They are formed on the experience of twenty-six years, which whether in or out of government, has equally convinced me, that the restoration of a genuine House of Commons, by a renovation of the rights of the people, is the only remedy against that system of corruption which has brought the nation to disgrace and poverty, and threatens it with the loss of liberty.

I take the grievance of the present state of election to be its gross inequality. All the electors in Great Britain do not amount to one sixth part of the whole people, and a still greater inequality subsists in the elections made by that sixth part; for one seventh part of them elect a majority, so that one forty-second part of the nation disposes of the property of the whole, and have their lives and liberties at command. And this forty-second part, far from consisting of the most opulent part of the kingdom, is composed of the small boroughs, most of which are become either the private property of individuals

individuals, or are notoriously sold to the best bidder; so that the Counties and great Cities are, in fact, as well as the great mass of the people, swallowed up in this system of corruption.

My ideas of reform undoubtedly go to one that shall be complete and general throughout the kingdom. I see such fatal consequences arise from the present partial and accidental state of elections, that I cannot take upon me to propose any new mode that partakes of the same defects. If we do not differ from the abettors of corruption upon the broad principles of inequality in elections, and the universal right of the people to be represented, and are contending only for a degree of partiality, more or less, I fear our ground is not sound; if we mean only to substitute partiality for partiality, and are struggling but for its extent, one man's whim may be as good as another's conceit, and we have nothing certain to direct us; and if inequality is still to subsist, the advocates of the present system will have the sanction of time, and the risk of changes to oppose to us, which will have their weight, when it is but for a change of partiality that we contend.

I have thought that a parliamentary reform had much more simple and unerring guides to lead us to our end; I mean the true principles of the Constitution, and the rights of the people. If these exist, I do not consider myself at liberty to speculate upon systems. I have no choice but to give to every man his own.

But this, it seems, is by some thought impracticable, and the Rev. Mr. Wyvil, in his letter of the 7th of December,

December,* to Alderman Croſby, as chairman of the committee of the livery of London, which has been publiſhed, very concifely decides it to be ſo: for I preſume his objection of impracticability is not confined to my plan, which I believe he has never ſeen, but to the extent of the idea; and yet Mr. Wyvil, in the ſecond addreſs of the Yorkſhire Committee to the electors in Great Britain, ſpeaking of the more and leſs extenſive plan, ſays, "That the diverſity of ſentiments does not "ariſe from a difference of political principles, for in "them there is *an entire agreement*, but ſolely from con- "ſiderations of a prudential nature."

How

* Extracts from Mr. Wyvil's Letter to Mr. Croſby.

"I do admit, ſir, that at the Thatched Houſe I did object, with "ſome reſpectable Gentlemen of other counties, to a vote of thanks "to the Duke of Richmond, in all the various ſhapes in which it was "offered to the meeting. To me, who hold his Grace in high reſ- "pect, as a firm and intrepid aſſerter of our free Conſtitution, this "was a painful oppoſition. But, in my conception, public duty bound "me to oppoſe the reſpective motions for that purpoſe; not be- "cauſe his Grace was the propoſer of a ſpecific plan for the reforma- "tion of parliament, but becauſe his ſpecific plan appeared to me im- "practicable, and not to be attained by any regular or conſtitutional "efforts of the people, and therefore any reſolution of thanks, which "might be conſtrued by the public as a declaration in favour of his "Grace's ſyſtem, could only tend to defeat that more ſafe and mode- "rate propoſal for reſtoring the Conſtitution, which their peaceful "endeavours might probably obtain.

"If the Committee of London have no objections to the propoſi- "tions offered by the Yorkſhire Gentlemen, their concurrence *now* "can alone be of any avail. If they decline giving their ſanction to "that propoſal, from a preference to the Duke of Richmond's "ſcheme, I beg leave to declare my firm opinion, as I did before "at the Thatched Houſe meeting, that there exiſts not the ſmalleſt "probability that his Grace's plan will be adopted by the Towns and "Counties of Great Britain in any conſiderable proportion."

How far it is wise for those who *entirely agree in principle* upon the rights of men, to endeavour to persuade them that the recovery of their birth-rights and most essential interests, "are not reducible to practice, nor "attainable by any regular or constitutional efforts of "their's," is what I must leave to others to determine. But the truth of this assertion is what I can never subscribe to. I cannot but think that this nation ever has its own power, by peaceful and Constitutional efforts, to do itself justice; and that nothing can render attempts for this purpose impracticable, but either a general indolence and indifference to all that requires exertion, though for the noblest purposes, or such prejudices to favourite systems as shall divide the people.

To guard against such an imputation falling on me, I am most ready to agree to an address in the most general terms, not pointing at any specific mode of reform in the petition, or by instructions to our members, or by resolutions, but submitting the remedy, as in my opinion it ought to be in the first instance, to parliament itself; which I conceive to be at least as equal to such a consideration as any provincial Committee.

Should Mr. Wyvill's first or second plan be proposed in parliament, or any thing like it, although I shall lament that we for a moment quit our advantageous ground of the Constitution and the rights of men, yet I shall certainly give every support in my power to this or to any amendment. And it certainly will be a considerable improvement, that instead of a forty-second, it should be a thirty-sixth or thirtieth part that shall decide the concerns of the whole people. It will be something material they will have gained, and may become a step to the more easy attainment of their full privileges.

I shall most sincerely hope, that plan may be found attainable; but I never can consent to tell the people, and I hope in God they never will believe, that the recovery of any right, which nature and the Constitution, has given them, is impracticable. On the contrary, convinced myself, I wish them ever to believe, that whenever they please to claim them, they will, and must have the full extent of their rights.

I have thought it necessary to say thus much, on an impression I cannot think it indifferent the public should entertain.

The measure for which you are assembled meets with my hearty concurrence; and I shall be happy if these my sentiments, which I beg you will communicate to the meeting of the county of Sussex, should meet with their approbation.

It is with the highest esteem and regard that I have the honour to be,

Sir, Your most obeident,

and most humble Servant,

RICHMOND, &c.

OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

THE friends of parliamentary reform are not engaged either in the discussion or defence of the French revolution, and have only to contemplate that event as is supposed to render the present moment favourable

or

or unfavourable to meditated changes in England. In this view, it will be eaſy to prove, that the probable future influence of that Revolution, *whatever be its iſſue*, on the general ſentiments of Europe, marks the *preſent moment* as that in which a reform of the Engliſh Conſtitution is not only ſafe and prudent, but urgent and indiſpenſable. Nothing indeed can be more evident, than that a mighty change in the direction of the public ſentiments of Europe is likely to ariſe from that revolution, whether it be ſucceſsful or unſucceſsful.

If it be ſucceſsful, the ſpirit of extreme Democracy is likely to ſpread over all Europe, and to ſwallow up in a volcanic eruption every remnant of Monarchy and of Nobility in the civilized world. The probability of ſuch effects is ſo ſtrongly believed by the enemies of that revolution, that it is the ground of their alarm, the ſubject of their invective, and the pretext of their hoſtilities. It was to prevent ſuch conſequences, that Mr. Burke ſo benevolently counſelled the Princes of Europe to undertake that cruſade in which they are now ſo piouſly engaged.

If, on the other hand, the efforts of France be unſucceſsful; if her liberties be deſtroyed, there can be little doubt that ſuch a ſhock will moſt powerfully impel the current of opinion to the ſide of Monarchy; a direction in which it will be likely for ſeveral ages to continue.—The example of the deſtruction of the great French republic would diffuſe diſmay and ſubmiſſion among a multitude, who only judge by events; and the bloody ſcenes which muſt attend ſuch a deſtruction, would indeed be ſufficient to appal the ſterneſt and moſt ardent champions of Liberty. The ſpirit of Europe would crouch under the dark ſhade of Deſpotiſm, in dead repoſe and fearful obedience.

The Royal Confederacy which had effected this ſubverſion, would doubtleſs continue its concert and its efforts. The principle of maintaining the internal independence of nations being deſtroyed by the example of France, no barrier would any longer be oppoſed to the arbitrary will of Kings. The internal laws of all the European ſtates would be dictated by a counſel of Deſpots, and thus the influence of moral cauſes on public opinion, co-operating with the combined ſtrength and policy of Princes, "every faint veſtige and looſe remnant" of free government will be ſwept from the face of the earth.

In either alternative, England cannot be exempt from the general ſpirit. If the phrenzy of democracy be excited by the ſucceſs of France; if the ſpirit of abject ſubmiſſion and of triumphant deſpotiſm be produced by her failure: in the firſt event the peace, in the ſecond the liberty of England is endangered. In the firſt event a furious republicaniſm, in the ſecond a deſperate toryiſm is likely to pervade the country. Againſt the prevalence of both extremes there only exiſts one remedy. It is to invigorate the democratic part of the conſtitution; it is to render the Houſe of Commons ſo honeſtly and ſubſtantially the repreſentative of the people, that Republicans may no longer have topics of invective, nor Miniſters the means of corruption. If the one ſpirit prevail, it is neceſſary to reform the Houſe of Commons, that the diſcontents of the people may be prevented; if the other ſpirit prevail, the ſame reform is neceſſary, that it may be ſtrong enough to reſiſt the encroachments of the Crown. In the one caſe, to prevent our government from being changed into a pure Democracy; in the other, to prevent it from being changed into a ſimple Monarchy. In either event the ſame precaution is neceſſary. The ſame reform will preſerve the Engliſh

conſtitution from the ſap of Royal influence, and from the ſtorm of tumultuous democracy,

A conſtitution which provided a pure repreſentative of the people, and which included only enough of monarchy for vigour, and only enough of ariſtocracy for deliberation, would bid a juſt defiance to the moſt magnificent and ſeductive viſions of democratic enthuſiaſm. A people who felt that they poſſeſſed a vigorous popular controul on their government, could ſee little obnoxious, and nothing formidable, in the powers of the peerage and the crown, and would feel none of that diſcontent which alone could make them acceſſible to the arts of republican miſſionaries. The ſucceſs of the French, the faſcinating example of their ſuperb democracy will have no dangerous effects on the minds of *contented* ENGLISHMEN. But what wiſdom can avert the effects which muſt ariſe from ſuch a model of repreſentation, and ſuch a ſpirit as the ſucceſs of France will produce in Europe, if that ſpirit is to operate on a diſſatisfied people, and that model to be perpetually compared with the *ruins* of a free government. In the alternative then of the ſucceſs of the French Revolution, nothing ſurely can be ſo indiſpenſable as a ſpeedy reform in the repreſentation of the people.

That to infuſe a new portion of popular vigour into the Houſe of Commons is the only remedy that can be oppoſed to the triumphant toryiſm which the ſubverſion of the French Republic muſt produce, is a propoſition ſo evident, as neither to demand proof, nor to admit illuſtration. We have ſeen the influence of an odious and unpopular court victorious during a long reign, in hoſtility to the prejudice, and in defiance of the jealouſy of the people. What then are we to expect from that

increaſed

increaſed and increaſing influence, conducted perhaps with more dexterity in the cabinet, ſeconded with equal devotion in the Houſe of Commons, and aided by the blind enthuſiaſm of a people, who are intoxicated by commercial proſperity, and imbued with all the prejudices of the moſt frantic toryiſm? Under ſuch a ſtate of things, what can prevent the formation of an uncontrouled monarchy, and the abſorption of every power by a court, from which Engliſhmen are to learn what remnant of perſonal ſecurity it will vouchſafe to ſpare, what formality of public freedom it will deign to endure, with what image of the conſtitution it will indulge and amuſe an infatuated rabble.

Such are the effects which the ſucceſs or the ſubverſion of French democracy ſeem calculated to produce on the temper and ſentiments of the European nations.—This therefore is the moment to repair and to ſtrengthen the Engliſh conſtitution. The fate of France hangs in ſuſpenſe.. Her ſucceſs is yet too dubious, widely or dangerouſly to diffuſe a ſpirit of imitation; and the conteſt between her and the deſpotic league is ſtill too equal to plunge the people of Europe into the lethargy of ſervility or deſpair. This then is that pauſe of tranquility, during which we have to prepare againſt the hurricane with which we are menaced. This therefore is the moment when what was before expedient is become neceſſary; when that reform is now ſafe, which in future may be impracticable or dangerous. Reform was before uſeful to improve; it is now neceſſary (and perhaps the period of its efficacy is ſhorter than we may imagine) to preſerve the government. Menaced by the predominance of a democratical or a monarchical ſpirit, give the people their rights, and they will not be provoked to demand more; create an independent Houſe of Commons,

and

and the power of the crown will be checked; deſpotiſm and tumult will be equally averted; the peace of the country will be preſerved; the liberty of the country will be immortalized.

TO THE

INHABITANTS OF GREAT YARMOUTH.

THE ſituation in which you have been lately will plead the excuſe for this Addreſs. The peace of your Town hath been diſturbed, and the outrages of a licentious mob you have witneſſed. Happily, through your ſpirited and well-timed exertions, the effects which were juſtly apprehended have been prevented. The meaſures you purſued for reſtoring tranquillity, and the unanimity with which they were ſupported, reflect the greateſt honour upon you—Each good citizen ought to deem himſelf bound to defend his fellow citizen againſt every illegal attack, and every good inhabitant will endeavour to protect the property and perſon of his unoffending neighbour—This you have done, and you are entitled to the warmeſt praiſes—But it is not ſufficient to have overcome paſt danger, prudence requires an attention to the future.—The method to be adopted may be learned, partly from enquring of what deſcription of men the rioters were compoſed, and partly by examining the effects to be produced by the plan ſuggeſted. The mob was compoſed of the loweſt and moſt ignorant members of ſociety. Their ſtrength, in a great degree, was occaſioned

occasioned by their being unknown to those in superior stations—How is this evil to be remedied? By encouraging the lower classes to meet together in societies of small numbers—By instructing them in the benefits of good government—By making them acquainted with, and really interesting them in the advantages to be derived from well-regulated society—This will promote a bond of union between all ranks—This will effectually prevent the hand of violence from being employed, or if employed, from escaping the punishment the law inflicts.—It is objected to this that the poor are not fitted for the reception, nor capable of deriving benefit from political knowledge?. As they are obliged to obey the laws of the country, they must surely be qualified to understand them, if not the greatest tyranny is exercised. But as the poorest man has his life, his liberty, and his labour at stake, he must surely be capable of receiving advantage, or suffering inconvenience from the system of government under which he lives.—As long as men feel themselves degraded in society, it is to be expected that they will occasionally violate good order and regularity—Furnish them, on the contrary, with something on which to employ their minds, and not only will violence be prevented, but virtuous emulation will at the same time be excited. The truth of this remark may be established, as well by the effects which have taken place in this city, since the institution of Clubs for Political Information, as from what has happened at other places, in which they have existed. They have been distinguished for peace, good order, and application amongst themselves, and will furnish a strong force, should necessity ever exist, for quelling every tumult, and advancing the true ends of civil government. Their encrease is rapid—Since experience hath confirmed their

utility, it is hoped that the inhabitants of Yarmouth will give them every encouragement, that the evils from which they have lately escaped may never more occur.

Norwich, Nov. 1, 1792.

P. S. It is reported that the most active measures are adopted in Yarmouth for preventing the above plan being carried into execution.—Is it possible? In Turkey or Russia that might be the case; but in England, in a country whose boast is freedom, a country, the excellence of whose constitution is every where extolled—in such a country is it likely that means should be employed for retarding an acquaintance with the perfections of our Government? Such means are calculated to excite suspicions among those who are not permitted to examine; and it may be supposed they will soon assert, that "it is a fear that error should be discovered, which hath "occasioned the concern to stop enquiry."

LETTER,

SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN BY THE CELEBRATED

M. MONTESQUIEU,

To M. le Chevalier de Bruni.

I WAS not at * * * when your Letter came; you embarrass me greatly; I shall only answer you for the purpose of entertaining myself with a man who is much

much better able to resolve the doubts which he proposes, than the person to whom he sent them.

I am not of your opinion with regard to despotism and despotic princes. It appears to me horrible and absurd to the last degree, that a whole people should blindly subject themselves to the caprice of one, even if he were an angel. For my own part I would not live under him a single day. This angel may become in a moment a monster thirsting after blood. Despotism is to me the most abominable and disgustful of all bad governments; man is perpetually crushed, debased, and degraded by it. Look into history ancient and modern, if ever there was one upon earth, that was not an insult on mankind, and the disgrace of human nature. Monarchy would doubtless be the best of governments, if it was possible to find such kings as Henry IV.* the only one that ever deserved the homage and veneration of his subjects. Kings, should always be brought up in a school of affliction, as this great man was; such alone are truly great, and the lovers of mankind. Before we can feel for the misfortunes of others, we must ourselves have been unfortunate. But on the other hand, the hearts of princes, corrupted by prosperity, and the slaves of pride, are inaccessible to pity, and insensible to true glory.

I am not at all surprized, that in monarchies, and especially in our own, there should be so few princes, worthy of esteem. Incircled by corrupters, knaves, and hypocrites, they accustom themselves to look upon their fellow creatures with disdain,—and set no value on any but sycophants, who caress their vices, and live in perpetual

* *Of France.* Our English Hen. IV. was an usurper and a tyrant. *Editors.*

petual idleneſs and inactivity. Such is generally the condition of a monarch; great men are always ſcarce, and great Kings are more ſo. Add to this, that the ſplendor of a monarchy is ſhort and tranſitory. France, is already ſunk into miſery and diſgrace; an age more will annihilate her, or ſhe will fall a prey to the firſt intrepid conqueror.

The Engliſh Government has nothing to ſupport it but a deluſive outſide, extremely flattering to the people, who fancy themſelves the ſole Governors. I do not know where it is more eaſy to create ſuch open diſſentions as may overthrow the ſtate. A man of ſenſe, and generoſity may, in ten years time, erect himſelf into a deſpotic prince, with more ſafety at London, than at Moſcow: remember Cromwell. Money is enough to corrupt the whole parliament.

The great, ever fond of riches and power, and proſtrate at the feet of fortune: who always attend the throne, will promote the views of their maſter; and theſe once gained over, this phantom of liberty, which appeared at intervals in the convulſive motions of the Commons, which awakens, ſhakes itſelf, and ſoon vaniſhes, will be ſoon annihilated at the firſt ſignal given by the ſupreme rulers.

I know indeed of no monarchy that is fixed, conſtant and perfect; the wiſeſt Kings oppreſs their Subjects, to arrive at deſpotiſm. Adieu, my friend; live in freedom and obſcurity. Solitude will procure you the beſt and trueſt pleaſure, ſelf content. The fooliſh and the wicked, ſeen afar off, will excite your compaſſion; to look nearly upon them, would but excite your contempt and indignation.

I write

I write this in haſte; we will treat this matter more fully in the free intercourſe of guiltleſs friendſhip.

M.

BOROUGH REPRESENTATION.

DERBY TOWN.

Political character.— THE Mayor, Aldermen, Brothers, and capital Burgeſſes, who form the Common-Council, are all in the intereſt of the Duke of Devonſhire, who, from their conſequence, poſſeſs alſo great influence in the borough. They attach this intereſt to the above Nobleman, by the exerciſe of that power which they aſſume of making honorary freemen, or as they are moſt uſually termed, in this and every other place, *faggots*: theſe are made from among ſuch perſons as have neither the claim of birth or ſervitude. By virtue of this power the aldermen can, at any time create a number of freemen from among the Duke of Devonſhire's tenants and dependents, in various parts of the county, ſuch faggots will conſequently out-number the legal freemen of the Borough; and theſe honorary freemen or faggots, who want no qualification but the *fiat* of the aldermen, and to have been one whole year inveſted with their nominal franchiſe, agreeably to the Letter of the Durham Act; and they are qualified to come into the town on the day of election and to eaſe the inhabitant

bitant-freemen of all the inconveniencies of a conteſt, by chooſing their members for them. Derby, therefore, though a very large and opulent town, cannot maintain its independence, as it would, if the right of voting was in the inhabitant houſe-holders, where it ought to be, or if it were relieved from the tyranny of a Corporation, under which no town can be free, unleſs it is conſtituted as that of London. In the Caſe of Carliſle, making this deſcription of freemen, was deemed illegal: but in the caſe of Bedford and Derby, the reverſe has been determined. If, therefore, Mr. Grenville had introduced a clauſe into his excellent Bill, to aſcertain the qualifications of votes, and to aboliſh honorary freedoms, and ſuch ſurreptitious qualifications, he would have done more to have prevented expenſive litigation, than the committees will ever be able to accompliſh; for they are only competent to decide upon the evil when committed, without poſſeſſing the leaſt power of preventing it in future.

Ancient Repreſentation. This town has returned from the firſt ſummons, 23. Edward I.

Right of Election. The members are choſen by the Corporation, freemen, and ſworn burgeſſes, by Charter, 14. Charles I.

Number of Votes.—655. *Returning Officer*—is the mayor.

Patron—Duke of Devonſhire.

EXETER, DEVONSHIRE.

Political character.—This City, which is a city and and county of itſelf, is very ancient, and boaſts of having

ing had a mayor before even the city of London. Its extent is about a mile in compaſs; and it has fifteen pariſhes.

This is one of the few places in Great Britain which, in parliamentary language, is called an open city, from its not being under the influence of a nobleman, or any other individual. Were this the caſe in every city, and borough, however imperfect in organization of their reſpective conſtitutions, our greateſt complaint, that of baſe inequality, and individual influence, would be removed. Twelve hundred freemen are the number that command a powerful claim to repreſentation; but, where the right is veſted in twenty-four, thirty-ſix, or fifty-four Corporators, as in moſt Boroughs, and even the populous Cities of Bath, Wincheſter, and Saliſbury, it becomes a grievance of ſuch a magnitude as to be countenanced and ſupported only by the poſſeſſors of that deſpotic influence which entails ſlavery on a people.

Ancient Repreſentation.—Exeter ſent members from the firſt demand of them after the conqueſt.

Right of Election.—Is underſtood to be in the magiſtrates and freemen.

Number of votes.—There never having been any determination of the Houſe on that queſtion, the number may be aſcertained from the following poll of the late conteſt, not to exceed 1200.

James Buller, Eſq. —	1106
John Baring, Eſq. —	588
ſir C. W. Bampfylde,	550

Returning Officer.—The Sheriff.

THE PRESENT WAR.

WHY sleeps the Muse, when half the world's in arms,
And rouses pity by it's stern alarms?
Why the dire discord? Why the battle's rage?
For what great purpose do the powers engage?
Alas! the truth must wound each pitying mind,
The war now raging is 'gainst human kind;
The war of DESPOTS 'gainst the "Rights of Man,"
Whilst Hell-kin'd Nobles the black horrors fan.—
Lately, when Liberty, fair Goddess came,
And gave to Gallia a more honour'd name,—
"*The land of freedom*"—then the powers of Hell,
Who burn in Chains, in envy, roar'd a yell;
Which made its entrance to their Kinsfolk's ears,
And gave a birth to ev'ry Despot's fears.
Each took th' alarm, and made the cause his own,
And each o'er Europe the death-blast hath blown.
Hell's minions hasted to the French domains,
Brandish'd death's weapons—and fell Slav'ry's Chains;
Anath'mas pour'd with horrid murd'rous breath,
Which threat'ned nought but massacres and death.
The knew-known Goddess, heard their threats and smil'd,
And closer press'd each new adopted child;
She smil'd on each, on each her influence shed,
And as she press'd them, all their terrors fled.
With voice in *Union* all the nation cries,
Freedom we'll have, though half our number dies!
The God of *Freedom*, never made a slave!
In vain may Austria and proud Brunswick rave!
The cry of *Frenchmen* with their latest breath
Shall be, like *Britons*, LIBERTY OR DEATH!"

TELL.

Manchester, August 15, 1792.

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday February 19, 1793.

Mr. Erskine's Speech on the Liberty of the Press.

The following SPEECH of the Honourable THOMAS ERSKINE, Esq. at a very numerous Meeting of the FRIENDS OF THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, London, January 19, 1793, deserves not only the attentive perusal of every Man, but to be *deeply engraven* upon the Heart of every Englishman:

"THE peculiar excellence of the English Constitution, in which, indeed, the value of every Government may be summed up, is, that it creates an equal rule of action for the whole nation, and an impartial administration of justice under it.

"From these master principles, results that happy, unsuspecting and unsuspected Freedom, which for ages has distinguished society in England, and which has united Englishmen in an enthusiasm for their country, and a reverence for their laws.

"To maintain this fearless tranquillity of human life, the prime blessing of Social Union, the power of ac-

cusation was not given to *uninjured* individuals, much less to voluntary, undefined, unauthorised associations of men, acting without responsibility, and open to irregular and private motives of action, but was conferred upon the supreme Executive Magistrate, as more likely to look down upon the mass of the community with an unimpassioned eye, and even that wisely placed trust, guarded and bridled by the personal responsibility of those officers by which the Crown is obliged to exercise its authority, and in the higher order of crimes which, on principle, should extend to all, guarded once again by the office of the Grand Jury, interposed as a shield between the people and the very laws enacted by themselves.

"These admirable provisions appear to us to be founded in a deep acquaintance with the principles of society, and to be attended with the most important benefits to the public; because tempered again, and finally with the trial by the country—they enable the English Constitution to ratify the existence of a STRONG HEREDITARY Executive Government, consistently with the security of popular freedom.

"By this arrangement of the Royal Prerogative of accusation, so restrained and mitigated in its course, the Crown becomes an object of wholesome, but not dangerous jealousy, which, while it prevents it from overstepping its constitutional limits, endears the people to one another, from a sense of the necessity of union amongst themselves, for the preservation of their privileges against a power dangerous to remove, but equally dangerous to exist unobserved and unbalanced. Under this system, making allowance for the vice and errors inseparable from Humanity, state accusations, *in modern times*, tho' sometimes erroneous, have not often been rash or malevolent:

volent; and the criminal, under the weight of the firm hand of justice, has been supported by the indulgent fraternal tribunal of his country.

"But under the circumstances which assemble us together, all these provisions appear to be endangered. A sudden alarm has been spread through the kingdom by the Ministers of the Crown, of imminent danger to the Constitution, and to all order and government. The nation has been represented to be fermenting into sedition and insurrection, through the dangerous associations and writings of disaffected and alienated subjects; and under the pressure of this perilous conjuncture, the Parliament has been suddenly assembled, and the Militia embodied.

"The existence or extent of these evils, since they have been sanctioned, though not ascertained, by the authority of Parliament, we have not upon the present occasion assembled to debate; but we may, without *sedition*, congratulate our fellow subjects, that our Ministers had the vigilance to detect those numerous and bloody insurrections, which otherwise might have secreted themselves, and passed unknown and undiscovered, and that without the punishment of a single individual for any overt act of treason, the people have recovered all that tranquillity and respect for the laws, which they appeared to us to have equally possessed at the time when the alarm burst forth.

"That large classes of the community should nevertheless give faith to the assertions and acts of a responsible Government, is neither to be wondered at nor disapproved. When the English Constitution is authoritatively represented to be in danger, we rejoice in the enthusiasm of Englishmen

Englishmen to support it. When that danger is further represented to have been caused or increased by the circulation of treasonable and seditious writings, we acknowledge that it is the duty of every good citizen, *in his proper sphere, and by proper means*, to discountenance them; and nothing is further from the intention of this meeting, than to hold up to public disapprobation, such individuals as, from honest motives, have joined associations, even though they may in their zeal, have shot beyond that line of exertion which we (mistakenly perhaps, but conscientiously) conceive to be the safe limitation of assistance to Executive Government by private men.

"We assemble neither to reprehend nor to dictate to others; but, from a principle of public duty, to enter our solemn protest against the propriety or justice of those Associations which, by the contagion of example, are spreading fast all over England, supported by the subscriptions of opulent men, for the avowed purpose of suppressing and prosecuting writings, more especially when accompanied with rewards to informers; and *above all*, when these rewards are extended (of which there are instances) to question and to punish opinions, delivered even in the private intercourses of domestic life, unmixed with any act or manifest intention against the authority of the laws.

"We refrained at our former meeting from pronouncing these proceedings to be illegal and punishable, because we must receive the rule from our statutes and precedents of law, which are silent on the subject; but we consider them to be doubtful in law, and unconstitutional in principle, from the whole theory, and all the analogies of English justice.

"In

"In the first place, we object to them as wholly unnecessary, and we give this objection precedence, because there ought to be a visible expediency to vindicate every innovation in the administration of governments and laws. Supposing then the conjuncture to be what it is by authority represented, the Crown is possessed of the most ample powers for the administration of speedy and universal justice.

"If the ordinary sittings of the Courts are found, at any time, to be insufficient for the accomplishment of their jurisdictions, or if even a salutary terror is to be inspired for the general security—the king may appoint special commissions for the trial of offenders.

"If the Revenue devoted to the ordinary purposes of Criminal Justice, should be found insufficient for an unusual expenditure, Parliament is ever at hand to supply the means, and no Parliament can be supposed to refuse, or the people be suspected to murmur, at a necessary expence.

"If Information also became necessary for the discovery and conviction of offenders, the Crown may, at any time, by its authority, set even Informers in motion.

"But under all this awful process, Public Freedom would still be secured, while the public safety was maintained. The Crown still acting by its officers, would continue to be responsible for the exercise of its authority, and the community still bound together by a common interest, and cemented by the undisturbed affections and confidence of private life, would be sound and pure for the administration of justice. This we maintain and

publish to be the genius of the British Constitution, as it regards the criminal law.

"But when, without any State-necessity, or requisition from the Crown or Parliament of the kingdom, bodies of men voluntarily intrude themselves into a sort of partnership of authority with the Executive Power; and when, from the universal and admitted interest of the whole nation in the objects or pretexts of such associations, the people, if they continue to spread as they have done, may be said to be in a manner represented by them; where is the accused to find justice amongst his peers when arraigned by such combinations? Where is the boasted trial by the country, if the country is thus to become informer and accuser? Where is the cautious distrust of accusation, if the Grand Jury themselves, or some of them, may have informed against the object of it, brought in the very bill which they are to find, and subscribed for the prosecution of it? Where, in the end, is the mild, complacent, relenting countenance of the Jury for trial, that last consolation which the humanity of England never denied, even to men taken in arms against her laws, if the pannels are to come reeking from vestry-rooms, where they have been listening to harangues concerning the absolute necessity of extinguishing the very crimes and the criminals which they are to decide upon in judgment, and to condemn by their verdicts? But if these proceedings must thus evidently taint the administration of justice, even in the superior courts, where the Judges, from their independence, their superior learning, and their further removal from common life, may be argued to be likely to assist Juries in the due discharge of their office, what must be the conduct of the Courts of Quarter Sessions, whose jurisdictions over these offences are co-ordinate—where the Judges are the very

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gentlemen who lead these associations in every county and city in the kingdom, and where Juries are either tenants and dependants, or their neighbours in the country, justly looking up to them, with confidence and affection, as their friends and protectors in the direction of their affairs? Is this a Trial by an English Court and Jury? It would be infinitely more manly, and less injurious to the accused, to condemn him at once without a hearing, than to mock him with the empty forms of the British Constitution, when the substance and effect of it are destroyed. By these observations we mean no disrespect to the Magistrates of our country; but the best men may inadvertently place themselves in situations absolutely incompatible with their duties. Our natures are human, and we err when we consider them as divine.

"The incongruities arising from this rage of popular accusation, or even of declared popular support, to accusation proceeding from the Crown, are not our original observations. We are led to them by the analogies and institutions of the law itself. On this principle, criminals impeached (not by the people heated with a sense of individual danger, and personally mixing themselves with the charge and the evidence) but impeached by the House of Commons, representing them, are tried, from the necessity of the case, by the Lords, and not by the country. This anomaly of justice arose from the humanity and wisdom of our ancestors. They thought that when the complaint proceeded not from the Crown, whose acts the people are accustomed to watch with jealousy, but from the popular branch of the Government, which they lean towards with favour, it was more substantial justice to the meanest man in England, to send him

him for trial before the Lords, though connected with him by no common interest, but on the contrary divided by a separate one, than to trust him to a jury of his equals, when the people, from which it must be taken, was even in theory connected with the prosecution, though totally unacquainted in fact with its cause, or with its object.

"We appeal, with confidence, to the reason of the public, whether these principles do not apply, by the closest analogy, to the proceedings which we assemble to disapprove; for as criminal jurisdictions are local, the offence must be tried in the country, and frequently in the very town where it is charged to be committed; and thus the accused must not only stand before a Court, infected with a general prejudice, but in a manner disqualified, by a pointed and particular passion and interest.

"We have further to remark, that these objections to popolar Associations for the prosecution of crimes, apply with double force, when directed against the Press, than against any other objects of criminal justice which can be described or imagined.

"Associations to prosecute offences against the game law, or frauds against tradesmen, (which we select as familiar instances, though we do not vindicate them) nevertheless distinctly describe their objects, and in suppressing illegal conduct, have no immediate tendency to deter from the exercise of rights which are legal, and in which the public have a deep and important interest.

"No unqualified person can shoot or sell a hare or a partridge, as long as monopoly in game is suffered to continue, without knowing that he transgresses the law,

and

and there can be no difference of judgment upon the existence, extent, or consequence of the offence. The trial is of a mere fact. By such Associations, therefore, the public cannot be stated to suffer further than it always suffers, by an oppressive system of penal law, and by every departure from the due course of administering it.

"In the same manner when a swindler obtains goods on false pretences, he cannot have done so from error; the act is decisive of the intention; the law defines the crime with positive precision, and the trial is in this case, therefore, only the investigation of a fact, and in holding out terrors to swindlers, honest menare in no danger, nor does the public suffer further than we have above adverted to.

"These Associations besides, from their very natures, cannot be so universal as to disqualify the country at large, by prejudice or interest, from the office of trial. They are bottomed besides, particularly the last (which is a most material distinction) upon crimes, the perpetration of which is injurious to individuals as such, and which each individual, in his own personal right, might legally prosecute—Whereas we assemble to object to the popular prosecution of those PUBLIC offences, which the Crown, if they exist, is bound in duty to prosecute by the Attorney General, where no individual can count upon a personal injury—and where the personal interest of the subject is only as a member of that public which is committed to the care of the executive authority of the country.

"The press, therefore, as it is to be affected by Association of individuals, that fetter its general freedom, wholly

wholly unconnected with any attacks upon private character, is a very different conſideration. For if the nation is to be combined to ſuppreſs writings without further deſcribing what thoſe writings are, than by the general denomination *ſeditious*; and if the exertions of thoſe combinations are not even to be confined to ſuppreſs and puniſh the circulation of books already condemned by the judgments of courts, but are to extend to whatever does not happen to fall in with their private judgments—if every writing is to be proſecuted which they may not have the ſenſe to underſtand, or the virtue to practiſe—if no man is to write but upon their principles, nor can read with ſafety, except what they have written, leſt he ſhould accidentally talk of what he has read—no man will venture either to write or to ſpeak upon the topics of government or its adminiſtration; a freedom which has ever been acknowledged by our greateſt Statesmen and Lawyers, to be the principal ſafeguard of that conſtitution, which liberty of thought originally created, and which a free preſs for its circulation gradually brought to maturity.

"We will therefore maintain and aſſert, by all legal means, the ſacred and eſſential privilege of every other parent and guardian. We will maintain and aſſert the right of inſtructing our fellow-ſubjects, by every ſincere and conſcientious communication which may promote the public happineſs, and while we render obedience to government and to law, we will remember at the ſame time, that as they exiſt by the people's conſent, and for the people's benefit, they have a right to examine their principles, to watch over their due execution, and to preſerve the beautiful ſtructure of their Conſtitution, by pointing out as they ariſe, thoſe defects and corruptions which.

which the hand of time never fails to ſpread over the wiſeſt of human inſtitutions.

"If in the legal and peaceable aſſertion of this freedom we ſhall be calumniated and perſecuted, we muſt be contented to ſuffer in the cauſe of freedom as our fathers before us have ſuffered. But we will, like our fathers alſo, perſevere until we prevail.

"Let us however recollect with ſatisfaction, that the law, as it ſtands at this very moment, thanks to our illuſtrious patriot Mr. FOX, is amply ſufficient for the protection of the Preſs, if the country will be but true to itſelf. The extent of the genuine Liberty of the Preſs, on general ſubjects, and the boundaries which ſeparate them from licentiouſneſs, the Engliſh law has wiſely not attempted to define. They are indeed in their nature undefinable, and it is the office of the Jury alone, taken from the country, in each particular inſtance, to aſcertain them, and the truſt of the Crown, where no individual is ſlandered, to ſelect the inſtances for trial, by its Miniſters reſponſible to Parliament.

"This ſyſtem appears to us amply to ſecure the government, while it equally protects the ſubject. But if this ſelection is to be transferred to ſelf conſtituted aſſemblies of men, agitated and enflamed by a zeal however honeſt, the Preſs muſt be broken up, and individuals muſt purchaſe their ſafety by ignorance and ſilence. In ſuch a ſtate, we admit that the other liberties which we enjoy under the laws, might nevertheleſs continue as long as government might happen to be juſtly adminiſtered; but ſhould corruption or ambition ever direct their efforts againſt them, the nation would be ſurprized and enſlaved—ſurprized by the loſs of their wakeful ſentinels,

whom

whom they had ſhot for only being at their poſts, and enſlaved, from the loſs of their armour, which their adverſary, under the pretence of a treaty, had cajoled them to throw away.

"But theſe evils become not only greater, but abſolutely intolerable, when extended to the ſtimulation of ſpies, to ſtab domeſtic peace, to watch for the innocent in the hours devoted to convivial happineſs, and to diſturb the ſweet repoſe of private life, upon the boſom of friendſhip and truth.

"It is juſtly obſerved, by the celebrated Judge Forſter, that words are tranſitory and fleeting, eaſily forgotten, and ſubject to miſtaken interpretations.

"Their very exiſtence at all, and their criminality, as depending upon context, or ſequel, or occaſion, all is to reſt upon the oaths of hired informers.

"Is this, in the end of the 18th century, to be the condition of our chearful country? Are theſe to be our chains? And are we, after we have broken them on the heads of tyrants, in former ages, to ſit down to forge them again for ourſelves, and to faſten them on one another?

"Our laſt, and not the leaſt objection to popular accuſation, is the love we bear to the Government of England, and our wiſh that its ſanctions may be perpetual; it being our opinion, as expreſſed in our ſeventh Reſolution at our former Meeting,

"THAT A SYSTEM OF JEALOUSY, AND ARBITRARY COERCION OF THE PEOPLE, HAS BEEN AT ALL TIMES DANGEROUS TO THE STABILITY OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

"For

"For the truth of which we appeal to human nature in general—to the characteristic of Englishmen in particular, and to the history of the country.

"In the career of such a system of combination, we foresee nothing but oppression, and when its force is extinguished, nothing but discontent, disobedience, and misrule.

"If government permits or countenances this distribution of its executive powers, how is it to resume them should opinions change, and run the other way? From the artifices and ambition of designing men,—the best governments may for a season be unpopular, as we know from experience, that the very worst may triumph for a while by imposture. Should such a change of opinion arrive, as in the nature of things it must, the administration of government and justice will be distracted and weakened. It will be in vain to inculcate, that only each may persecute one another by combination, but they must not combine for their common defence; and as in this unnatural tide of flood, no man may expect to be acquitted, however he may love his country—so in the ebb of the same tide, equally unnatural, it may be difficult to bring to conviction, even those who may plot its destruction.

"Against both these departures from the even and equal course of justice, and all their consequences, we equally and with an impartial assent protest.

"When we consider the great proportion of the community, that has already sanctioned the proceedings which we dissent from, the great authority that countenances them, the powerful influence which supports

them, and the mighty revenue raiſed upon the people; which through various channel, rewards many of thoſe who lead the reſt; we feel the difficulties which this Addreſs has to encounter; and judging of man from his nature and his hiſtory, we expect no immediate ſucceſs from our interpoſition. But we believe, that the ſeaſon of reflection is not far diſtant, when this humble effort for the public will be remembered, and its authors be vindicated by the people of Great Britain."

ON THE

ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

Continued from Page 333.

IN a renewed debate concerning impoſitions, Sir Henry Wootton, who had been employed as Ambaſſador to Venice, and Winwood, the preſent Secretary of State, attempted to prove that all Hereditary Princes had a right to impoſe taxes, though elective ones had not; and inſtanced the Princes of Germany and Italy, with the Kings of France and Spain; particularly Henry the Fourth's raiſing 14,800,000l. by an impoſition on ſalt only. Theſe abſurd compariſons between Princes, whoſe powers and prerogatives were different, according to the different limitations of their reſpective Governments, were ridiculed by the Houſe. Sir George Owen advanced, "That the impoſition laid by the "French King was an uſurpation, and contrary to the "fundamental

"fundamental laws of France; that the Dukedoms of "Florence and Milan were mere tyrannies."

Sir Thomas Roe, said, "That if the Kings of Spain "had such a power, they had received it from their "Cortes or Parliaments." Sir Edward Sandys, observed, "That the Courtiers' arguments, made against "themselves, since the French King had raised so im-"mense a sum on his subjects from such an assumed "power: that the Kings of France, and the rest of the "imposing Princes, do also make laws, which in a short "time will bring all things to a tyrannical course and "confusion, both to Prince and People: witness the "death of the last great imposing Prince." In answer to the distinction between an elective and an hereditary Prince, he maintained, "That all Kings were originally elected, except such as *came in* by the sword; "whom for that reason, it was lawful to *expel* by the "sword, whenever the people had the power to do it."*

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* Sir Edward Sands had expressed his resentment of this usurpation with great vigour and spirit, when the subject of impositions was first argued in the House.

"Some other princes, he said, had imposed, but never claimed, any right; now, the King had claimed it in open Parliament: they upon four or five; the King upon so many hundreds: they but for a few months, and, at the prayer of the Commons in Parliament, put down; here made perpetual by letters patent. That this liberty of imposing trenches on the foundation of all our interests, maketh us Bondmen, giveth use but no propriety; the King may, by the same reasons, make Laws without Parliaments." *Journals of Parliament*, Vol. 1. page 472.

It appears by the Journals, that James, after obtaining the judgment of the Exchequer, had published certain settled arbitrary rates of imposts upon goods, for himself and his heirs for ever. The Commons

A demand was made for a conference with the Lords* concerning a remonstrance against the King's imposing taxes without the consent of Parliament; and the Commons displayed an admirable skill, aptness, and judgment, in drawing up the heads on which they were to proceed. The Lords shewed themselves extremely jealous of so spirited an exertion, and refused their consent to a conference. This brought on a complaint against Richard Neile, Bishop† of Lincoln; who, in an advice to the Lords, not to agree to the request of the Commons, had affirmed, "that the matter on which "the conference was desired, struck not only at the "branch

Commons said, that this was strange; because no proclamation bound longer than the King's life; that the judgment in the exchequer was erroneous and unconstitutional; and that the matter was above all judgment but that of parliament. *Journals*, Vol. 1. page 481. *et seq.*

* Sir Roger Owen, who was appointed to open the conference, was directed to make the following observation: that the King in answer to the last petition of the Commons on this head, had referred them to the law of the land, and yet in the mean time proceeded to multiply impositions. *Journals of the Commons*, Vol. 1. p. 481.

† The following is an anecdote, that will serve to illustrate the character of this prelate.

'Neile, Bishop of Lincoln, and Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, being at dinner with the King in public; James in this situation, had the imprudence to propose aloud this question, "*Whether he might "not take his subject's money without consent of Parliament?*" The sycophant Neile, replied, "God forbid you should not, for you are "the breath of our nostrils." Andrews declined answering, and said, "He was not skilled in parliamentary cases." On the King's urging him further, he replied pleasantly, "I think your Majesty "has an undoubted right to my Brother Neile's Money." *Life of Andrews, Bishop of Winchester.*

"branch, but at the root of the prerogative; that it was "contrary to the oaths of allegiance to confer on it; "and that he doubted not but there would proceed some "undutiful, and seditious speeches from the committees "of that House, which it would be unfit for them to "hear." Many expostulations passed between the two Houses on this subject*. The Commons refused to proceed to any business till they had received full satisfaction, which occasioned an angry message from the King

* In the debates of the lower House, it was proposed to pass a bill to seize his Bishopric for seven years, towards a supply. Many Members testified their concern that the King should be beset with such Parasites. Mr. Alford was for carrying their complaint to the King; Sir Jerome Horsey said, "that they had had continual inter-"ruption all this parliament; that this bone amongst the rest was "thrown in by a Devil, if a Bishop might be a Devil; he wished a "select Committee might be appointed to consider of an immedi-"ate Message to the King." Sir Edward Sands justly observed, "that to go immediately to the King would wrong the liberties of "the upper House." The Commons were determined by the judicious arguments urged by this member. It was ordered on the question that there should be a cessation of all business, but proceedings on the Bishop of Lincoln, till an answer should come from the Lords concerning that matter. The next day the House received an admonitory letter from the King, to desist from their resolution.—They were on the point of coming to some severe resolution against misinformers, when Sir Thomas Lake, one of the Secretaries of State, discovered that the King had been shewn the order by the Speaker, who received a severe reprimand from the House, for his unparliamentary proceeding. The anger of the Commons against his offending prelate was heightened by James' meddling in the matter; and though they received a softening propotal from the Lords, they adhered to their resolution of obliging the Bishop to answer at the Bar of the House of Commons. *Journals*, Vol. 1. p. 496. *et seq.*

King, threatening to dissolve them if they did not proceed on the business of supply.*

Papers of arbitrary projects to govern without parliaments were every night flung about the streets. Neither did these covered or open threats deter the Commons from keeping firm to their resolution. The King finding that it was impossible to obtain a supply without remitting some of his high pretensions; and fearing for his creatures, should the Parliament continue to sit, dissolved them on the seventh of June, before one statute was enacted.

In this parliament the opposition had fallen very violently, upon the new created titles, on the lottery, on the admission of Papists to officers and honours, and on the many proposals which had been made to marry the King's son to a Popish Princess. Neither did the encreasing growth of luxury, which had been too successfully propagated by the example of the Court, escape the censure of the patriot Members. A bill against gold and silver, gilding, &c. was brought into the House and received with approbation. It was pleaded that this sumptuary law was consonant to the ordinances of God and nature; that vain expence in apparel, and other kinds of shew, was the cause of the want of hospitality: and to convince the House of the enormous height this despicable vice had arose to in that centre of extravagance and folly, the Court, an example was brought of a great Courtier having expended eighteen pounds a year upon shoe strings. James was so injudicious

* On an enquiry into the King's necessities, it was found that he was already 1,200,000l. in debt, and that upwards of 85,000l. went early in pensions.

cious as to wreak his vengeance on the leading members; and several of them were thrown into prison. Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, was one of these sufferers.* A benevolence was demanded in a very arbitrary manner; but it met with such a firm spirit of opposition from all ranks of men, that it answered very indifferently the purposes of the Court.

The King of Denmark paid his brother-in-law another visit, and dissipation continued strongly to prevail. Whilst this Monarch was in England, a Court cabal began to threaten the fortune of the favourite Somerset; a man who differed in no respect from the common herd, excepting in the degree of his vices, which had attained an enormous height from the pampering of a luxurious Court. A viciousness which had no balance from sense, experience, or judgment, drove him into excesses that at length afforded his enemies a full opportunity to effect his ruin.

The Lady Frances Howard, daughter to the Earl of Suffolk, was one of the beauties of the Court; though married

* This Member had expressed his disapprobation of the measures of the Court, in a manner improper and intemperate. He applied the two following verses from the Prophet Daniel, to the late King of France (Henry the 4th) and the King of England:

"Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom; but within a few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle.

"And in his estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom, but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatterers. *Journals*, Vol. p. 493.

married while yet a child to the Earl of Essex, she now conceived a violent affection for the favourite. The charms of their persons, the equality of their understandings, the sameness of their vices, soon produced a reciprocal passion, which they indulged without reserve. The Earl of Essex was yet on his travels, but returned soon after the commerce began. He became one of Lady Frances's admirers, and pressed for the possession of his privileges. She, attached to the glittering fortune of her paramour, refused; not without hope, by the means of such a conduct, to regain her freedom. Essex, instead of attempting the accomplishment of his expected happiness, found a coldness, opposition, and reserve, which forbad all hopes of enjoyment. The two lovers began to conceive assurances of carrying their most sanguine wishes into execution; and a process was commenced by the Countess against her husband for insufficiency.

James, who condescended to be a party in all the intrigues of his favourites, interested himself so warmly in the affair, that a divorce was obtained on this plea*, though

* James was present at the trial, and urged many arguments to the Archbishop in favour of the divorce. The good prelate notwithstanding the King's vehemence, dissented from the judgment that was given. The Earl of Southampton writes thus of it to Sir Ralph Winwood. "Of the nullity I see you have heard as much "as I can write; by which you may discern the power of a King "with Judges: for those which are now for it, I knew some of "them when I was in England were vehemently against it, as the "Bishops of Ely, (Neile) and Coventry, (Andrews). For the business itself, I protest I shall be glad if it may lawfully, that it may "go forward; though of late I have been fearful of the consequence, and have had my fears increased by the last letters which "came to me; but howsoever the manner of interposing gives me "no cause of contentment." *State Trials*, Vol. 1. p. 226. *et seq.* *Winwood*, Vol. 3. p. 475.

though Abbot, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, had declared very ſtrongly againſt it. The divorce was followed by the marriage of Lady Frances and the Viſcount; and kept with ſuch oſtentation by the Court, that the city of London complimented them with an invitation to dinner. The Bridegroom was made on this occaſion EARL OF SOMERSET.

(*To be continued.*)

PROTESTS
IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

Againſt the Addreſs to the King, on Friday the 1ſt Inſtant, approving of the meaſures of Government, tending to involve us in a war with the French Republic.

DISSENTIENT,

1. BEcauſe the immediate tendency of the Addreſs is to plunge the nation into War.

2. Becauſe we conſider War as an evil of ſuch magnitude, that nothing but abſolute neceſſity can juſtify it.

3. Becauſe we have not heard of any danger to this country which renders War neceſſary.

4. Becauſe the obſervance of good faith towards our allies does not require us to engage in War, His Majeſty's

ty's Miniſters having admitted, that Holland has not demanded our interference, and it being notorious that Pruſſia has been the aggreſſor againſt France.

5. Becauſe, though we feel the utmoſt horror at the atrocious act of cruelty and injuſtice mentioned in the Addreſs, we think that no injuſtice, however flagrant, committed in a Foreign State, and having no relation to other countries, is a juſt ground for making War.

6. Becauſe we are moſt likely to obtain the objects, whether of policy or principle, in the way of negociation than War; the averſion of France to break with this country, which has lately ſtood the teſt of repeated provocations, putting it in our power at this moment to give peace to all Europe; whereas by entering into the war we ſhall put all at the ſtake; we ſhall be forced to join a league whoſe duration cannot be depended on; our marine will be to act againſt armed veſſels only; and that of the French againſt a trade which covers every quarter of the Globe.

7. Becauſe in no view of policy can we diſcover any advantage to be obtained to this country by War, however ſucceſsful. The experience of our two laſt Wars has taught us the little value of foreign acquiſitions; for having loſt America in the laſt of them, we now enjoy a more beneficial intercourſe with it as an independent State, than we did when it formed a part of the Britiſh dominion.

8. Becauſe we think it the intereſt of this country to preſerve peace with all mankind, but more eſpecially with France.

9. Becauſe

9. Becauſe, even if it ſhould be thought conſonant to the honour and magnanimity of this nation to ſeek the depreſſion of France, that end will be moſt effectually promoted, by leaving them to their own internal diſſentions, inſtead of uniting them by a hoſtile aggreſſion in a common cauſe, and thus calling forth all their energy.

10. Becauſe as every War muſt be concluded by a Peace, negociation muſt ultimately depend upon the good faith of France, unleſs we proceed upon a principle of partition, conqueſt, or extermination.

11. Becauſe the meaſures now in view will utterly derange our ſyſtem of finance, our war reſources having been applied towards defraying the expence of our peace eſtabliſhmen: in conſequence of which, our floating, unfunded debt, which amounted at the commencement of the American war, only to 3,100,000l. has accumulated to above ten millions, excluſive of India bonds; beſides which, the additional effect that the late enormous extenſion of private banking, to an amount unknown, may have upon our public credit, in caſe of War, is what no one can foreſee.

12. Becauſe we dread the increaſe of thoſe public burthens, which already bear ſo hard on the poorer part of the community; and becauſe we are convinced that nothing can endanger our happy Conſtitution, but an interruption of thoſe bleſſings which it now affords us, by the calamities of an unneceſſary War.

LANSDOWN.
LAUDERDALE.

Diſſentient,

FOR the 1ſt, 2d, 3d reaſons—and for that part of 4th, beginning with the word "interference."

For the whole of the 5th and 12th reaſons.

DERBY.

AGAINST A WAR WITH FRANCE,

In conſequence of the rejection of Earl Stanhope's amendment to the Addreſs to his Majeſty moved by Lord Grenville, in the Houſe of Lords, on Friday February 1, 1793.

DISSENTIENT.

1ſt, BECAUSE War is a ſtate ſo unnatural, ſo barbarous in itſelf, ſo calamitous in its effects, ſo immoral when unneceſſary, and ſo attrocious when unjuſt, that every friend of humanity ſhould endeavour to avoid it; and the eſtabliſhment of a pacific ſyſtem ought to be the firſt policy of a wiſe and enlightened Nation.

2ndly, Becauſe Peace is always for the intereſt of the common people in all Countries. And Great Britain and France, from their peculiar ſituation, have an evident intereſt to remain at peace with each other.

3dly, Becauſe it is a well known fact that the people in France, are, in general, extremely deſirous to maintain and ſtrengthen, between that country and this, the bonds of amity and friendſhip. And ever ſince the overthrow of Deſpotiſm in France, the commonalty in that Nation have ſuch irreſiſtible weight, that we might reſt aſſured, that, as peace with Great Britain

ain is for the intereſt, and is the wiſh of the people n France, it would therefore be the conſtant object of their government; if not firſt provoked by our Miniſ ers, by ſuch acts as ſending away the French Ambaſſa dor, and expreſſly refuſing to acknowledge their new go vernment.

4thly, Becauſe the old, deſpotic and deteſtable go vernment in France, from its ſecrecy, its perfidy, trea hery and reſtleſs ambition, has been the cauſe of many ars in Europe for ſeveral centuries paſt.—There ore, any aſſiſtance given on the part of our govern ent to any power in Europe, that is endeavouring reſtore that tyrannical form of government in France, injurious to the true intereſts of this country. And e people of France have, moreover, as juſt a right to joy civil liberty as ourſelves.

5thly, Becauſe a war with France is at preſent moſt politic, extremely dangerous to our allies the Dutch, zardous with reſpect to the internal peace and ex nal power of this country, and is likely to be highly i rious to our commerce, which is the great ſource o our wealth, naval ſtrength and proſperity. And a material interruption to the trade, manufactures and ſtry of this kingdom, may at this time, be attended n conſequences the moſt fatal. The war may, there , prove to be a war againſt our commerce and manu ures, againſt the proprietors of our funds, againſt o paper currency, and againſt every deſcription of pro y in this country.

6thly, Becauſe every man of feeling muſt exceed lament the numerous taxes and oppreſſive bur-

thens already borne by the people of this kingdom, and alſo the preſent high price of various neceſſary articles of life; and if an unwiſe ſyſtem of policy be purſued, it muſt inevitably encreaſe thoſe burthens, and eventually put thoſe neceſſaries of life beyond the reach of the laborious part of the community.

And 7thly, Becauſe theſe misfortunes ought the more to be deprecated, as it clearly appears that it would ſtill be moſt eaſy to avoid them, if our Miniſters were to prefer a mild, juſt and pacific ſyſtem, to the horrors of war, carnage and devaſtation.

(Signed) STANHOPE.

ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

I Propoſe in this letter, to conſider the means that ſeem neceſſary to be made uſe of for the reſtoration of the Church, and the ſalvation of the State. By what we can learn from the preſent ſtate of affairs, this work, however painful, muſt be ſubmitted to before things can revolve upon their proper axis. Without any further preface, the following particulars appear abſolutely neceſſary to be conſidered for the welfare and happineſs of theſe nations:

Firſt,

First, that universal liberty of conscience should be given to the people to worship God as they please. Toleration is better than intolerance; but toleration supposes a power to exist somewhere, to prevent persons from having the liberty to worship as they are persuaded in their own minds; it supposes that granting different sects and parties liberty to use the means of grace they choose to adopt, is a favour granted by the State, and not a privilege every man is entitled to by the laws of God, and the laws of nature. It is exceeding certain that God has given no men power to lord it over the consciences of their brethren. None have authority from God to say you must believe this creed; you must submit to this form of worship; you are, under pain of our displeasure, bound to follow that religion we establish. Every man who reads his bible and his own heart, perfectly knows that every thing of this nature is contray to the will of God, and contrary to the dictates of reason, which God has placed in our breast for our improvement and happiness.

It appears necessary in the second place, to abolish all divine or human right to tythes and emoluments belonging to the national Priesthood. While these exist in their present form, we cannot expect, with any propriety, any thing but iniquity and wickedness to prevail. Thousands of ordinary capacities are sent to school and to college, with no other view than to enjoy the emoluments of the Church. Instead of studying divinity, they are employed most of their time in such studies as are not in the least calculated to help them in their future work. The Students at both our universities, are considered by most who are personally acquainted with their conduct, as the most abandoned and profligate in

the

the nation. When they have ſtayed their time at college they are diſperſed through the nation, every one to ſeek his gain from his own quarter. They apply to thoſe who have the emoluments of the Church in their hand, and in effect ſay, "put me into the Prieſt's office "for a piece of bread." The Churches in general are filled with men that neither fear God nor work righteouſneſs. They do not know the way to Heaven themſelves, and therefore cannot preach it to others. They are ſo much taken up with other things, that the ſouls under their care are dying in their ſin for want of knowledge. Moſt of them preach againſt the articles and homilies of the Church. They ſolemnly declare they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt to enter upon the Miniſtry, and declare when they have taken poſſeſſion of their pariſh, that inſpiration has ceaſed; and boldly declare againſt the articles of faith they have ſworn to maintain. They ſuffer their pariſhioners to wander like ſheep without a ſhepherd; or if they follow the example of their paſtor, they are ſure to tread the downward road.

Some of theſe hirelings take the benefits of two or three livings and live like gentlemen, not caring in the leaſt for the ſouls committed to their care. Many rich Curates and Rectors never preach unleſs it be on very ſpecial occaſions. Poor Curates are obliged to ride poſt from one pariſh to another in many places, to do the work of their rich maſters, and are hard put to it to get bread for their families, though they preach in four or five pariſhes. It is amazing to ſee a nation enlightened as ours is, ſubmitting to pay Biſhops, Deans, &c. ſuch large revenues, when they are daily complaining of the weight of their taxes.

If

If tythes were abolished, a plan might be adopted to have the Gospel more plentifully preached by men of better morals, which would be abundantly more serviceable to the nation. The author of an anonymous pamphlet, called "Thoughts on a Reform in the Church, "and Means to accomplish it," lays down a plan which appears exceeding equitable. He observes a law might be enacted to cause the nation to pay so much in the pound for the support of the Ministry. The tax should be sufficient to make every Minister live comfortably in his labour; but should be so restricted as to prevent any from enjoying its benefits who did not preach, unless by age or infirmity they should be superannuated. Every man should be compelled by law to pay his tax, but he should have full liberty to pay it to that Minister he most approved of. He should choose his pastor, and then contribute what the law required towards his support. This would cause every man to be bound by law to support the Gospel, and yet fully at liberty to worship God according to the conviction of his own mind.

In the third place, no man should be admitted on any account to preach, whose life is immoral; nor should any man be continued in the Ministry any longer than he acted according to his profession. If a Minister convicted of notorious crimes, after admonition suitably administered, and space given for repentance, should persist in his sin, the people should have power to reject him, and withdraw their subscription. No man ought to be admitted to preach who cannot do it without borrowing his discourses from other authors, and reading them like a school boy to the people. If a man be master of his subject, he will deliver his discourse extemporary, or by the help of a few notes. If some men of extensive ability, should feel themselves

ſelves at firſt a little embarraſſed, they would ſoon conquer their fears, and be able to addreſs the audience with ſuitable boldneſs. If a Lawyer at the bar, would be reprobated if he ſhould read his diſcourſe, ought a Miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt to avoid cenſure, by not being able from an adequate knowledge of his ſubject to addreſs his hearers, without being nailed to his paper, while he is ſhewing them the great things that concern their ſalvation?

This would neceſſarily lead to a fourth ſtep, which would be greatly ſerviceable to theſe nations. Every man of ability and uprightneſs, let him profeſs what ſentiments he pleaſed in religion, would be in a fair way to fill up places in the State to the advantage of all around him.—No man in this caſe, would be tempted to play the hypocrite, and ſolemnly take the ſacrament in the eſtabliſhed Church, while he deteſted many things which ſhe held as leading doctrines. We might have men choſen to ſit in the parliament, to be Mayors in large towns, to be Magiſtrates, to be Commiſſioners of the Exciſe, Cuſtoms, &c. &c. who would act honeſtly in every thing, and greatly advance the intereſts of the nation.

This plan would effectually prevent Divines from being employed in State affairs. We ſhould have no Biſhops with revenues to qualify them for the Houſe of Lords. They would be obliged to attend on their Miniſtry to ſupport themſelves and their families. It is exceedingly to the diſhonour of Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, to neglect their ſpiritual charge, and inſtead of preaching the word inſtant in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, to be preached up in the Houſe of Lords, to guard their revenues from being touched by the wicked.

If

If this plan was adopted, the word of God would be preached in every parish, and thousands would be induced to hear, who are resolved now to stand aloof from Ministers who neither preach nor like the Gospel. The Church would cease to be the engine of the State: the Ministers of Jesus Christ would not look up to the State for their places and preferment: nor would they model their doctrines to suit the times. The nation would be abundantly more enlightened in politics: Ministers would open to their hearers every subject that would be necessary for their improvement in the world, as well as in the Church. The laity would not be led blind-fold into measures which the Court should adopt: the servants of God would be the servants of the people: they would be faithful watchmen on the walls of the Church. When they saw a war likely to be entered upon to satisfy the ambition of a Court or the avarice of individuals, they would give the trumpet a certain sound, and prevail on their hearers not to countenance measures inimical to their happiness. When a tax was about to be imposed on the nation to pay the debts of a P——— of W———, they would shew the absurdity of such an imposition. Whatever the State now adopts, the Clergy in general cram it down the throats of the laity: they by arguments which every sensible man detests, bring the people to approve of many things which are exceedingly against their interest and happiness.

If the reform above laid down was once executed, the patrons of Ministers would be the People, and every Minister would have his views directed to his friends and benefactors. He would be faithful to their interests in every thing: his chief concern would be to bring them back to God, from whom they had deeply revolted. He would

press

preſs on all to repent and believe in the Lord Jeſus, that they might be ſaved: he would lead the weary and heavy laden, to find reſt in God: would help forward the faith and ſalvation of all who have believed, and would to the utmoſt of his power, ſtrive to ſave himſelf, and all that ſhould attend his miniſtry. He would then do all in his power to help forward their happineſs, in a temporal ſenſe: he would preach and publiſh, or circulate what others have written, on every ſubject likely to improve their minds, or be uſeful to their ſpiritual and temporal advantage.

This plan would not require one fourth of the ſupport which the preſent Clergy have in their poſſeſſion: the money that is now exacted in the luxury of a few men, that are neither uſeful in the Church or State, might be applied to the ſupport of the poor, or to leſſen the taxes of the nation.

If the Church was thus purged of her corruption, we cannot tell how far its influence might then ſpread. It is probable every grievance beneath which we groan at preſent, would ſoon be removed: we ſhould find the nation freed from her darkneſs and ſuperſtition: the people would read and think for themſelves. It would be impoſſible to maintain many maxims of the State that are now preached up to the heavens by the Clergy: we ſhould have every thing inveſtigated that concerns our happineſs, and following the convictions of our own minds, become the envy of all the nations of Europe. Our neighbours would not go before us in any thing that tended to encreaſe our happineſs, or help forward our poſterity in every ſenſe.

It

It is eaſy to foreſee that this plan will be reprobated by all that have intereſt at ſtake themſelves, or are connected with perſons enriched by the emoluments of the Church. They will call every thing of this nature a libel upon the Church, and do their utmoſt to keep the people in darkneſs; but there is ſuch a ſpirit for reading created in the minds of perſons who once were prejudiced againſt any reform, that every ſtep which is taken to hinder, will only tend to help forward the ſalvation of theſe lands. It is not in the power of Proclamations from the Throne, or Judges or Juries finding a Libel in the writings of individuals, to prevent the end from being brought about, which is now in view. While the meaſures are rejected in the Houſes of Parliament that are directly calculated to promote and encreaſe wealth and happineſs, ſome way will be opened by Providence to bring about his own,—a reformation that will do honour to the nation at large. It is certain that objections will be raiſed reſpecting the poſſibility of executing a plan of this nature: many poſitively declare a national Church is neceſſary: without it the nation would be rent into innumerable ſects and parties. If we only refer perſons that violently object and oppoſe, to America, they may find every ſect and party enjoying their civil and religious privileges to their mutual ſatisfaction and happineſs: they walk in love together: they rejoice in their liberty, and wiſh all the world to be partakers of their joy.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your affectionate ſervant,

Aberdeen, Jan. 1, 1793. INDEPENDENT.

BOROUGH

BOROUGH REPRESENTATION.

TIVERTON, DEVONSHIRE.

Political Character.— THE elective intereſt in this Borough is entirely poſſeſſed by Lord Harrowby and Sir John Duntze, each of whom nominates a Member. The following names of the whole conſtituent body will beſt explain the motives of their political attachments.

LIST.

No. 1. Benjamin Dickinſon, Mayor. This gentleman's independence may be eſtimated by the circumſtance of his *Brother* being a Superviſor of Exciſe, and his Brother-in-law being employed in the Cuſtoms.

No. 2. John Davey. The preſent chartered Juſtice of the town.

No. 3. David Gorton. Both of theſe worthy Electors are employed in the ſervice of the Mayor, in no very enviable ſituation; added to which, the *Juſtice* lately procured a commiſſion for his ſon.

No. 4. Henry Oſmond.

No. 5. Henry Oſmond, jun. ſon to the above, and *clerk* to Sir John, and reſident at Exeter.

No. 6. William Wood. An extra Officer in the Stamp Office, and *reſident* in London.

No. 7.

No. 7. Bevis Wood. Town-clerk, receiver of the rown rents for *Devon*, *Cornwall*, *and Somerſet*, an Atrney at Law in genteel practice.

No. 8. Barnard Beſley, now Comptroller of the Cuſms at *Exon*, and *reſident* there.

No. 9. John Beſley, his Brother, a dyer, in a reſpectble line.

No. 10. William Beſley, his Son, in partnerſhip with s Father.

No. 11. Thomas Enchmarſh,
No. 12, Richard Enchmarſh, } Brothers.

No. 13. Philip Parkhouſe. A good-natured honeſt ookſeller, whoſe principal trade is with the ſcholars of e Grammar-ſchool, and among the neighbouring gen-y, by whom he is deſervedly held in eſteem.—He is *diſributor of Stamps.*

No. 14. William Martin. A plain country farmer, ho rents a ſmall tenement in the pariſh, eats his mutton, d does as he is bid without grumbling.

No. 15. A merry Baker, two of whoſe Brothers are nployed by Government.

No. 16. George Cruwys. The ſapient Veſtry-clerk the pariſh.

No. 17. William Horabin. This man was born in ondon; but being by trade a hot-preſſer, he was ſent by Oliver Peard, and made one of the Corporation of e town. He *reſides* at *Exeter*, and works for Sir John.

No. 18. Rev. William Walker, Couſin of Sir John, rough whoſe means he obtained a Government living ar Bath, which he ſcarcely ever viſits, except to receive e *fruits of Chriſt's Vineyard.*

No. 19.

No. 19. John Webber. In this good man's caſe there is ſomething like a diſplay of juſtice; for it is commonly reported he is ſaddled upon the above Rev. Sir, for an annuity of 40l.

No. 20. William Lewis. A Tiverton *merchant*, and a near relation to Sir John.

No. 21. John Govett.

No. 22. William Jenkins. Schoolmaſter and malſter.

No. 23. John Owens. A reputable manufacturer.

No. 24. Henry Dunsford. Treaſurer of turnpikes.

Right of Election. The choice of Repreſentatives is veſted in the Corporation only.

Number of Voters--24. *Returning Officer*--The Mayor.

Patrons. Lord Harrowby and Sir John Duntze.

EQUALITY OF VOTES.

Dec. 1, 1710. The return for this Borough being read, it appeared that T. B. R. M. and J. W. Eſqrs. had all an equal number of voices.

Reſolved, "That the late election of Burgeſſes to "ſerve in this preſent parliament, for the Borough of *Ti-* "*verton*, is a void Election."

Ordered, "A new writ to iſſue," &c.

Sic tranſit gloria elegendi Anglicæ populi.

So paſſes the right of Suffrage of the people of England.

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday March 12, 1793.

ADDRESS

OF THE

Society of United Irishmen, of Dublin,

TO THE IRISH NATION.

IT is our right and our duty, at this time and at all times, to communicate our opinion to the public, whatever may be its success; and under the protection of a free press, itself protected by a jury, judges of law as well as fact, we will never be afraid to speak freely what we freely think, appealing for the purity of our intentions to God, and as far as these intentions are manifested by word, writing, or action, appealing to the justice of our cause, and the judgment of our country.

On the 9th of November, 1791, was this society founded. We and our beloved brethren of Belfast first began that civic union, which, if a nation be a society united for mutual advantage, has made Ireland a nation; and at a time when all wished, many willed, but few spoke, and fewer acted, we, Catholics and Protestants, joined our hands and our hearts together; sunk every distinctive appellation in the name of *Irishman*; and in the presence of God, devoted ourselves to universal enfran-

chiſement, and a real repreſentation of all the people in parliament. On this rock of right our little ark found a reſting-place; gradually, though not ſlowly, throughout the country, other ſtations of ſafety appeared, and what before was agitated ſea, became firm and fertile land. From that time have the body and ſpirit of our ſocieties increaſed, until ſelfiſh corporations, ſunk in conſcious inſignificance, have given way to a grand incorporation of the Iriſh people.

We have, in our *Digeſt of the penal laws*, addreſſed ourſelves ſucceſsfully, to the good ſenſe, humanity and generous indignation of all Ireland, convincing public reaſon, alarming public conſcience, and holding up this collection of bloody fragments as a terrible memorial of government without juſtice, and legality without conſtitution. It has been our rule and our practice never to enter into compromiſe or compoſition with a noxious principle, and we have therefore ſet our face, and lifted our voice, againſt this perſecuting and puſillanimous code, as againſt the murderer of our brother, eager to eraſe the whole of it from the ſtatute-book as it eraſed our countrymen from the ſtate, and wiſhing to proſcribe ſuch an incongruous and monſtrous conjunction of terms as *Penal Laws*, not only from a digeſt of the laws but from the dictionary of the language.

It has appeared our duty, in times ſuch as theſe, when the head is nothing without the heart, and with men ſuch as we oppoſe, not only to write and ſpeak but to act and ſuffer; to reckon nothing hazardous, provided it was neceſſary; to come forward with the intrepidity which a good cauſe inſpires, and a backward people required; by going far ourſelves to make others follow faſter,

faster, though, all the time conjuring us to retreat; in short, to make the retrogade stationary, and the stationary progressive; to quicken the dead, and add a soul to the living.

Knowing that what the tongue is to the man, the press is to the people, though nearly blasted in our cradle by the sorcery of solicitors of law, and general attorneys, we have persisted with courageous perseverance, to rally around this forlorn hope of freedom, and to maintain this citadel of the Constitution, at the risque of personal security, property, and all that was dear to us. They have come to us with a writ and a warrant, and an ex officio information, but we have come to them in the name of the genius of the British Constitution and the Majesty of the People of Ireland. Is sedition against the officers of administration, to exercise the criminal jurisdiction of the country, and is sedition against the people, to walk by with arrogant impunity?

We have defended the violated liberty of the subject against the undefined and voracious privilege of the House of Commons, treating with merited scorn the insolent menaces of men inflated with office, and not only have we maintained the rights of the people at the bar of this branch of the legislature, but we have, at the bench of judicature, vindicated the right of the nation, its real independence and supremacy; demonstrating that general inviolability was made transmissible to one or many deputies, to the utter extinction of responsibility, the evasion of criminality; and that the executive power of imperial and independent Ireland, was merely a jingling appendage to the great seal of Great Britain. Not a man so low, that, if oppressed by an assumption of

power

power, civil or military, has not met with our counſel, our purſes, and our protection: not a man ſo high, that if acting contrary to popular right or public independence, we have not denounced at the judgment's ſeat of juſtice, and at the equitable tribunal of public opinion.

We have encountered much calumny. We have, among a thouſand contradictory epithets, been called Republicans and Levellers; as if, by artfully making the terms appear ſynonimous, their nature could be made the ſame; as if a Republican were a Leveller, or a Leveller a Republican; as if the only Leveller was not the Deſpot who cruſhes with an iron ſceptre every rank and degree of ſociety into one; as if republican or democratic energy was not, as well as ariſtocratical privilege, or regal prerogative, ſanctioned by the fundamental principles of the Conſtitution, by all thoſe memorable precepts which form its firſt features, and by which the juſt and virtuous ſtruggles of our anceſtors, recognized by ſucceſſive generations, point out to their poſterity when they ought to interpoſe, and how long they ought to ſuffer. In his words, whoſe name reſts unknown, but whoſe fame is immortal,* we deſire "that the Conſtitution may preſerve its monarchical form, but we would have the "manners of the people purely republican." Are you not ſenſible that this cry of Republicaniſm, as the clamour againſt the Catholic Delegation, has been raiſed and prolonged by the miſchievous malignity of the loweſt goſſips of government, merely to drown the general voice for Reform, like the ſtate-manœuvre which ordered a flouriſh of trumpets and alarm of drums, at the ſide of ſuffering Patriots,† when they wiſhed to addreſs themſelves to the reaſon and juſtice of the people.—But we will

* Junius. † Sir Henry Vane, and Algernon Sydney.

will speak, and you will hear.—Yes, countrymen, we do desire that extended liberty, which may allow you, as citizens, to do what you will, provided you do not injure another; or rather, to do all the good you can to others, without doing injustice to yourselves. Yes, countrymen, we do wish for an equality of rights which is constitutional, not an equality of property which is impossible. Yes, countrymen, we do long for another equality, and we hope yet to see it realized—an equality consisting in the power of every father of a family to acquire, by labour either of mind or body, something beyond a mere subsistence—some little capital to prove, in case of sickness, old age, or misfortune, a safeguard for his body and for his soul; a hallowed hoard that may lift him above the hard necessity which struggles between conscience and corruption; that may keep his heart whole, and his spirit erect, while his body bends beneath its burden; make him fling away the wages of venality, and proudly return to an humble home, where a Constitution that looks alike on the palace and the hovel, may stand at his hearth a tutelar Divinity, and spread the Ægis of equal law to guard him from the revenge of those who offered the bribe, and offered it in vain. Yes, Irishmen, we do proclaim it our dearest wish, to see a more equal distribution of the benefits and blessings of life thro' the lowest classes of the community, the stamina of society; and we assert it as our firm belief, that an equal distribution of the elective franchise must contribute to this end: for national happiness depends upon employment, which must itself spring from industry; and that again depends on liberty, security of person and property, equal law, speedy and impartial justice; and, in short, on that tenure in the state, which may raise the community in relative value as in self-estimation; make the

agency of the People inſtrumental to a good Government, and the re-agency of good Government meliorate the morals and manners of the People: bind together the diſtinct, and hitherto contending claſſes of ſociety, by the cement of reciprocity and the interchange of obligations, and make the higher ranks—balluſtrades that adorn the arch—feel their dependance on the People, who are the piles that ſupport it. On the whole, we are ſo far Republicans, as to deſire a National Houſe of Commons, in its origin, its form, its features, and its ſpirit; reverencing the People—not conſpiring, with every other rank, againſt them, againſt their privileges, their pleaſures, their homely happineſs, their fireſide enjoyment; but rather cheriſhing the elective franchiſe the poor man's ewe lamb, and ſtigmatizing the landlord who would deſpoil him of it, as a Traitor to the Conſtitution, a Robber of National Right, and a Murderer of Public Happineſs!

We have addreſſed the Friends of the People in England, and have received their concurrence, their thanks, and their gratulation.—We have addreſſed the Volunteers—Deliverers of this injured Iſland! Have we done wrong? If we have, tear your colours from the ſtaff—reverſe your arms—muffle your drums—beat a funeral-march for Ireland—and then abandon the Corpſe to Fencibles, to Militia, to Invalids, and diſmounted Dragoons. —If we have not done wrong—and we ſwear by the Revolution of 82 that we have not—go on, with the zeal of enterpriſing virtue and a ſenſe of your own importance, to exerciſe that right of ſelf-defence which belongs to the Nation, and to infuſe conſtitutional energy into the public will, for the public good.

We

We now addreſs Ireland. We addreſs you as a moral perſon, having a conſcience, a will and an underſtanding—bound not only to preſerve, but to perfect your nature—the nations around you to witneſs your conduct, and a God above you to reward your virtues, or to puniſh your crimes. We ſpeak to you as Man to Man—reading your countenance—remarking the various paſſions that now ſhift acroſs it, and ſtriving to recollect a character long obliterated by foreign influence, or, after ſhort and fierce developements, becoming the ſame dull blank as before. Severed as you have always been into counteracting intereſts—an Engliſh intereſt, an Ariſtocratic intereſt, a Proteſtant intereſt, and a Catholic intereſt—all contradiſtinguiſhed from common weal; and all, like the four elements, before Wiſdom moved on the ſurface of the deep, exerting their reſpective influences to retain a chaos, rather than create a Conſtitution. Actuated, as you have moſt generally been, by circumſtances merely *external*—compreſſed at one time into fortuitous union by the iron circle of Britiſh domination—at another time, by the panic of invaſion and fear of famine, when a bankrupt merchantry and embarraſſed gentry, were ſtarved into the common cauſe of a beggared People, whom Government had firſt pillaged, and then abandoned;—at the preſent time, perhaps impelled chiefly by the extraordinary events that have taken place on the Continent, it is not ſurpriſing that your real character is ſtill, in a great meaſure, unknown to Europe, to Britain, and even to yourſelf. It is not ſurpriſing, that recollecting the paſt, we ſhould be anxious about the future;—that we will not entirely confide in the fugitive ſplendour of the moment, the paſſing ſpirit of the people, or even the miraculous converſion of Parliament;—never, never ſatisfied, or ſecure, until we ſee a real

Repreſentation

Repreſentation of that People in that Parliament;—until we can ſee Britain and Ireland connected by conſtitution, not by corruption—by equal, not by ſtrong government;—until we ſee Public Opinion, or the Will of the Nation—not as now, acting with rude and intermittent ſhocks—but the ſettled and central balance of the political order, around which, without apparent motion in itſelf, the different branches in the Legiſlature may revolve, with the ſilence and regularity of the planetary ſyſtem.

We addreſs your underſtanding—the common ſenſe of the common weal, and we aſk you, Is it not a TRUTH, that where the People do not participate in the Legiſlature, by a delegation of Repreſentatives, freely, fairly, and frequently elected, there can be no Public Liberty? Is it not the FACT, that in this country there is no Repreſentative Legiſlature; becauſe the People are not repreſented in the Legiſlature, and have no partnerſhip in the Conſtitution? If it be the principle of the Conſtitution, that it is the right of every commoner in this realm to have a vote in the election of his Repreſentative; and that without ſuch vote, no man can be actually repreſented, it is our wiſh, in that caſe, to renovate that Conſtitution, and to revive its ſuſpended animation, by giving free motion and full play to its vital principle. If, on the other hand, the Conſtitution does *not* fully provide for an impartial and adequate Repreſentation of all the People; if it be more excluſive than incluſive in its nature; if it be a monopoly, a privilege, or a prerogative; in that caſe, it is our deſire to *alter* it; for what is the Conſtitution to us, if we are nothing to the Conſtitution? Is the Conſtitution made for you, or you for it? If the People do not conſtitute a part of it, what is it to them more than the ghoſt of Alfred; and what are principles

without

without practice which they hear and read, to practice without principles which they ſee and feel?

The people of Ireland want political power:—taxation without conſent, and legiſlation without repreſentation, is not a partial grievance, or a Catholic grievance, but the grievance of the nation. The elective franchiſe is withheld from all, while all want a conſtituency in the conſtitution. The diſfranchiſed, and the unfranchiſed, the unrepreſented, and the miſrepreſented, the Catholic and Preſbyterian, are equally under the law, and out of the Conſtitution; the Proteſtant who is ſuppoſed to have it, and the Catholic who wiſhes to have it, are equally intereſted in having it free; for the truth is, that the whole community wants that emancipation which is neceſſary to a free government; we can give no truer definition of ſlavery, than that ſtate in which men are governed without their conſent, and no better deſcription of freedom, than that not only thoſe who make the law, ſhould be bound by the law, but thoſe who are bound by the law ſhould have a ſhare in the making it.

All Ireland knows and feels that the people are ouſted from their own conſtitution, and that in a Government where they have no participation, the King muſt become a Deſpot, and the Nation a Slave. Public reaſon is convinced, and we aſſert with the confidence of conviction, that there are not one hundred in this iſland, inimical to a renovation of the genuine Conſtitution, who are not, at the ſame time, perſonally intereſted in the continuance of its corruptions and the prolongation of its abuſes. The time is come when the Nation muſt ſpeak for the Nation, and the long expected hour of redemption approaches, perhaps providentially

dentially protracted, until the univerſal voice could be heard, and the univerſal WILL declared. The nation is ONE: one in body, one in ſoul, an union of colours in a ſingle ray of truth, and the ſame inextinguiſhable principle which has accompliſhed many bloodleſs revolutions in our hiſtory; the peaceful revolution of 1779, which gained a Free Trade, the peaceful revolution of 1782, which gained an independence of right to Ireland, will conſummate her imperfect freedom, with equal ſafety, honor and tranquillity, by the ſame means, a conſtitutional interpoſition of the people, juſtifiable by law, reaſon, right and expediency. The honour of Ireland, her deareſt intereſts, preſent and future, the intereſt of her land-holders, and of her merchants, her commercial credit, her ſtaple manufacture, all are involved in the preſent criſis, and urgently call upon you to declare in Convention, your wiſh, your will, and your determination, that the Houſe of Commons may be reſtored to that true repreſentative character which would regain national confidence, moſt effectually ſuppreſs all particular aſſociations, give vigour to government, and reſt to the perturbed ſpirit of the people.

O, Ireland! Ireland! country to which we have clung in all our misfortunes, perſonal, religious, political; for whoſe freedom and happineſs we are here ſolemnly united; for whom, as a ſociety we live; and for whom, as men, if hard neceſſity commands it, we are ready to die; let us conjure you not to abuſe the preſent precious moment, by a ſelf-extinguiſhment, by a credulous committal of your judgment and ſenſes to the direction of others, by an idle and ideot gaze on what may be going on in parliament. In receiving good offices from all, diſtinguiſh between ſound Hibernicism and that windy

y Patriotiſm which is now puffing and blowing in the ace of popularity. Truſt as little to your friends as o your enemies, in a matter where you can act only by ourſelves. The will of the nation muſt be declared be- ore any reform ought to take place. It is not therefore ny claſs however numerous, any ſociety however re- pectable, any ſubaltern aſſembly, that have either right r competency to expreſs that authoritative will. No- hing leſs than the people can ſpeak for the people.— his competency reſides not in a few freeholders ſhiver- ng in the corner of a county hall, but only in the whole ommunity repreſented *in* each county, (as at preſent in Antrim,) by parochial delegation, and then *from* each ounty by baronial delegation, to provincial conventions, he union of which muſt form the aweful will of the peo- le of Ireland. Let us therefore conclude, by conjur- g the county meetings now aſſembling, to follow the ample of Ulſter, and by appointing delegates to a con- ntion of their reſpective provinces, unite their ſcattered d inſulated wills into one momentous maſs, which ay have authority ſufficient to make a declaration of hts in behalf of the nation. Then will the Sovereign aciouſly interpoſe on the petition of all the people; e reality as well as form of good government will be abliſhed; the juſtice of the conſtitution vindicated; d when all this complicated ſyſtem of national ſervi- de and perſonal oppreſſion, of perverted principle, d baſe practice, ſhall be done away, men ſhall exceed- gly wonder how a Nation that boaſted of a free Con- ution, and the benignity of its laws, could have ſuf- ed itſelf to be loaded ſo long with a burthen ſo griev- s and inſupportable!

nuary 5, 1793.

PETITION

Of the Inhabitants of the Town of Nottingham and its Neighbourhood,

TO THE HONOURABLE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

For a Parliamentary Reform.

IN an hour pregnant with alarm to ſome, with expectation to others, and eventful to all, we approach your honourable houſe, reſpectfully to petition for that right, on which the dignity of your body, the happineſs of our common country, and perhaps the very being and preſervation of our conſtitution depends.—From various cauſes the conſtitution of theſe kingdoms has paſſed into the groſſeſt abuſe, ſo as to inſult the common ſenſe of the nation with a name, when the reality is gone. This conſtitution is boaſted to conſiſt of three ſeparate independent eſtates, united only by a co-operation for the common good: and the ſecurity for this union is ſuppoſed always to reſt on the preſerving inviolate, the diſtinguiſhing character of each of theſe three eſtates. Your honourable houſe is one of them, and it is of its eſſence that it be the proper repreſentative of the people, that it be elected by them, and them alone, and that the finger of monarchy, or of the nobles, ſhall not enter into the creation of your honourable body. But this important right of the people is ſo far uſurped and paſſed from them, that the majority of your houſe is affirmed to be created by other will than that of the people; and that thus created, it looks up to other favour than that of the people, whereby the confidence of the people in their ſuppoſed repreſentative is

leſſened

leſſened if not deſtroyed. From this abuſe have been deemed to iſſue, and muſt continue to iſſue, evils of the higheſt magnitude to this nation. We receive the Conſtitution of England, as theory preſents it to our view, and our petition is that it be reſtored to this perfect character. In preſenting this petition with plainneſs and firmneſs, we act with equal wiſdom and patriotiſm, nor fear any calumny which a corrupt intereſt, acting upon ignorance, may propagate againſt us. Reſtoration and no Revolution is our wiſh, and therefore we aſk in full confidence for thoſe rights of the people which the conſtitution contemplates. Our Petition to your honourable houſe is compriſed in theſe plain and intelligible objects; that no member of your houſe be elected by a leſs number of the people of England, than may be deemed to bear a true proportion to the whole number of adult males in the kingdom; that the duration of parliaments return to its ancient uſage, and the preſent mode of election be aboliſhed, as diſgraceful to a civilized country; and we pray your honourable houſe, to adopt and patronize ſo ſalutary and healing a reform, and ſave your country from the wreck of deſpotiſm, or the wreck of anarchy. The granting this Petition can leſſen no power but that which ought not to exiſt, while it will aſſuredly bring back that temperament of power which will quiet every mind, appeaſe every diſcontent, and eſtabliſh on firm ground, the character, the peace, and the happineſs of theſe kingdoms.

With this Petition, which we truſt will approve itſelf to your honourable houſe, and to its concurrence and ſupport, by its plain wiſdom, juſtice, and utility, we think it to be a further duty which we owe ourſelves, to aſſert before your houſe, and before all England, our claim to the character both of loyalty and of peace: that we are actuated by no ſecret, no ſeditious views; that by no other than peaceable and dignified means we will labour to the effecting our virtuous purpoſe; in fine, we mean not to pull one ſtone out of the proper building of the Engliſh Conſtitution; but that corner ſtone which has been dangerouſly ſubtracted from it, it is our duty to reclaim, and it will be the glory of your honourable houſe to reſtore.

THE QUAKERS' ADDRESS

TO

GEORGE THE THIRD,

King of Great Britain, and the dominions there to belonging.

May it please the King:

THY dutiful subjects, the religious society of friends, called Quakers, have felt their minds deeply affected with the calamities attendant on war, and the inconsistency thereof with the doctrine of Christ, the Prince of Peace; we apprehend that we cannot at this time, discharge our duty to God, to thee, and to our fellow-subjects, many of whose precious lives may be the victims of the impending hostilities, without beseeching thee to exert thy constitutional power to prevent a measure which may consign to danger and to death thousands of our countrymen; many of whom, alas! may be but too little prepared for that solemn event, even in the more gradual way of natural infirmity.

The protection and support of kingdoms, and of governments, are not in the multitude of an host, but in the Lord Almighty; may, therefore, thy Councils seek his protection, by that righteousness which exalteth a nation, and by continuing to oppose that torrent of vice and immorality which hath so long prevailed, and which thou, O King, as became a Christian Ruler, hast not long since, lamented, censured, and endeavoured to restrain. Permit us, before we close this, our earnest and affectionate address, respectfully to mention the cause of our fellow-creatures,

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the Africans. We have petitioned the Houſe of Commons on this affecting ſubject; and, although we deſire that the deliberations of Parliament may at all times be free, we are engaged to preſs it upon thy mind, to conſider whether no acceleration of relief can be obtained for that grievouſly oppreſſed race, from the influence which a beloved King hath, and ought to have, on the minds of his people. Thus may the bleſſing of the peace-makers, and of thoſe who love righteouſneſs, be thy happy portion and immortal crown.

Signed on behalf of the Meeting for Sufferings, held in London, 26th of 1ſt month, 1793.

By Sixty-two Friends.

THE KING's ANSWER.

WHATEVER ſteps I may feel myſelf bound to take, for the ſecurity of my people, I am not the leſs inclined to judge favourably of the motives, which have led you to preſent this Addreſs and you may depend upon the continuance of my protection.

THE NEW PLAN

OF A

CONSTITUTION FOR FRANCE,

As preſented by the Committee to the Convention, on the 16th of February 1793.

PLAN

Of the Declaration of the natural, civil, and political

RIGHTS OF MEN.

THE object of all union of men in ſociety, being the maintaining of natural, civil, and political rights, theſe rights ought

ought to be the baſis of the ſocial compact. The acknowledgment and declaration of them ought to precede the conſtitution which aſſures the guarantee of them.

I. The natural, civil, and political rights of men are, liberty, equality, ſecurity, property, the ſocial guarantee, and reſiſtance of oppreſſion.

II. Liberty conſiſts in the power of doing whatever is not contrary to the rights of others: thus the exerciſe of the natural rights of every man has no bounds, but thoſe which ſecure to the other members of the ſociety the enjoyment of the ſame rights.

III. The conſervation of liberty depends on ſubmiſſion to the law, which is the expreſſion of the general will. Whatever is not forbidden by the law cannot be hindered; and no one can be conſtrained to do what it does not ordain.

IV. Every man is free to manifeſt his thoughts and his opinions.

V. The liberty of the preſs, or any other mode of publiſhing his thoughts, can neither be interdicted nor ſuſpended, nor limited.

VI. Every citizen is free in the exerciſe of his worſhip.

VII. Equality conſiſts in this, that every one may enjoy the ſame rights.

VIII. The law ought to be equal for all, whether it rewards or puniſhes; whether it protects or repreſſes.

IX. All the citizens are admiſſible to all public places, employments and functions. People that are free acknowledge no motives of preference, but talents and virtues.

X. Security

X. Security conſiſts in the protection granted by the ſociety to every citizen for the converſation of his perſon, of his property and of his rights.

XI. No one can be tried, accuſed, apprehended, or detained, but in caſes determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has preſcribed. Every other act exerciſed againſt a citizen is arbitrary and null.

XII. Thoſe who ſhall ſolicit, expedite, ſign, execute, or cauſe to be executed, theſe arbitrary acts, are culpable, and ought to be puniſhed.

XIII. The citizens againſt whom it ſhall be attempted to execute ſuch acts, have the right to repel force by force; but every citizen ſummoned, or ſeized by the authority of the law, and in the forms preſcribed by it, ought inſtantly to obey: he renders himſelf culpable by reſiſtance.

XIV. Every man being preſumed innocent till he has been declared guilty, if it be judged indiſpenſable to apprehend him, all rigour, not neceſſary for ſecuring his perſon, ought to be ſeverely repreſſed by the law.

XV. No one ought to be puniſhed, but by virtue of a law eſtabliſhed, promulgated anterior to the offence, and legally applied.

XVI. The law which ſhould puniſh offences committed before its exiſtence, would be an arbitrary act. The retroſpective effect given to the law is a crime.

XVII. The law ought to pronounce only puniſhments ſtrictly and evidently neceſſary to the general ſecurity. They ought to be proportioned to offences, and uſeful to the ſociety.

XVIII. The right of property conſiſts in this:—that every man has the power to diſpoſe at his pleaſure, of his effects, of his capital, of his revenues, and his induſtry.

XIX. No kind of labour, of commerce, of culture, can be forbidden him; he may manufacture, ſell, and tranſport, every ſpecies of production.

XX. Every man may engage his ſervices, his time; but he cannot ſell himſelf: his perſon is not an alienable property.

XXI. No one can be deprived of the leaſt portion of his property without his conſent, except when public neceſſity, legally proved, evidently requires it; and on condition of a juſt and previous indemnity.

XXII. No contribution can be eſtabliſhed but for the general utility, and to ſupply the public wants. All the citizens have the right to concur perſonally or by their repreſentatives, in the eſtabliſhment of contributions.

XXIII. Elementary inſtruction is the want of all; and the ſociety owes it equally to all its members.

XXIV. Public ſuccours are a ſacred debt of the ſociety; and it belongs to the law to determine the extent and application of them.

XXV. The ſocial guarantee of theſe rights reſts on the National Sovereignty.

XXVI. This ſovereignty is one, indiviſible, impreſcriptible, an inalienable.

XXVII. It reſides eſſentially in the whole people, and every citizen has the equal right to concur in the exerciſe of it.

XXVIII. No partial union of citizens, and no individual can arrogate the ſovereignty, nor exerciſe any authority, nor fill any function, without a formal delegation of the law.

XXIX. The ſocial guarantee cannot exiſt, where the limits of the public functions are not clearly determined by the law; and where the reſponſibility of all the public functionaries is not aſſured.

XXX. All

XXX. All the citizens are bound to concur in this guarantee; and to give force to the law, when they are called upon in its name.

XXXI. Men united in ſociety ought to have a legal means of reſiſting oppreſſion.

XXXII. It is oppreſſion when the law violates the natural, civil and political rights, which it ought to guarantee. It is oppreſſion when the law is violated by the public functionaries, in its application to individual facts. It is oppreſſion when arbitrary acts violate the rights of citizens, againſt the expreſſion of the law.

In every free government the mode of reſiſtance to theſe different acts of oppreſſion, ought to be regulated by the law.

XXXIII. A people have always the right to reviſe, to reform, and to change their conſtitution. One generation has not the right to ſubject future generations to its laws, and every thing hereditary in the functions is abſurd and tyrannical.

PLAN

OF THE FRENCH CONSITUTION.

The French Nation conſtitutes itſelf one indiviſible Republic: and founding her government on the Rights of Man, which ſhe has recognized and declared, and on the principles of equality and the ſovereignty of the people, ſhe adopts the following Conſtitution.

TITLE I.

Of the diviſion of Territory.

I. The French Republic is one and indiviſible.

II. The diſtribution of its actual territory into Eighty-five Departments, is maintained.

III. Nevertheleſs the limits of the Departments may be changed or rectified, on the demand of the adminiſtered. But

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in no other caſe may the ſurface of a Department exceed 400 ſquare leagues.

IV. Every Department ſhall be divided into Grand Communes; the Communes into Municipal Sections and Primary Aſſemblies.

V. This diſtribution of the territory of each Department into Grand Communes, ſhall be made in ſuch manner, that there may not be more than two leagues and an half from the moſt diſtant habitation to the centre of the chief place of the Commune.

VI. The *arrondiſſement* of Municipal Sections ſhall be no longer the ſame as that of the Primary Aſſemblies.

VII. There ſhall be in each Commune, an adminiſtration ſubordinate to the adminiſtration of the department, and in each ſection a ſecondary agency.

TITLE II.

Of the ſtate of Citizens, and of the neceſſary Conditions for the Exerciſe of their Rights.

I. Every man aged 21 years compleat, who ſhall have his name inſcribed in the civic table, table of a Primary Aſſembly, and ſhall ſince have reſided, during one compleat year, on the French territory, ſhall be a citizen of the Republic.

II. The quality of French citizens is loſt by naturalization in a foreign land, and by the puniſhment of civic degradation.

III. Every citizen who ſhall have fulfilled the conditions required by the firſt article, ſhall be enabled to exerciſe his right of ſuffrage in that portion of the territory of the Republic, where he can juſtify annual reſidence of three months, without interruption.

IV. No man ſhall be able to exerciſe his right of ſuffrage for the ſame object, in more than one Primary Aſſembly.

V. There

V. There ſhall be two cauſes of abſolute incapacity, for the exerciſe of the right of ſuffrage; the firſt, imbecility or madneſs judicially aſcertained; the ſecond, condemnation to thoſe penalties which carry with them civic degradation.

VI. No citizen who ſhall have reſided during ſix years out of the territory of the Republic, without miſſion given in the name of the nation, can recover the exerciſe of the right of ſuffrage, without an uninterrupted reſidence of ſix months.

VII. Every citizen, who, without having had miſſion, ſhall have abſented himſelf during one year from the place of his conſtant dwelling, ſhall be bound anew to a reſidence of three months before he be admitted to vote in his primary aſſembly.

VIII. The legiſlative body ſhall determine the puniſhment which thoſe ſhall incur who permit themſelves to exerciſe the right of ſuffrage, in all the caſes where the conſtitutional law forbids it.

IX. The quality of French citizen, and the age of 25 years compleat, ſhall be the only conditions neceſſary to make a perſon eligible to all the places of the Republic.

X. In whatever place a French citizen reſide, he may be elected to all the places, and by all the departments even though he ſhould be for a moment deprived of the right of ſuffrage by default of reſidence.

Of the Primary Aſſemblies.

SECTION I.

Organization of the Primary Aſſemblies.

The Primary Aſſemblies, where the French are to exerciſe their rights of citizens, ſhall be diſtributed over the territory of each department, and their *arrondiſſement* ſhall be managed in ſuch a manner that none have leſs than 400 members, nor more than 900.

II. In

II. In each Primary Aſſembly, a particular liſt ſhall be made of the citizens that compoſe it.

III. When this liſt is made, they ſhall proceed in every primary Aſſembly to the nomination of a bureau, compoſed of as many members as there are fifties of citizens enrolled in the liſt.

IV. This election ſhall be made by a ſingle ſcrutiny, and by a ſimple plurality of votes. Each voter ſhall bear only two names on his bulletin, whatever be the number of the members that are to form the bureau.

V. In the caſe, however, whereby the reſult of the firſt ſcrutiny, the election of the members of the bureau ſhall be incomplete, a ſcrutiny ſhall be made anew to complete it.

VI. The eldeſt member ſhall preſide in the aſſembly during this firſt election.

VII. The functions of the members of the bureau ſhall be; 1. To keep the regiſter or liſt of the citizens; 2. To inſcribe in this regiſter, during the interval from one convocation to another, thoſe who ſhall preſent themſelves to be admitted as citizens; 3. To give to thoſe who wiſh to change their habitation, a certificate to atteſt their quality of citizen; 4. To convoke the Primary Aſſembly, in caſes determined by the Conſtitution; 5. To make in the name of the Aſſembly, either to the adminiſtration of the Department, or to the bureau of the Primary Aſſemblies of the ſame Commune, the requiſitions neceſſary to the exerciſe of the right of cenſorſhip.

VIII. The members of the bureau ſhall be proclaimed according to the order of the plurality of votes, that each of them has obtained. The firſt ſhall perform the functions of preſident; the three members that follow immediately after him, thoſe of ſecretaries, and the reſt of the bureau the functions of ſcrutineers. In caſe of the abſence of any of them, they ſhall ſupply the vacancy in the ſame order.

IX. On

IX. On each new convocation of a Primary Aſſembly, it ſhall not be allowed to attend to any object, till the bureau has been renewed. Every act anterior to this is null. The citizens who compoſe the old bureau may, however, be re-elected.

X. The bureau ſhall not be renewed, when the ſittings of the Aſſembly ſhall be ſimply adjourned and continued, as long as the object for which the Aſſembly has been convoked, is not terminated.

XI. No perſon can be admitted to vote in a Primary Aſſembly, on the roll of which he is not entered, if he has not preſented to the bureau, eight days before the opening of the Aſſembly, the titles of his right. The old bureau ſhall give an account of this to the Aſſembly, which ſhall decide whether or not the citizen preſented has fulfilled the conditions required by the Conſtitution.

SECTION II.

Functions of the Primary Aſſemblies.

I. French citizens ought to meet in Primary Aſſemblies to proceed to the elections determined by the Conſtitution.

II. French citizens ought alſo to meet in Primary Aſſemblies; to deliberate on matters that concern the general intereſt of the Republic; ſuch as--1ſt, When it ſhall be in agitation to accept or refuſe a plan of Conſtitution, or a change in the Conſtitution accepted; 2d. when the convocation of a National Convention is propoſed; 3d. when the Legiſlative Body calls for the opinion of all the citizens on a queſtion that concerns the whole Republic; 4th. finally when it is in agitation, either to require the Legiſlative Body to take an object into a conſideration, or to exerciſe, on the acts of the national repreſentation, the cenſorſhip of the people, according to the mode and the regulations fixed by the Conſtitution.

III. The elections and the deliberations of the Primary Aſſemblies, which ſhall not be conformable in their nature, their object,

object, or their mode, to the rulers preſcribed by the conſtitutional law, ſhall be null and of no effect.

SECTION III.

General Rules for Elections in the Primary Aſſemblies.

I. The Elections ſhall be made by means of two ſcrutins, of which the firſt, ſimply preparatory, ſhall ſerve only to form a liſt of preſentation, and of which the ſecond, opened only the liſt of candidates inſcribed in the liſt of preſentation, ſhall be definitive and conclude the election.

II. For the ſcrutin of preſentation, as ſoon as the aſſembly ſhall be formed, the members acknowledged, the bureau eſtabliſhed, and the object of convocation announced, every voter ſhall receive from the bureau a printed bulletin, on the margin of which ſhall be inſcribed his name and his age.

III. The ſcrutin ſhall be opened inſtantly; and ſhall not be cloſed till the next day at four in the afternoon. Every citizen ſhall write, or cauſe to be written on his bulletin, a number of names equal to the number of places to be elected to; and ſhall, during this interval, depoſit it with the bureau.

IV. In the ſittings of the ſecond day, at four o'clock, the buſineſs ſhall proceed to the examination and verification of the ſcrutin, by reading aloud the name of each voter, and the names of thoſe inſcribed on his bulletin.

V. All theſe operations ſhall be done publicly.

VI. The reſult of the ſcrutin of each Primary Aſſembly, determined and proclaimed by the bureau, ſhall be ſent to the chief place of the Department, where the review of the reſults of every Primary Aſſembly, ſhall be made publicly by the adminiſtrators.

VII. The preſentation liſt ſhall be formed of thoſe who have obtained moſt votes in treble number of the places to fill.

VIII. If the voters are equal, the oldeſt ſhall in all caſes have the preference; and if there be only one place to be filled, the oldeſt ſhall alone be inſcribed in the liſt.

IX. The

IX. The general examination of the reſult of the ſcrutins made by the Primary Aſſemblies, ſhall commence the eighth day after that which has been appointed for the opening of the election, and the ſcrutins of the Primary Aſſemblies given in to the adminiſtration of the Department poſterior to that epoch, ſhall not be admitted.

X. The preſentation liſt of the candidates ſhall not be definitively determined immediately after the opening of the reſult of the ſcrutin of the Primary Aſſemblies. The adminiſtration of the Department ſhall be bound to cauſe it to be printed and publiſhed without delay; it ſhall be conſidered only as a ſimple plan, and ſhall contain;

1ſt. A liſt of the candidates who have obtained moſt votes in treble number of the places to fill.

2d. An equal number of ſuppleans taken from among thoſe who have had moſt votes next to the candidates firſt inſcribed, and always following the order of plurality.

XI. Within the fifteen days which follow the publication of this liſt, the adminiſtration of the Department ſhall receive the declaration of thoſe, who being there inſcribed either among the number of the Candidates or the number of ſuppleans, ſhall declare, that they cannot or will not accept; and on the fifteenth day, the liſt ſhall be definitively determined on by filling up the places of thoſe Candidates who have refuſed; firſt by thoſe who have been inſcribed among the number of ſuppleans, and ſucceſſively by thoſe after them, who ſhall have obtained moſt votes, always following the order of plurality.

XII. The preſentation liſt thus definitely determined on, and reduced to treble the number of perſons to be elected, ſhall be ſent without delay. by the adminiſtration of the Department to the Primary Aſſemblies. The adminiſtration ſhall fix a day when the Primary Aſſemblies muſt proceed to the laſt ſcrutin of election; but this term under no pretence can be farther diſtant than the ſecond Sunday after the preſentation liſt is cloſed.

XIII. When the Aſſembly has met for the ſecond and laſt ſcrutin, each voter ſhall receive at the office a bulletin, with two columns each, divided into as many ſquares as there are perſons to be choſen. One of theſe columns ſhall be entitled the *column of election*, and the other the *ſupplementary column.*

XIV. Each voter ſhall inſcribe, or cauſe to be inſcribed in the firſt column, as many individuals as there are places to be filled; and afterwards in the ſupplementary column, a numberof names equal to that inſcribed in the firſt column. This bulletin ſhall not be ſigned.

XV. The votes ſhall be given only for thoſe individuals who are inſcribed in the preſentation liſt.

XVI. In each Primary Aſſembly, the votes given for thoſe in the firſt column of election, ſhall be reviſed ſeparately, and afterwards thoſe in the ſupplementary column.

XVII. Theſe reſults ſhall be tranſmitted to the chief place of the Department, and ſhall not be received until the eighth day after that appointed for opening the ſecond ſcrutin.

XVIII. The adminiſtration of the department ſhall proceed publicly to a general reviſion of the reſults of the ſcrutin tranſmitted by the Primary Aſſemblies. The number of votes given for each candidate in the firſt column of election, ſhall be firſt added up particularly and ſeparately, and afterwards that of thoſe in the ſupplementary column.

XIX. If the number of votes inſcribed in the firſt column, do not give an abſolute majority to any perſon, the ſum of the votes which each candidate may have obtained in both columns ſhall be collected; and the nomination of all the perſons to be elected, as well as that of their ſuppleans, ſhall be determined by the order of plurality.

XX. If one or more candidates have an abſolute majority on a reviſal of the votes inſcribed in the firſt column, their election ſhall be compleated; and recourſe ſhall not be had to the addition

ſition of the votes in the two columns, but for candidates who have not obtained an abſolute majority in the firſt column, and for places vacant after the reviſal.

XXI. The ſuppleans ſhall firſt be thoſe who in the firſt column having obtained an abſolute majority, ſhall have the greateſt number of votes next to the perſons elected; and afterwards thoſe who next to the perſons elected, ſhall have moſt votes by adding both columns together, even though they may have obtained only a relative plurality.

XXII. The ſame mode ſhall be followed in nominations to one ſingle place; but in this caſe, 1ſt. At the time of the ſcrutin of preſentation, each voter ſhall inſcribe only one name in the bulletin. 2d. The preſentation liſt formed according to this ſcrutin, ſhall contain the names of thirteen candidates, and as many ſuppleans, until it is reduced to thirteen, and be definitively determined on, agreeably to articles X. and XI. 3d. At the time of the ſcrutin of election, each voter ſhall write, or cauſe to be written in the firſt column, the name of the individual whom he prefers; and in the ſupplementary column, the names of ſix other individuals. 4th. If at the time of the general reviſion of the ſuffrages inſcribed in the firſt column, one of the candidates has an abſolute majority, he ſhall be elected; if no perſon has obtained an abſolute majority, the votes inſcribed in favour of each candidate in the two columns ſhall be added together, and he who has obtained moſt ſhall be elected, and the ſix candidates who next to him have the greateſt number of votes, ſhall be ſuppleans in the order of plurality.

XXIII. If the definitive preſentation liſts are not complete, and contain however a number of names equal to that which ought to be inſcribed in the election liſts, the preceding forms ſhall be obſerved. In the contrary caſe, thoſe who have obtained an abſolute majority of votes in the preſentation liſts, ſhall be elected either for places or as ſuppleans. To terminate nominations afterwards, the preſentation liſt ſhall be completed, and an election ſhall be proceeded to, according to the general forms above preſcribed.

XXIV. At

XXIV. At the reviſal of the laſt ſcrutin, the bulletins in which one or more votes may have been given to citizens not inſcribed in the preſentation liſt, as well as thoſe which do not contain in each column the number of votes above required, ſhall be anulled.

XXV. The ſame citizen may be inſcribed at the ſame time in ſeveral preſentation liſts for different places.

XXVI. There is incompatibi ity between all public functions. No citizen can accept a new function, without renouncing by the act alone of his acceptance that which he exerciſed before.

SECTION IV.

Of the Internal Police in the Primary Aſſemblies.

I. The internal police of the Primary Aſſemblies belongs eſſentially and excluſively to the Aſſembly itſelf.

II. The ſevereſt puniſhment which an Aſſembly can pronounce againſt one of its Members, next to calling to order and cenſure, is excluſion from the ſitting.

III. In caſes of violence and great exceſſes, or of crimes committed within the place of ſitting, the Preſident, after being authoriſed by the Aſſembly, may iſſue an order to bring the accuſed party before him, and may command him to be carried before the officer charged with the police of ſafety.

IV. Citizens cannot come with arms to the primary Aſſemblies.

SECTION V.

Forms of deliberation in the Primary Aſſemblies.

I. When the Aſſembly is formed, the Preſident ſhall make known the ſubject of deliberation, reduced to a ſimple queſtion, to which an anſwer may be given by the words yes or no, and

and at the cloſe of the ſitting he ſhall adjourn the Aſſembly for eight days, in order that they may give their deciſion.

II. During the adjournment, the place where the Primary Aſſembly meets ſhall be opened every day to citizens, that they may diſcuſs the object ſubmitted to their deliberation.

III. The hall ſhall be open alſo every Sunday throughout the year, to ſuch citizens as may wiſh to aſſemble there. The office ſhall appoint one of their members to read to the citizens the different acts of the conſtituted authorities; which ſhall be charged alſo to maintain calmneſs and good order at theſe private meetings, and peaceful conferences of citizens.

IV. When the Aſſembly have met on the day appointed for declaring their will, the Preſident ſhall again repeat the ſubject of deliberation, and explain the queſtion on which a determination is to be given by *Yes* or *No*. The office ſhall cauſe to affix, in the interior of the Hall, a placard, containing the ſummary expoſition of the queſtion ſubmitted to the Aſſembly, and on two columns the words *Yes* or *No*, with a preciſe explanation of the will which each of theſe words expreſſes.

V. Each voter ſhall write, or cauſe to be written, in his bulletin, *Yes* or *No*, and ſhall ſign it or cauſe it to be ſigned in his name, by one of the members of the office, before it is put into the urn.

VI. The ſcrutin ſhall not be cloſed but in the evening ſitting of the ſecond day, at four o'clock; and during that interval, every citizen ſhall be at liberty to appear at whatever hour at the ſitting may be moſt convenient to give his vote.

VII. The drawing out of the ſcrutin ſhall be proclaimed aloud, and the members of the office who diſcharge the functions of ſcrutineers, ſhall proclaim the name of each voter, and at the ſame time his vote.

VIII. When all the Primary Aſſemblies of one Department deliberate on the ſame object, the reſult of the votes

of each Primary Aſſembly, by Yes or No, ſhall be ſent to the Adminiſtration of the Department, where the general reſult ſhall be aſcertained within the periods, and according to the forms preſcribed for elections.

IX. In caſe all the Primary Aſſemblies of the Republic ſhall be convened for the purpoſe of deliberating on the ſame object, the general reſult of the votes of the citizens of each department ſhall be addreſſed by each Adminiſtration within the ſpace of fifteen days to the Legiſlative Body, who ſhall aſcertain and afterwards publiſh within the ſame period the general reſult of the votes of all the citizens.

X. Acts in which the forms above preſcribed have not been obſerved are null.

XI. The Primary Aſſemblies ſhall be judges of the validity or non validity of the votes given in them.

XII. The Adminiſtrations of Departments ſhall pronounce reſpecting the nullity reſulting from the non-obſervance of the form above preſcribed in the different acts of the Primary Aſſemblies; when they have proceeded to elections purely local and peculiar to their department; and be bound to addreſs their decrees to the Executive Council, who ſhall either confirm or revoke them; an appeal to the Legiſlative Body being however allowed in all caſes.

XIII. When the Primary Aſſemblies deliberate on objects of general intereſt, or when they proceed to elect the Members of the Legiſlative Body or public functionaries belonging to the whole Republic, the Adminiſtration of Departments can addreſs only to the Legiſlative Body their obſervations on the nullity of divers acts of the Primary Aſſemblies, and the Legiſlative Body ſhall definitively pronounce on their validity.

[*To be continued.*]

ON THE

ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

Continued from Page 381.

SIR Thomas Overbury, a man of ſome abilities, that had devoted his talents to the fortune of Somerſet, had been the friend, the adviſer, and the manager of all his buſineſs, depending on the freedom and ſacredneſs of ſuch a connexion, exclaimed ſtrongly to him againſt the folly and infamy of the match. Somerſet had the weakneſs to tell his Miſtreſs, and on the firſt trivial pretence that offered, Overbury was flung into priſon. In this ſtate, rage and deſpair drew from him ſome indiſcreet threatenings, which alarmed the fears of Somerſet. He was conſcious that Overbury was a formidable enemy, from the nature of the ſecrets he had been entruſted with.—Self preſervation concurred with reſentment; the murder of Overbury was determined and perpetrated. The means was an envenomed gliſter, but not till after his conſtitution had reſiſted poiſon adminiſtered to him in various kinds of food. The unwholeſome viands which had been given to this unhappy man, ſhewed their effects ſtrongly upon his carcaſe: the excuſe given for his immediate burial, without inſpection, was the foulneſs of his body, which, it was alledged, proceeded from an intemperate life. And the Earl of Northamp-

tion, Uncle to the Counteſs, who was privy to the murder, mentioned in a letter to this purpoſe, "That God "was gracious in cutting off evil inſtruments before "their time."

Winwood, the Secretary, obtained the knowledge of this dark tranſaction from the Apothecary's boy whoſe ſhop had ſupplied the poiſon. The ſecret of Overbury's murder was now in the poſſeſſion of the Cabal, who dealt it about ſo freely, that it became the topic of converſation in all companies. James began to waver in his affections to the favourite; he had caſt a longing eye towards the captivatng attractions of George Villiers, but either aſhamed of his levity, or fond to an uncommon degree of diſſimulation, he affected a more than uſual regard to Somerſet.

His real inclinations did not eſcape the penetration of Abbot, who preſſed the Queen to recommend the favoured Villiers. She, out of hatred to Somerſet, at length complied, though unwillingly. The reaſon of her unwillingneſs exhibits a remarkable trait of James's character. "My Lord, ſaid ſhe to the Archbiſhops, you "and the reſt of you know not what you do; I know "your maſter better than you all; for if this young "man be once brought in, the firſt perſon that he will "plague, muſt be you that labour for him; yea, I ſhall "have my part alſo; the King will teach him to deſpiſe "and hardly entreat us all, that he may ſeem to be be-"holden to none but himſelf." James affected ſagacity and deſign in his moſt trifling concerns, and inſiſted on the ceremony of the Queen's recommending, that he might have to ſay upon a complaint of the ill behaviour of the favourite, "It was long of yourſelf, for you "were the party that commended him to me." The

Queen's

Queen's compliance introduced Villiers into the Houſhold; he was made a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and declared favourite in form. Abbot took great pains to form the diſpoſition of the youth to virtue; but the ſoil which James affected was too barren for ſuch a production.

Somerſet now perceived, notwithſtanding his maſter's profound diſſimulation, that he began to wain. He knew the inveteracy of his enemies, and was conſcious of the advantages his crimes had given them. Tortured with the fears of guilt, and the precarioufneſs of his ſituation, he ſolicited for a pardon, which he obtained in the fulleſt form. It was drawn up by Sir Robert Cotton, who copied the manner of a pardon granted by Henry the VIIIth to Wolſey, with the following queſtionable clauſe: "That the King, out of his mere mo-"tion and eſpecial favour, did pardon all and all manner "of treaſons, miſpriſon of treaſons, murders, felonies, "and outrages whatſoever, by the ſaid Robert, Earl of "Somerſet, committed or to be heareafter committed."

This pardon, though ſigned by the King, was impeded from paſſing the offices by the enemies of Somerſet. James, by this time had received ſtrong intimations of the guilty ſecret, but ſtill acted the part of diſſimulation, and retired with his quondam favourite to Theobalds; either with deſign to avoid appearing in the proſecution, or to fly from the clamorous rumours of murder. From thence he went to Royſton, where he continued to treat Somerſet with all the appearances of friendſhip; and at the ſame time ordered Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Juſtice, and Sir Francis Bacon, the Attorney General, to take upon themſelves his proſecution. A warrant was actually ſerved on him, whilſt

James who had an unſeemly way of lolling on his favourite's neck, was indulging himſelf in that poſture.

Somerſet exclaimed againſt the outrage of arreſting him in the King's preſence; but James could not be prevailed on to remit it; and feigning an entire ignorance of the affair cried, "Nay man, if Coke ſends for "me, I muſt go;" then, after the moſt affectionate farewell, as ſoon as he was carried off, he exclaimed, "Go "and the Deel go with thee, for I will never ſee thy "face more." Sir Jervis Ellis, Lieutenant of the Tower, Franklin, the apothecary, and other delinquents were apprehended. Somerſet and the Counteſs were afterwards both of them tried and condemned but received a pardon and enjoyed a penſion of four thouſand pounds a year.

The diſgrace and ruin of the old favourite, removed all obſtruction to the riſing fortune of the new one.—James, from his want of money, had hitherto been deprived of the pleaſure of enriching this minion; but the ſpoils of Somerſet afforded him that ſatisfaction. The unrivalled Villiers now ſhone forth in all the gaudy plumage of royal favour.

Lord Chief Juſtice Coke, a man of a haughty temper, from ſome tranſactions that had happened during Somerſet's trial, was extremely diſpleaſed with the Court; this diſpleaſure gave riſe to an integrity which had never yet appeared in his political conduct. He formed a ſtrong party among the Lawyers, and attacked the uſurpations of the crown upon all occaſions. Part of the Prerogative concerning commendams to livings, was now diſputed in the Common Pleas; the Judges were againſt the Crown, and had even ſpirit to diſregard a command

command from the King to ſtop proceedings. The command was delivered in a letter to the Attorney General, Sir Francis Bacon. The Judges pronounced the command to be contrary to law, and as ſuch they were not to obey, but to proceed to judgment as bound by oath.

This rouſed James from his retreat at Royſton; he ſent a bluſtering reprimand to the Judges, in which he highly aſſerted his prerogative, and treated their oath merely as a form deviſed by his predeceſſors, which he ſaid, could never be meant as a weapon to wound royal power. The Judges were convened into the Star Chamber, and James diſplayed his arbitrary pretenſions in a ſpecies of reaſoning peculiar to himſelf. Coke maintained the juſtneſs of the refuſal by the authority of two acts of Parliament; and when Bacon officiouſly took up the cauſe of Majeſty, he excepted againſt ſuch an interfering, as of an oppoſite nature to the office of Attorney General, who was to plead before the Judges, not againſt them. The Judges had not the courage longer to reſiſt, and to the great diſſatisfaction of the Chief Juſtice, meanly ſubmitted the caſe to the judgment of the Privy Council, who determined it for the Prerogative.

An anſwer of Coke's in this debate is worthy of record. On James' raiſing his voice, and aſking the Judges in a peremptory manner, "Whether in a caſe depending before them, he conceived it to concern him "in profit or in power, and thereupon required to conſult with them, and a ſtay of proceedings, whether "they ought not to ſtay them accordingly?" All but the Lord Chief Juſtice aſſented to the demanded obligation;

tion; but he with dignity replied, "That when such a "case happened, he would do that which was fit for a "Judge to do." *Mallets life of Bacon.*

Bacon, the great preferment-seeker *(the who wants me)* of that age, to the abuse of his excellent talents, had sought aggrandisement by the most contemptible means. Ever the tool of authority, from the creature of Somerset he had become the creature of Villiers; blind and insensible to the superiority of true dignity, he eagerly pursued in the most disgraceful manner, that deceitful image of it which attracts the vulgar. From Villiers he had now the promise of succeeding the Chancellor, who was in a visible decline. In a letter to James, full of the most servile adulation, he begged this place, and asserted it was the interest of the King to give it him.

He objected to Coke's popularity, and said, "That "such men were no sure mounters for his Majesty's sad- "dle; to Hobart, because he was no statesman; and if "he and Coke were placed at both ends of the Council- "board, the Prerogative would be cramped between "the two Lawyers, who would generally agree in ex- "alting Law above Power. For myself, says he, I can "only present your Majesty with *gloria in obsequio*; *the* "*essence of obsequiousness*; when a direction is once given, "it shall be pursued and performed, and your Majesty "only troubled with the true care of a King, to think in "chief, *what* you would have done, not *how*."

To be continued.

THE PATRIOT.

Tuesday March 26, 1793.

ON THE

ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

Continued from Page 432.

IN a quarrel between the Judges and the Chancellor, the Juriſdiction of whoſe Court was already extended to the detriment of the Law, the Chancellor was proſecuted for having incurred a Premunire* in entertaining a cauſe that had been adjudged in the Court of Common Pleas. The proſecution was ſupported by Coke and the Judges†. James was glad of an opportunity to

* On the Statute of Henry IV. that the judgment given in the King's Court ſhall not be examined in Chancery, Parliament, or elſewhere, until it be done by Attaint or Error.

† Some time before this rupture, James, in a converſation with the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke and the Lord Chancellor, had charged them to refer all diſputes to his private deciſion.--*Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carlton*, 1738. *p.* 45.

weaken the authority of the Courts of Common Law.—On the searching of Precedents, there were found many examples of proceedings in Chancery, after judgement in these Courts.

On this authority, James summoned the parties into the Star Chamber, where he harangued with his usual flights of the power of Kings, and obedience of subjects. "Kings, he said, sat in the throne of God, and from "thence all judgment is derived." He compared the the power of judgment of Christian Kings, to that of Moses, to whom all profound questions were left. He determined from thence that there is a conjunction between God and the King upward, and the King and the Judges downward. "Encroach not upon the Prerogative; "deal not in difficult questions. That which concerns "the mysteries of the King's power, is not lawful to be "disputed, for that is to wade into the weakness of "Princes, and to take away the mystical reverence that "belongs to those who sit on the throne of God.—"It was an odious and inept speech to say, that a Premu-"nire lay against the Court of Chancery: I mean not "that the Chancery should exceed its limits, but the "King only is to correct it, and none else." He commanded that no man hereafter should presume to shew a Premunire against the Court of Chancery. Then in the most hyperbolical strains, he praised the Star Chamber, and afterwards addressed himself to the whole auditory, and advised them "Not to presume to meddle "with the King's Prerogative or Honour; for if they "did the Judges will punish them; and in case the Jud-"ges do not, he must punish both them and the Judges. "Plead not, continued he, upon puritanical strains,

"that

"that make all things popular, but keep you within "the antient limits*."

Sir Edward Coke was the sufferer from this triumph of James, to whom he was personally odious. He was prosecuted with the utmost rancour on the following heads: First, for having concealed a statute due to the Crown, of twelve thousand pounds from the Lord Chancellor, Hatton, whose widow he had married; secondly, for having expressed himself upon the Bench as if the Common Law was in danger of being overthrown, with insinuations as if the King was its enemy; thirdly, for having behaved disrespectfully to the King in the case of Commendams, and injuriously to the Lord Chancellor in the affair of the Premunire. Though the Lord-chief Justice could not be legally convicted on any of these articles, yet by the sentence of the Star Chamber, he was brought upon his knees, deprived of his office, and ordered to retire to a private life, there to review his Law Works, to some passages of which James had objections.

Many circumstances in Coke's behaviour had conspired to draw upon him this unjust treatment. He was not only obnoxious to James from the opposition he had raised

* Bacon's advice to the King, in this business of the Premunire, is one of the innumerable instances that this contemptible Time-server has given of the servility and corruptness of his heart. "This "great and public affront (says he) not only to the reverend and "well-deserving person of your Chancellor (and at a time when he "was thought to be a dying, which was barbarous) but to your "High Court of Chancery, which is the Court of your absolute "power, may not (in my opinion) pass lightly, nor end only in "some formal atonement; but use is to be made thereof for settling "your Authority, and strengthening your Prerogative, according to "the rules of Monarchy."—*Cabala*, p. 32.

raifed to the ufurpations of the Crown; he had even ventured to offend the Minion Villiers. Sir Nicholas Tufton had a patent-place in the Green Wax Office, in the King's Bench, which the favourite wanted to fill with one of his Creatures. He obtained the furrender of the place from Sir Nicholas, by the bribe of a Peerage; but met with an obftacle in Coke, who refufed to admit a Clerk of Villiers's nomination.

The recent triumph of the Prerogative over Law delighted Courtiers with the profpect of an eftablifhed tyranny: what could be more promifing to the enemies of Civil liberty, than the encreafing jurifdiction of the Chancery, and the confirmed ufurpation of the Star Chamber?

A very arbitrary act of fovereignty was next exercifed on the Earl of Ormond. He was thrown into prifon for refufing to ftand to the King's arbitration concerning a difputed eftate between him and the Lord Dingwell. The King had adjudged it in favour of his antagonift. This Lord Dingwell was Sir Richard Prefton, an old companion and favourite of James. He obliged the late Earl of Ormond to marry his daughter to him, and created Prefton on this occafion, Baron of Dingwell in Scotland. On the death of this Earl, the title defcended to his nephew, Sir Walter Butler, on whom the eftate was entailed; the Lord Dingwell, difputed this right, on the pretenfion of his wife's fucceeding as general heir, and obtained poffeffion by an unjuft exertion of the power of the Crown, notwithftanding that Ormond's title to the eftate was corroborated by the Will of the deceafed Earl.

Ormond

Ormond was not the only individual that ſuffered from illegal acts of power in this reign. Whitlock, a Lawyer, and Sir Robert Manſell, Vice Admiral, were both committed to priſon; one for giving his opinion in a caſe which was ſuppoſed to touch the King's Prerogative, and the other for aſking it. The opinion was not given in public, but as a private intimation to a friend.

Edmund Peachum, who was taken up for writing ſome offenſive paſſages in a ſermon, was racked ſeveral times in priſon, that a confeſſion of treaſonable purpoſes might be extorted from him by the force of pain. The ſtrength of his reſolution rendering this method ineffectual, the queſtion was, how to convict him on the circumſtances of thoſe paſſages. James drew up with his own hand a ſtate of the queſtion. In this performance he employed all the powers of his logic to enlarge the boundaries of high treaſon to the preſent caſe. The ſermon had never been made public, either by preaching or printing.

In Peachum's caſe, Bacon, who then held the place of Attorney General, by the command of the King, extorted by the force of importunity, the ſeveral opinions of the Judges. Sir Edward Coke affirmed, "That ſuch "an auricular taking of opinions was not according to "the cuſtom of the realm: that it was new and dan-"gerous." Bacon's artifices and importunities at length prevailed: he wrote word to James, that he was not wholly out of hope, that my Lord Coke would comply, when he had in ſome dark manner, put him in doubt that he ſhould be left alone.

It cannot fail of being ſome ſmall gratification to the friends of freedom, of honour, and of honeſty, to be informed

formed, that this wretched ſycophant, this tool of Government, this time-ſerver, this *wha wants me*, after being raiſed to the rank and dignity of Lord High Chancellor, was impeached as a corrupt Miniſter of the Crown. An accuſation of four and twenty articles of bribery, was brought into the Houſe of Lords by the Commons, againſt the Chancellor. This thorough-paced tool of Government, was even obliged to abandon his defence. The King would not hazard his appearing to plead the cauſe. An ample confeſſion of the whole charge, with ſome trifling extenuations, was ſigned by him, with an humble petition for a favourable ſentence*.

Thus ignominious was the fall of the famous Bacon, deſpicable in all the active part of life, and only glorious in the contemplative. Though he was pardoned by James, by flattering him ſo far as to paint his Grandfather, Henry VII. in an amiable light; and obtained a nominal penſion of 18,ooo. a year; yet through the deficiency

* One of the articles of this charge is to this purpoſe. The Vintners in London refuſed to give above a certain price for Wine; the Merchants complained to the Council; the King made a reference to the Chancellor; the Chancellor ordered the Vintners to give the price demanded, and impriſoned two or three of the moſt obſtinate, till they complied. For his pains he received a preſent of One Thouſand Pounds.—*Bacon's Submiſſion. State Trials, 2d Edit. vol. 1. p. 364.*

"It may ſeem to us remarkable (ſays an ingenious writer) that "Bacon was not accuſed for arbitrary proceedings, but for corrup-"tion."

During the time he had the ſeals, he received a number of letters from Buckingham, in favour of different people who had cauſes depending in Chancery. There is great reaſon to believe that every one of theſe mandates was implicitly obeyed by the ſubmiſſive Chancellor.—*Theſe Letters are in a Collection publiſhed by Dr. Birch.*

deficiency of its payment, he languished out the remainder of his life in indigent circumstances*. Having spoken thus openly of the active part of his life, we must say, we shall ever remember with pleasure, both the strength and extent of his genius; his precious bequests to posterity, paint them stronger than can any other person: and we sincerely lament, that so clear and enlightened a head, should have been accompanied with, and under the guidance of, so base and corrupt a heart.

Several members of the Parliament, who had shewn themselves most forward in the cause of religion and liberty, were committed to prison. Sir Edward Coke, whose generous temper could not long endure the servility of Court-dependence, was of this number. The measure he suffered of unjust prosecution, was made up to him by the encrease of reputation; indeed his abilities never before shone in a light so conspicuously admirable. The drudging Lawyer, animated by the brightness of his case, improved into the persuasive Orator. His talents were at this time so remarkable, that it is alledged the succeeding Patriots made his harangues, their models of elocution. Such was the malice of offended

* It appears from Letters, &c. published by Dr. Birch, that James made a kind of promise that Bacon's fortune should not be affected by his disgrace. The promise was so ill kept, that in a letter of Bacon's to the King (in the same Collection) he complains that the pension of 1800l. a year, which he had enjoyed during his prosperity, was stopped, and there was 800l. in arrear due upon it. Among the many petitions he preferred to Buckingham for a subsistence, he descended to ask the Provostship of Eaton school, and was denied. York House, and his manor of Gorhambury were sold to pay his debts, and himself reduced to take up with a lodging in Gray's Inn, which he inhabited while he was a practical lawyer.

fended Royalty, and such the infamy of its tools, that two wretches, named Lepton and Goldsmith, were instigated by Bacon the late Chancellor, to charge Coke with eleven articles of misbehaviour, as a Judge and a Lawyer.

These facts were judged by the House to be false and frivolous, nor could they be proved in the Star-Chamber, where Coke was persecuted with great acrimony. His papers were seized after the dissolution of the Parliament, himself denied the satisfaction of conversing with his wife or children, and the talk of the Courtiers was, that his life might be affected*. Sir Robert, Pym, Selden, and Malloy, were of the number of committed members. Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir James Perrot, were sent on frivolous errands into Ireland; Sir Peter Hayman, and others into the Palatinate. The Court at that time assumed the power of employing any man, even without his consent, in any branch of public business. The Earls of Oxford and Southampton, Sir Edward Hawley, Sir George Leeds, Sir Christopher Nevil, and Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, were taken into custody for writing with freedom against the Spanish match.

The public was deprived of the services of Sir John Saville, Knight of the Shire for the county of York, by a different method; he was made Comptroller of the Household, a Privy Councellor, and afterwards a Baron. This

* The Council, debating about the general pardon that was to have passed the last Parliament, had considered about the ways of excluding Sir Edward Coke from that benefit, either by preferring a Bill against him before the publication of the pardon, or by exempting him by name.—*Parl. Hist. vol. 5. p. 525.*

This was the first instance of that practice of buying off individuals, which in the hands of succeeding Monarchs has silently and surely effected what James and his son in vain attempted by clamour and violence.

It is by no means our intention to go more at large into the reign of James; we thought it necessary to give our readers some of the striking facts, and leading features of it; to shew how deep rooted the love of Prerogative, or in other words, *arbitrary power*, was in this bigotted King; which by the arduous and attentive cultivation of the favourite Villiers, now made Duke of Buckingham, was increased in a proportionate degree in the breast of his unfortunate son, and brought on those violent measures which in the end cost him his crown and life.

It is almost unnecessary to observe to our readers, that the glorious stand made against Tyranny and Prerogative in this reign and the succeeding one, and which absolutely saved the nation from their infernal fangs, was the genuine patriotism and love of their country which the members of the Commons House of Parliament exhibited, who, in spite of every ministerial trick and manœuvre, were actually the *Representatives of the People*, and considered their own interests and those of the *people*, as one common stock, of which they were appointed the guardians and trustees, and over which they esteemed themselves bound to watch with the vigilance, and to protect and defend with the ardour and intrepidity of a *Roman* and a British spirit. In short it must be evident to every one who peruses the events of history, during these most interesting periods, with an attentive eye, that the preservation of the rights and liberties of the

people of Britain have been entirely owing, under God to the efforts of a *real Representation*, and an uncorrup House of Commons; and therefore, that it is of the ut most importance to their dearest interests to never b wanting in these. Charles the second carried on mor arbitrary measures, if that be possible, than either of hi predecessors, by means of a *pensioned* Parliament. Bu these events we shall come to in due time.

With these observations we shall close the subject a present, and assume it again in our next number, th first of volume the third, with the no less interesting an important reign of Charles the first, whose fate we hop will be a lesson to the minions of future Princes, to b cautious how they provoke the just and terrible vengeanc of an injured people.

[*To be continued.*]

Considerations in favour of Insolvent Debtors.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

I Thank you kindly for your ready insertion o my last, inclosing the sentiments of the celebrated Dr SAMUEL JOHNSON, on the truly interesting subject o *Imprisonment for Debt.* Such sentiments will ever pro

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† See page 175.

ure for the departed author, the reſpect and veneration of all juſt and good men to the lateſt periods of poſterity. But, notwithſtanding the cogent and forcible reaſons which he has made uſe of, we find, that in the preſent day, our Legiſlature is of a different opinion, and upwards of twelve years have elapſed ſince any act has paſſed for the relief of this deſcription of unfortunate and diſtreſſed members of the community—and it ſeems as if Humanity and Mercy had taken flight from amongſt us.

This is ſaid to be owing to the predominant influence in our Councils of a ſet of men who have long been ſuſpected to be inimical and adverſe to all intereſts but their own; whoſe conſciences ſeem to be ſeared by a conſtant and habitual exerciſe of their talents in the indiſcriminate defence of right and wrong; and who have uniformly proved the ſcourge, and ultimately the ruin, of every Nation where they have been allowed to obtain the ſway.

Yet will I hope, in ſpite of the peſtiferous breath of this cruel, hard-hearted and ſable brotherhood; in ſpite of the unjuſtifiable attention which has long been paid to their ſelf-intereſted arguments—ſo as to cloſe the gates of Mercy on the afflicted in this world; I ſay I will humbly hope, that in an iſland which for *many years* was actually the laſt retreat of *Liberty*, the boaſted *Throne* of Good-nature and Happineſs, and whoſe *Conſtitution* is every day vaunted forth *as the moſt perfect and abundant with the bleſſings of Freedom of any in the world*, it will not always remain a cuſtom to puniſh *misfortune* more ſeverely than *felony*. The laſt of theſe we *tranſport*, at a moſt enormous and extravagant expence to the public into climates more lovely than our own, and into opportunities of finding *honeſty* much more gainful than *guilt*; while the

the first is condemned to torture and insults without end and as a punishment for having *once been unable to pay* locked up from the *possibility* of becoming *more able here after.*

It is, me thinks, an argument of *no political weight* that in matters of *debt* and *property*, the subject has *private right*, independent on the prince or the public. Were there a *silver mine* in the bottom of a *prison*, whence the labour of the insolvent might raise a fund for supply of his creditor, there might perhaps be a kind of natural equity for his *confinement*, till he had dug himself out of his obligation; but since it is true, even to a proverb that *a prison pays no debts*, it remains only to be considered, whether it becomes not the immediate concern of the Government to interfere between the *malicious* and the *helpless*.

If a Criminal forfeits his claim to the protection of the law, who has violated it by committing a *murder* what better pretence to its indulgence has the unreflecting barbarity of a Creditor, who *murders in cold blood*, by condemning his debtor to a slow, consuming execution from the *wants* and *infections* of a prison, where the continuance of his *life* (to say nothing of his *sufferings*) is a lottery of an hundred against one? You will say there is a difference betwixt a murder of this kind, and one that is called so by the law. I confess it, for it is a plain one. The murder of the *debtor* is infinitely the *basest*, because most cruel in its length and its tortures, and least excusable by the smallness of the provocation.

What debt soever is unpaid by a subject to his fellow-subject, there is one more important, due from both, to the

the common interest of their country. What, then, must *Foreigners* think of the *political skill* of that people, among whom the exasperated tyranny of a disappointed private hope, gives licence to any one of the citizens, to rob the public of another's *art*, his *labour*, or his *courage?*

Will our Right Reverend Lords the *Bishops*, let it pass without their severest animadversion, that men of this unchristian stamp, presume to *mock God*, *daily*, in our Churches; and (with insolent *Hypocrisy*) join prayer for pardon of their *own* sins but on condition of *their pardoning* others, in the presence of an hundred witnesses who know that there are wretches expiring in Prisons at *their* suit, and by *their* cruelty, but for a want of *ability*, to satisfy them in some petty expectation.

I believe, were it possible for the gayest and most unthinking mind, in any assembly of Law-makers, to see, collected before his eyes, the dead bodies but of one year's *martyrdom*, in our prisons for debt, throughought this kingdom, the *terrible array* would awaken his horror! He would then no longer consider as a distant and *occasional* care, the *relief of insolvent debtors*: he would rather nobly proclaim it his *duty*, to prevent such desolation for the future; and sure! if the *Roman Civic Crown* was due, in reward of *his* virtue, who but saved the life of a *single citizen*, what immortal applause would perpetuate the memory of *those*, to whom the distressed, in generations to come, should owe the lives of so many thousands of their *Fathers*, *Brothers*, and

Sons; who being preserved by this humanity, might *all* of them encreaſe the ſtrength, and *ſome* the *glory* of their Country!

I am, Gentlemen,
Your very humble Servant,
PHILANTHROPOS.

Richmond, Surry, Oct. 16, 1792.

ON THE

INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDGES.

A Late author, (treating of the Courts of Juſtice) ſays, that 'as protection againſt every illegal attack up-'on the rights is to be ſought for from theſe Tribunals, 'the Judges of the Land become not unfrequently the 'Arbitrators between the King and the People, on which 'account they ought to be independent of either, or 'what is the ſame thing, equally dependent on both, that 'is, if they be appointed by one, they ſhould be re-'movable only by the other.—This was the policy which 'dictated that memorable improvement in our Conſtitu-'tion, by which the Judges, who before the Revolution 'held their offices during the pleaſure of the King, can 'now only be deprived of them by an addreſs from both 'Houſes of Parliament, as the moſt regular, ſolemn, 'and authentic way, by which the diſſatisfaction of the 'People can be expreſſed. To make this independen-'cy of the Judges complete, the public ſalaries of their office

'office ought not only to be certain both in amount and 'continuance, but so liberal as to secure their integrity 'from the temptation of secret bribes, which liberality 'will answer the farther purpose of preserving their ju-'risdiction from contempt, and their characters from 'suspicion, as well as of rendering the office worthy of 'the ambition of men of eminence in their profession*.'

This mode of reasoning may perhaps be just, upon philosophical principles, but it does not carry conviction to the mind, accustomed to reason from facts and from the propensities of human nature. That Judges, whose duty it frequently is to decide between the King and the Subject, should neither be biassed in their judgment, nor subjected to loss of any kind in consequence thereof, is an object highly worthy of the attention of the Legislature to secure; and with this view the statute alluded to was passed; but it is a matter of great doubt with me, whether or not this statute has not rather increased than diminished the evil: for though the removal of a a Judge was a thing not unfrequent before the statute, it is a fact somewhat of a singular nature, that since that law, not one of them had been removed or even complained against. One reason may be, that since our Judges have been placed in this state of independence, no ground of complaint has occured, and that their hopes and their fears being thus removed, equal law and justice have been impartially administered without favour or affection.

The liberality and certainty of the salaries of the Judges ought, and undoubtedly they do, operate on the mind

* Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy, by Mr. Paley, Vol. 2. P. 236.

mind of juſt and good men, as a ſecurity for their independence. But ſhould we ever have a Judge of a particular caſt of mind and propenſity to amaſs money, what ſecurity would a ſalary of any amount be for the independence of ſuch a man, whoſe luſt could never be ſatisfied, and whoſe ruling paſſion was to heap up riches. *Semper Avarus eget**—This paſſion knows no bounds, and every thing elſe muſt yield to it.

——————*Auri ſacra fames*
Quid non mortalia pectora Cogis.† Hor.

If then the great importance of the truſt repoſed—If the ſacred tie of an oath—If a ſenſe of duty to their country, and of ſhame for their miſconduct, are not ſufficient to ſecure their independence, all the laws that can be enacted to ſecure them againſt the controul of the Crown, and all the money of the Treaſury as a ſalary for their trouble, would not have the deſired effect; and however *omnipotent* the power of Parliament may be, it has not yet diſcovered the power of changing the temper and diſpoſition of man; and therefore, though we may indulge ourſelves in ſpeculative ideas of the independence of our judges, and though we may alſo hope and believe that hitherto the letter and the principle of the law have fully operated; yet, the time may come, when we may ſee this boaſted independence of the Judges, in a different point of view.

Let us ſuppoſe that two young men ſet out in the profeſſion of the law. Whether they poſſeſs abilities or not may be immaterial. Impudence and cunning may perhaps paſs current for knowledge, or if they, or any of

* The Miſer is always in want.

†——Oh, tyrant thirſt for Gold,
What from the human breaſt can ſhake thy hold.

of their connections, have a ſufficient ſtock of *Borough intereſt* it may be equally uſeful to them.

After a few unſucceſsful terms, they get into the Houſe of Commons, the one joins the Miniſter—the other oppoſes him. A ſilk gown is the firſt reward for the ſervices of the former, and upon a change of affairs, the latter receives a ſimilar mark of honour.

The race is next for the offices of Attorney and Solicitor General, and we will ſuppoſe that from their ſeveral intereſts they are ſucceſsful. The humble office of a puiſne Judge is now beneath their notice, and we may ſuppoſe them both ſeated in the offices of Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench and Common Pleas. What do they look up to the Crown for next? A Peerage—A Barony is conferred—Are they independent? No.—What now is wanted—? An Earldom, which can only be obtained by ſupporting Court meaſures and implicit obedience to the commands of the Miniſter.

If this can be obtained, and the ſeals laid hold of with the ſecurity of a Penſion for life, on being turned out, all is got that can be expected for the individual.—But is he independent of the Crown? No. He muſt provide for his relations, &c. &c.

Thus it may be that for the curſe of the country, we may have two Chief Juſtices in the Houſe of Lords, who being brought in upon different intereſts, are continually oppoſing each other, both having no other view than their own aggrandiſement and that of their connections, and not only their politics carried into the Senate, but into the Court, which ought to be kept ſacred and pure from ſuch pollution, and thus Juſtice, if depending

on political facts, may receive a very different course of Administration*.

That we may suffer this evil in its utmost extent under the new law is at least probable, and it may not be improper to consider what was the case before this amendment in our law took place. Formerly the salaries of the Judges consisted mostly in the sale of certain offices, and in the fees or perquisites paid by the suitors, altogether trifling in amount to their present emoluments, which are still improperly retained, over and above their respective salaries. The profits of the Judge being before the act but small in comparison to what they now are, and the judge knowing also that he sat on the Bench at the will of the King, and was liable to

* This thought deserves consideration. We too often find that the Politics of the day, or the Party views of an Administration have a great influence over the decisions of our Courts, and tend to keep up that "glorious uncertainty of the Law"—which has long been the favourite toast of its professors. Had the various Trials in the Affair of Mr. Wilkes, or of the Printers in the year 1770, for publishing the Letters of JUNIUS, come on during our present influenza 'tis highly probable the verdicts would have been different. On the other hand 'tis equally probable that if the Writings of THOMAS PAINE had appeared about the time when JUNIUS wrote his celebrated Letters, the fate of the Printers and Venders of Paine's works would not have been exactly what it now is. Again, had the Riots at Birmingham happened in the Whig Reigns of George the first, or second, when the Principles and Conduct of High Churchmen and Jacobites in the years 1715, 1745, were not totally forgotten, perhaps the causes of that infernal and disgraceful business would have been probed to the bottom, and the Instigators of it would have received a different punishment. An Essay on the versatility of the Public Mind, and its correspondent influence upon our law decisions, would be an entertaining and a very useful subject.—We wish some of our valuable and ingenious Patrons would have the goodness to undertake it.

The Editor.

to be turned down to plead at the bar, as was not unfrequently the case, it became necessary for him to keep on good terms with the People as well as with the King, and by doing equal justice to secure a fair Retreat, and enable him to resume his practice with credit: and instead of the Bar being then the road to the Bench, the Bench was often the road to the Bar; for it has frequently happened that a man hardly known at the Bar, by a steady and impartial administration of Justice during a short period as a Judge, has secured the means of afterwards rapidly making his fortune at the Bar.

The Judge is now made independent, but if he should happen to be of a corrupt disposition, he may still be fully as much dependent on the Crown as he would have been, had the statute never been passed, for no Judge can be independent of the King, who has any political connection or dependence on his Ministers, and the only kind of independence which such a Judge can be said to be placed in, is a state of independence on the People. The statute which establishes what is called the Independence of the Judges, indeed provides, that they can only be deprived of their offices by an address from both houses of Parliament. But as it must be glaring misconduct indeed that would procure such an address; the man must be truly unfit for the office of a Judge who had not cunning enough to keep himself out of such a scrape.

While the appointments to the different departments in the law are in the Crown, the Crown will be looked up to by men aspiring to promotion.—A devotion to the interests and prerogative of the Crown may therefore be expected, and while there is an untrodden step in the ladder

ladder of promotion, independence may not always be expected. The King's Minister will prudently select those men on whom he can most depend, and the mind heated with political rancour, is but ill fitted for cool deliberation and the impartial administration of Justice.

I am far from wishing to check fair professional ambition, but if it were possible to confine Judges to the Bench, and exclude them from the Parliament House, it would perhaps contribute something to the establishment of their Independence.

Yours, &c.
CACAFUNGUS.

We are infinitely indebted to our ingenious and valuable Correspondent for the above excellent Essay, and hope we shall frequently have the pleasure of his favours, *The Editors.*

ON

FRANKING LETTERS.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PATRIOT.

Gentlemen,

February 7, 1793.

TO discover an abuse in government, and conceal one's apprehensions, is no less than a neglect, highly criminal, a misprision of treason to one's country; you are therefore solicited to lay the following hints before the public, in a few pages of the Patriot.

Strong

Strong ſymptoms of Deſpotic principles appear in the privilege of franking letters.—Deducting the expence of conveyance, the overplus, received by government for the poſtage of letters, is a tax, upon the people:—it is a tax exacted by men, who not only indulge themſelves with an immunity, but add by the carriage of their franks to the expence of their fellow citizens.—A legiſlature exempting itſelf from the taxes of the ſtate acts partially, and unfairly. The privilege of franking, enjoy'd by the individuals who compoſe the two houſes of Parliament, ſeems below the dignity and derogates from the juſtice of the Britiſh legiſlature. Hence an argument for its abolition, deciſive to every *true Patriot*. There are other conſiderations, ſubordinate to this, which yet may be of prime rank with the mere politician--The abolition of Parliamentary Franks, muſt occaſion an important improvement to the revenue. The General Poſt-office will readily ſupply the means of an *accurate* eſtimate. Calculating from very moderate premiſes, the addition will amount to about 30,ccol. a year. This ſum will not appear to be ſo trifling when the facts aſſumed are known. The concluſion is drawn from ſuppoſing not many more than 800 members in both Houſes; attributiug to every one only two franks a day; each frank reckoned equal to no more than one ſhilling poſtage; thoſe addreſſed to, as well as thoſe directed by the member included. This computation muſt be accounted extremely low, when it is conſidered how much this privilege is abuſed in mercantile houſes, and what numbers of members of Parliament are Merchants and Bankers. The advantage of a Parliamentary partner is not confined to the buſineſs of one houſe alone; but it generally happens eſpecially in the banking line, that each one of the company is engaged in ſome other branch of trade; and if the Parliamentary

mentary partner be not at the trouble to frank that part of the correſpondence of the others which they *ſend*, at leaſt the letters they *receive*, come cleared of expence under an incloſure to him. It is uſual too among the domeſtics and other dependants of Peers, as well as Commoners, to have the letters to themſelves and acquaintance arrive free beneath the ſanction of their ſuperior's name, a mark on the cover authoriſing a ſervant to open it.

Were a motion to be made for the abolition of franks, no ſtreſs, it is conceived, could be laid, in oppoſition, on the pretext of rendering eaſy the communication between the Conſtituent and Repreſentative. The attempt would be an inſult to the common ſenſe of Parliament, as the benefit is ſo ſmall in compariſon with an abuſe ſo general, notorious, and incorrigible, for every endeavour to amend it, by attempting to make intereſt yield to perſonal trouble has been far from effecting a cure. But ſuppoſing the privilege to reſt on public grounds, and the purpoſe of the regulation to be conſtitutional, the abuſe, ſo greatly outweighing the advantages, requires an immediate abolition—The example of men, in the ſituation of legiſlators, infringing the Laws they make, is of the moſt pernicious conſequence. And how can a member of the Britiſh Parliament, with the conſcience of a Chriſtian, or the feelings of a Man, conſent to inflict the penalty of death on the rude and untaught ſmuggler, whom the powerful hand of neceſſity may have driven to an illegal act; while he himſelf, a man of affluence and education, as it were, ſmuggles his private correſpondence, with no compulſion from poverty, with no excuſe from ignorance, under a licence granted only for the tranſaction of public affairs.

In

In ſhort, however this privilege be view'd, ſtrong reaſons for its abolition appear.—If it be looked on as eſtabliſhed for the public advantage, the very pretence is annihilated by the magnitude and notoriety of an inveterate abuſe—If it be regarded as a perſonal benefit, the ſituation of the people profited makes it ſuperfluous and unneceſſary, to ſay the leaſt of it. And, in the proſpect of an increaſed revenue, we ſee a poſitive good in the place of a poſitive evil.

Might it not be alſo expedient to prohibit franking in public Officers? Would not the extraordinary trouble of payment and re-payment be compenſated by the deſtruction of contraband covers? The number of which is probably great—Beſides the correſpondence of the family, and intimates of every placeman, who has this privilege, many of them being private agents, carry on their buſineſs as ſuch, greatly to their emolument, by deceiving the poſt-office—and ſhould parliamentary franking be put a ſtop to, it may become worth the expence to a mercantile or banking houſe, to buy the conſcience and trouble of a placeman, when thoſe of a parliament-man become not worth the having; and, as placemen in general owe their riſe to members of Parliament, when the latter become diſabled, they will probably reſort for help where favours conferred give a claim for aſſiſtance.

Such intimations as theſe, I preſume, are not beyond the province of the Patriot. The Legiſlature, as a ſteward, is accountable to the People. A candid enquiry into the conduct of a ſervant cannot fail to be of uſe to the maſter. By a diſplay of the faults of the agent, the principals may be induced to begin a reform in the management

nagement of their eſtate, before the chicanery of the Attorney ouſts his employers, and he takes poſſeſſion of their property in his own name.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your fellow Labourer for the Common-weal,
WM. DRUTHIN.

Our valuable Correſpondent will perceive that we have taken the liberty to ſoften a few of the expreſſions in this Letter, which he will be pleaſed to attribute to the *real cauſe*, the uncertainty of what *may* or *may not* be deemed a LIBEL, and a wiſh to avoid if poſſible incurring the penalties and trouble, which the preſent *inquiſitorial* proceedings throughout the Country might perhaps ſubject us to.

The Editors.

THE NEW PLAN

OF A

CONSTITUTION FOR FRANCE,

As preſented by the Committee to the Convention, on the 16th of Febru 1793.

(Continued from page 426.)

TITLE IV.

OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE BODIES.

SECTION I.

Of the Organization and Functions of the Adminiſtrative Bodies.

I. THERE ſhall be in each Department an Adminiſtrative Council; in each Commune an Adminiſtration of the Commune or Municipality; and in each Section of the Commune, an inferior agency ſubordinate to the Municipality.

II. The

II. The Adminiſtrative Council of the Department ſhall be compoſed of eighteen Members.

III. Four of them ſhall form the Directory.

IV. The Adminiſtration of each Commune ſhall conſiſt of twelve Members, and the Mayor, who ſhall be the Preſident.

V. The Agency of each Section ſhall be entruſted to one citizen, who may have aſſiſtants.

VI. The Secondary Agents of each Section, united with the Municipal Adminiſtration, ſhall form the Council General of the Commune.

VII. The Adminiſtrations of Commune, ſhall be ſubordinate to thoſe of Department.

VIII. The organization of Municipalities and their Agency in the Sections, the particular functions which ſhall be aſſigned to them, and the mode of their election by the citizens convened in the Aſſemblies of the Sections, ſhall be determined by a particular law, independent of the Conſtitution.

IX. The citizens of each Commune aſſembled in their Sections, cannot deliberate but on objects which particularly intereſt their ſection or commune; they cannot in any caſe adminiſter by themſelves.

X. The Adminiſtrators of Departments are eſſentially charged with the diſtribution of direct contributions, with the ſuperintendance of money ariſing from all the public revenues in the whole extent of their territory, with the examination of the accounts of the Adminiſtration of Communes; and with deliberating on demands which may be made for the intereſt of their Department.

XI. The Adminiſtrators in every part of the Republic, muſt be conſidered as the Delegates of the National Government in every thing that relates to execution of the laws and general ad-

miniſtration; and as the particular agents of that portion of citizens reſiding in their territory, in every thing that concerns only their local and particular intereſts.

XII. Under the firſt of theſe relations, they are eſſentially ſubordinate to the orders and inſpection of the Executive Council.

XIII. The Legiſlative Body ſhall determine, by particular laws, the rules and mode of their functions, in every part of Adminiſtration entruſted to them.

XIV. They cannot in any caſe intermeddle in the part of general Adminiſtration entruſted by the Government to particular agents, ſuch as the adminiſtration of the land or naval forces, or the management of eſtabliſhments, arſenals, magazines, ports, and works belonging to them, a reſerve being, however, made, in regard to the inſpection which may be aſſigned to them over any of theſe objects, the extent and mode of which muſt be determined by the law.

XV. The Executive Council ſhall chuſe in each Department, from the Members of the Council, a national Commiſſioner, who ſhall be charged to correſpond with the Executive Council, and to ſuperintend and enforce the execution of the law. The Commiſſioner ſhall be renewed when he ceaſes to be a Member of the Adminiſtration.

XVI. The Adminiſtrators of Departments have a right to annul the acts of Sub-Adminiſtrators, if their acts are contrary to the laws.

XVII. They may alſo, in the caſe of continued diſobedience on the part of Sub-Adminiſtrators, or when they ſhall endanger the public ſafety and tranquillity, ſuſpend them from their functions, being bound to communicate this without delay to the Executive Council, who muſt either confirm or annul the ſuſpenſion.

XVIII. The

XVIII. The Executive Council, when the Administrators of Departments have not employed the power delegated to them by the above article, shall be bound to annul directly the acts of the Sub-Administrators, and may censure the conduct of any of them, and suspend them from their functions, if there be grounds for doing so.

XIX. The Executive Council shall give an account to the Legislative Body of the suspension of the different Administrators, which they may have pronounced or confirmed, agreeably to the preceding article, and of the motives which have determined them.

XX. The Administrators cannot in any case suspend the execution of the laws, modify or add to them by new dispositions, nor assume any thing on the action of justice, or the mode of its Administration.

XXI. In each Department there shall be a Treasurer in correspondence with the National Treasury, and having under him a cashier and a teller. This treasurer shall be appointed by the Administrative Council of the Department, and his clerks presented by him shall be approved by the Council.

XXII. The Members of the Administrations of Department, and of inferior Administrations, cannot be tried before the tribunals for acts relative to their functions; but in virtue of a deliberation of the Directory of the Department, in regard to the Administrators who are subordinate to them, and of the National Council in regard to Members of the Administration of the Department; an appeal being however allowed in all cases to the superiority of the Legislative Body.

SECTION II.

Of the mode of electing Administrators of Department.

I. The election of Administrators of Department shall be made immediately by the citizens of each Department convened in the Primary Assemblies, and according to the mode prescribed in the third section of the third title.

II. In

II. In the caſe of vacancy by death, reſignation or refuſal, to accept in the interval between elections, the citizens named ſhall be replaced by one of the ſuppleans, according to the order of plurality of votes.

III. One half of the members of the adminiſtrative bodies ſhall be renewed every two years, three months after the epoch fixed for the election of the Legiſlative Body.

IV. The two members firſt choſen at each election ſhall form the directory.

TITLE V.

OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE REPUBLIC.

SECTION I.

Of the Organization of the Executive Council of the Republic.

I. The Executive Council of the Republic ſhall be compoſed of ſeven general Agents or Miniſters and a Secretary.

II. There ſhall be

1. A Miniſter of Legiſlation,
2. A Miniſter of War.
3. A Miniſter for Foreign Affairs.
4. A Miniſter of Public Contributions.
5. A Miniſter of the Marine.
6. A Miniſter of Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures.
7. A Miniſter of Works, Aids, Public Eſtabliſhments, and Arts.

III. Each of the Miniſters ſhall alternately preſide in the Executive Council, and the Preſident ſhall be changed every fifteen days.

IV. The Executive Council is charged to execute, and to cauſe to be executed, all the laws, and all the decrees, paſſed by the Legiſlative Body.

V. If

V. It is charged with the tranſmiſſion of Laws and Decrees, to the Adminiſtrations and Tribunals; with certifying itſelf of the reception of them, and proving the reception to the Legiſlative Body.

VI. It is abſolutely interdicted from making any Laws, even proviſional, and from modifying, extending, or interpreting the diſpoſitions of thoſe which exiſt under any pretence whatever.

VII. All the Agents of the Adminiſtration and Government, in all its parts are eſſentially ſubordinate to the Executive Council; but the adminiſtration of juſtice is only ſubject to its ſuperintendance.

VIII. It is expreſſly charged to annul ſuch acts of Adminiſtrators as may be contrary to the Law, or which may endanger public tranquillity, or the ſafety of the State.

IX. It may ſuſpend from their functions the Members of the Adminiſtrative Bodies, but it is bound at the ſame time to give an account of ſuch ſuſpenſion without delay to the Legiſlative Body.

X. In caſe of prevarication on their part, it muſt denounce them to the Legiſlative Body, who ſhall determine whether they ſhall be brought to trial.

XI. The Council has a right to remove, replace, or to cauſe to be replaced, civil and military Agents, appointed by it, or by Adminiſtrators ſubordinate to it; and in caſe of criminality on their part, to order that they ſhall be proſecuted before the Tribunals, who ought to take cognizance of their delinquency.

XII. The Council is charged to denounce to the Judicial Cenſors, acts and judgments in which Judges may have exceeded the bounds of their powers.

XIII. The direction and ſuperintendance of the naval and land armies, and in general of every thing which concerns the external defence of the State, are delegated to the Executive Council.

XIV. It is charged to keep up the complement of men, which ſhall be determined on every year by the Legiſlative Body; to regulate their proceedings, and to diſtribute them in the territories of the Republic, as it ſhall judge neceſſary; to provide them with arms, accoutrements, and proviſions, and for this purpoſe to paſs all the neceſſary contracts, to chooſe agents to aſſiſt it, and to enforce obſervation of the laws reſpecting the mode of military promotion, and laws or regulations for the diſcipline of the armies.

XV. The Executive Council ſhall deliver brevets or commiſſions to ſuch public functionaries as ought to receive them.

XVI. The Executive Council is charged with drawing up a liſt of the national rewards, which all citizens have a right to claim, according to the law. This liſt ſhall be preſented to the Legiſlative Body, who ſhall determine on it at the opening of each ſeſſion.

XVII. All affairs ſhall be diſcuſſed in Council, and a regiſter ſhall be kept of its deciſions.

XVIII. Each Miniſter ſhall act afterwards in his department, in conformity to decrees of the Council, and purſue ſuch meaſures in the execution of them in detail, as it ſhall judge moſt convenient.

XIX. The eſtabliſhment of the National Treaſury is independent of the Executive Council.

XX. General orders for payment, ſhall be agreed upon in Council, and given in its name.

XXI. Particular orders ſhall be expedited afterwards by each Miniſter in his Department, under his own ſignature alone, and in

in the order he ſhall mention the decree of Council, and the law which authoriſes each kind of expence.

XXII. No Miniſter in office, or out of office, can be proſecuted in criminal caſes, for any act of his adminiſtration without a decree of the Legiſlative Body ordering him to be brought to trial.

XXIII. The Legiſlative Body ſhall have the right of ordering one or more members of the Legiſlative Body to be brought to trial, in a ſitting ſet apart for that object alone.

XXIV. A report ſhall be made on the facts, and the diſcuſſion cannot be opened on bringing a Miniſter to trial, until he has been heard.

XXV. In pronouncing that he ſhall be brought to trial, the Legiſlative Body ſhall determine, whether there be grounds to proſecute for ſimple removal, or for forfeiture.

XXVI. In caſe the Legiſlative Body ſhall think it their duty to proſecute for ſimple removal in the courſe of three days, there ſhall be drawn up an expoſition of the facts, which cannot be qualified.

XXVII. One National Jury only ſhall be convened in eight days; they ſhall afterwards pronounce on the facts not qualified: there ſhall, or ſhall not, be grounds for removal: and the Tribunal, after the declaration of the Jury, ſhall pronounce the removal of the member of the Council, or diſmiſſion from his functions.

XXVIII. If the Legiſlative Body order a proſecution on forfeiture, the report on which the decree has been paſſed, and the pieces which have ſerved for it, ſhall be delivered to the National Accuſer within twenty-four hours, and the National Jury of accuſation, ſhall be convoked within the ſame period.

XXIX. In every caſe, whether of ſimple removal, or of forfeiture, the decree for bringing to trial a member of the Executive

ecutive Council, ſhall imply of courſe, that his functions are ſuſpended, until judgment ſhall be given, and during the trial he ſhall be replaced by one of the Suppleans choſen by lot in the Council.

XXX. The Legiſlative Body, in pronouncing that a member of the Executive Council ſhall be tried, may order, if judged neceſſary, that he ſhall be kept in ſight.

XXXI. The decrees of the Legiſlative Body, on bringing a member of the Executive Council to trial, ſhall be paſſed by a ſigned ſcrutin, and the nominal reſult of the votes ſhall be printed and publiſhed.

XXXII. The removal of a member of the Council ſhall take place in caſe of incapacity or manifeſt neglect.

XXXIII. In caſe of death, reſignation, or refuſal to accept, the members of the Executive Council ſhall be replaced by their Suppleans, in the order in which they ſtand in the liſt.

XXXIV. In caſe of ſickneſs, after being authoriſed by the Council, they may call *pro tempore* to their functions, one of their ſuppleans according to their choice.

SECTION II.

Of the Mode of the Election of the Executive Council.

I. The election of the members of the Executive Council, ſhall be made immediately by all the citizens of the Republic in their Primary Aſſemblies.

II. Every member of the Council ſhall be armed by a ſeparate ſcrutin.

III. Every voter for the ſcrutin of preſentation, ſhall name in a bulletin, the citizen whom he ſhall believe the moſt capable.

IV. The reſult of the ſcrutins of every Primary Aſſembly ſhall be ſent to the adminiſtration of the Department, where the reviſion ſhall take place, with the forms, and with the delay preſcribed by the third Section of Title third.

V. The

V. The reviſion having taken place, the Adminiſtration of the Department ſhall publiſh the names of thirteen candidates, who ſhall have obtained the greater number of ſuffrages, provided that they ſhall at leaſt have obtained a hundred.

VI. There ſhall be made a ſubſidiary liſt of eight candidates, who ſhall have obtained, after the firſt thirteen, the greater number of ſuffrages. Theſe two liſts ſhall mention the number of ſuffrages which each of them ſhall have obtained.

VII. The liſts of the Departments, which ſhall not contain the number of thirteen candidates, having collected the greater number of ſuffrages, ſhall remain incomplete, and ſhall nevertheleſs be valid.

VIII. Theſe liſts ſhall be addreſſed to the Legiſlative Body within a period of eight days: it ſhall cauſe them to be printed, and ſhall ſend them to all the Departments.

IX. Six weeks after the publication of the liſts of each Department, the Legiſlative Body ſhall form a definitive liſt of preſentation in the following manner.

X. It ſhall ſuppreſs, in the liſt of each Department, the candidates who ſhall have declared either that they cannot, or do not chuſe to accept, and it ſhall replace them by the candidates taken in the ſubſidiary liſt of their Department, according to the order of their inſcription.

XI. The preference ſhall be regulated in the formation of the definitive liſt of preſentation, between the candidates contained in each liſt, by the number of Departments of which they ſhall have obtained the vote; and in caſe of equality, by the number of voices, which they ſhall have obtained.

XII. The definitive liſt of preſentation for each place of the Council, ſhall be compoſed of thirteen candidates.

XIII. The Primary Aſſemblies ſhall be convoked by the Legiſlative Body, to proceed to the ſcrutin of nomination, a month after the publication of this liſt.

XIV. Every

XIV. Every voter ſhall inſcribe on his bulletin of two columns, namely on the firſt, the candidates whom he prefers; and on the ſecond, the ſix candidates whom he ſhall judge the moſt worthy to be his ſuppleans.

XV. The reviſion of the reſults of the ſcrutin of the Primary Aſſemblies of each Department, ſhall be made by the Adminiſtration of the Department, printed, publiſhed, and ſent within a period of eight days to the Legiſlative Body.

XVI. Within fifteen days after the expiration of that period, the Legiſlative Body ſhall proclaim the general reſult of the ſcrutins of the Departments.

XVII. The candidate, who ſhall obtain the abſolute majority by the general reviſion of individual ſuffrages, inſcribed on the firſt column ſhall be choſen. If none of the candidates obtains this majority, it ſhall be formed by uniting and adding the ſuffrages, inſcribed on the two columns, he who ſhall have obtained the greateſt number of them, ſhall be choſen.

XVIII. There ſhall be formed of the ſix candidates, who ſhall have had the greater number of ſuffrages after the citizen choſen, a liſt of ſuppleans deſtined to replace him.

XIX. The general regulations with reſpect to the elections expreſſed in the third Section of Title third, ſhall be applicable to all the particular caſes, which are not provided for in the preceding articles.

XX. The members of the Council ſhall be choſen for two years. The half ſhall be renewed every year; but they may be re-elected.

XXI. The Primary Aſſemblies ſhall meet every year; the firſt Sunday of the month of January, for the election of the members of the Council; and all the elections ſhall take place at one time, and in the ſame ſittings, for all the places of the Council, though by a ſeparate ſcrutin for each.

XXII. After

XXII. After the first election, the four members of the Council, who ought to be renewed the first, shall go out by lot; and the three members who shall not have gone out, as well as the Secretary, shall be renewed at the following election.

SECTION III.

Of the Relations of the Executive Council to the Legislative Body.

I. The Executive Council, is bound at the opening of the session of the Legislative Body, to present to it every year, an estimate of the expences to be made in every part of the Administration, and the account of the employment of the sums which were destined for the preceding year; it is charged to point out the abuses, which may have been introduced in the Government.

II. The Executive Council may propose to the Legislative Body, to take into consideration the objects which shall appear to it to require dispatch. It may not however, in any case, bring forward its opinion with respect to legislative regulations, till after the formal invitation of the Legislative Body.

III. If in the interval of the sessions of the Legislative Body, the interest of the Republic require its speedy re-assembling, the Executive Council is bound to convoke it.

IV. The acts of correspondence with the Legislative Body shall be signed by the President of the Council and the Secretary.

V. The members of the Executive Council shall be admitted into the Legislative Body; when they shall have to read memorials, or to give explanations, they shall have there a place allotted for them.

VI. The Legislative Body may likewise call a member of the Council to give them an account of what respects his Administration, and to give them the explanations and instructions which shall be demanded of him.

[*To be continued.*]

HISTORY OF

PRIME MINISTERS.

TO contemplate for ſome centuries the fate of the Miniſters of England, who fell victims to the caprice of the Court, the corruption of the times, or their own treacherous conduct, may be a ſubject worthy of the Philoſopher who penetrates into the cauſes and effects of human affairs.

This may be deemed a curious article, although inapplicable in theſe days, every circumſtance having been totally changed, and many of the grievances of which our anceſtors ſo juſtly complained, removed. In the peruſal of this abridgment of Hiſtory, we leave our readers to form a judgment of the following aſſertion, advanced by a Philoſopher of the laſt century, as wiſe a Politician as England ever produced,—"That there ne-"ver yet was a Prime Miniſter of Great-Britain, but "either broke his own neck or his maſter's, or both, "unleſs he ſaved his own by the ſacrifice of his maſter's."

PRIME MINISTERS FROM THE CONQUEST.

Died by the halter -	3	Died in exile -	4
Ditto by the axe -	10	Ditto penitent - -	1
Ditto by ſturdy beggars	3	Saved by ſacrificing their	
Do. untimely by private hands	2	maſters -	4
Ditto in impriſonment	4		
		Total to the Reſtoration	31

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